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A NEW  
HISTORY

OF  
Ecclesiastical Writers :

Containing an ACCOUNT  
Of the *Authors* of the several Books of  
the OLD and NEW TESTAMENT;

Of the *LIVES* and *WRITINGS* of the  
PRIMITIVE FATHERS;

An Abridgment and Catalogue of their WORKS;  
Their Various Editions, and Censures Determining the  
GENUINE and SPURIOUS.

Together with a  
*Judgment* upon their *Stile* and *Doctrine*.

A L S O,  
A Compendious History of the COUNCILS;  
With Chronological TABLES of the whole.

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Written in *FRENCH*  
By *Lewis Ellies du PIN*, Doctor of the *SORBON*, and *Regius*  
Professor of Divinity at *Paris*.

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VOLUME the FIRST;  
*Containing the AUTHORS that flourished in the THREE First AGES of the CHURCH.*

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THE THIRD EDITION, CORRECTED.

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*Essex-Street*, MDCCXXII.



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# ADVERTISEMENT

Concerning this

## TRANSLATION.



*WHEN I first undertook to Revise this following Translation, I had no Thoughts of having my Name made so publick as it has been since upon this Occasion. Few Men, I suppose, will ascribe it to Vanity or Ambition, since the French Language is so very common among us, that it is not thought a part of Learning to understand it: For though Translating is not always the easiest Employment in which a man may be busied, yet the Opinions of Men, by which most things receive their Estimate, have set so much an higher Value upon Original Productions, than upon any, even the exactest Copies, that it is no Wonder if that has been for the most part concealed, which, when divulged, would have brought so little Credit.*

*But I am sensible that Apologies are tedious Things to those who are absolutely unconcerned: And it will be rather expected that I should acquaint the World with what they shall find in this Translation, than either why it was Revised by me, after the several Translators had finished their Parts; or why the Notice of its future Publication seemed to have been immediately given by my Order. And here indeed I ought to say, that the Book it self, with which the English Reader is presented, is a very valuable One. The Doctrines and Practices of the Primitive Church are represented with so much Candour and Sincerity, that those who are unacquainted with the Writings of the Fathers, need not fear being imposed upon. Our Author is indeed of the Communion of the Church of Rome, and accordingly he does not (as indeed he durst not) anywhere conceal his own Opinion; but yet, as long as he never suffers the Sorbonist to break in upon the Historian, his Writings carry an Authority with them, greater than they could have done had they come from a Protestant. Truth, I confess, is the same, whoever speaks it; yet all Men grant, that it carries a more Convictive Force along with it, when extorted from those whose Ingenuity over-bears their Interest, than when it freely comes from Men that advance their Cause by telling it.*

*For this Reason I have taken as much Care as I could, that Monsieur Du Pin's Sence should be exactly preserved; and therefore, when he cites Authors, whom, for Form sake, he was obliged to call Hereticks, if they are not named with Applause, it is not to be wonder'd at.*

*In some few places I have thought fit to interpose: But lest that might occasion any Confusion, the Paragraphs are all inclosed in Hooks; which will plainly distinguish whatever I say, from my Author's Words.*

*The great Use of Books of this kind is, to form an Idea in the Minds of those that read them, of that unaffected Piety and Zeal which inspired the Primitive Christians, and which at last subdued the whole Roman Empire, and made its*



## Advertisement concerning this Translation,

*Princes follow the Banner of the Cross of Christ with Joy and Pleasure. What a Thing that was, can be but imperfectly conceived from the Writings, and, God knows! much more imperfectly from the Practices of this degenerate Age. The Abridgments of the Books of these first Christians will be much more effectual to this Purpose; than a bare dry History could possibly have been; for they wrote about Things that their Hearts were full of: And Men who are at all Times ready to lay down their Lives in Defence of any Cause, will produce warmer and more moving Arguments to awaken their drowzy Brethren, than can possibly come from others that are less concerned, because in much less Danger.*

*If therefore the Reading of these Papers shall be a Means to incite those that are able, to draw from the Fountains in larger Quantities, having found these small Streams sufficiently inviting; and those that must take what they read upon Trust, to endeavour to live up to these great Patterns which are here proposed to their Imitation, I shall have my End; and shall think the Pains which I have taken in this Work, not only very well bestowed, but my self abundantly rewarded.*

W. W.



THE



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T H E  
A P P R O B A T I O N

O F T H E

*Doctors of the Sorbonne.*

**T**H E whole World has so openly declared the Esteem which they think due to the *New History of Ecclesiastical Writers*, that we could not but be sensible of the Complaisance shewn to us, since the Judgment we had formed of it was followed, supported and authoriz'd by that of the Publick. It belongs to none but great Men to undertake and execute great Things. The Title of this Work, as plain as it is, presents to the Mind, the Idea of a Design equally vast and difficult; and every one must think, that whoever would fulfil it with Praise, must have a Learning so extensive, as to take in all Ages; a Judgment so exact, as can neither fall into Error it self, or impose upon the Credulity of others; an Application so assiduous, as no Obstacle can stop or suspend; and lastly, so ardent a Zeal for the Publick, that he believes he ought to render it an Account of all his Time, and that he is only paying a Debt when he makes it a Present of infinite Wealth, which he might have reserved for his own private Use. Those that have read the four first Centuries of this History, have seen with Pleasure, that our Author has fully answered this grand Idea; they have remarked in him with us, a Knowledge so universal, as comprehends all sorts of Subjects; a Penetration so profound, as unravels the most intricate Difficulties; so great a Justness of Thought and fixt Sense of Truth, as never receives from others, or gives it it self a false Turn; so constant an Assiduity in reading and writing, that his Works succeed each other with such Life, that they every Day rise in their Strength and Beauty; so sincere a Desire to be useful to others, that they see him profusely bestow them in an Hour, the Fruit of Years; and not content with that, look only on the Present he now makes as an Engagement to continue his Bounties: And we are all fully persuaded that this Work will be like those mighty Floods, who, taking their Rise from a noble Source at first, increase every Day in their Current; and the more Kingdoms they flow through, rowl their majestick Waves with the greater Pomp and Impetuosity. This fifth Century contains an Abridgment of the most important Things in the Writings of St. *Chrysostome*, St. *Jerome* and St. *Augustine*, and other great Men of that Time: All those that have already read them, will here find what will recall to their Memory many things they may have forgotten, and will see with Pleasure, that our Author has reduced their Doctrines to certain Principles, by which they shew their Solidity and Coherence; those who wish to read them will here meet with what will save them much Time and Trouble; and those that are engaged in that long and wearisome Journey, will at least have the Advantage of a faithful and experienced Guide, who will lead them only through Paths equally safe and known. Both the one and the other will meet with a Piece of Criticism, which

a \*

always



## The A P P R O B A T I O N.

always clear, prudent and upright; distinguishes what is certain, from that which is false or doubtful; never precipitates the Judgment, nor lays down simple Conjectures in Place of demonstrative Proofs; gives to every thing what it merits, purely on its own Account; and the better to attend to Reason, banishes all Prejudices, and looks at nothing in its search after Truth but Truth it self; nor condemns, only where it cannot excuse. Nor do we doubt but they will join with us to engage the Author to give us in the next Tome, that great Number of Writers of the fifth Century which he could not speak of here.

Given at *Paris August* 18th. 1688.

BLAMPIGNON  
Rector of St. *Merri's*  
HIDEUX,  
Rector of St. *Innocents*.

## Approbation of the Royal CENSOR.

BY the Order of my Lord Chancellor; I have read a Book, entituled, *A History of the Church and of ecclesiastical Authors, in the Sixteenth Century; by* Messieur Lewis Ellies du Pin, *Priest, Doctor of Divinity of the Faculty of Paris, and Regius Professor of Philosophy*: Containing the History of the Church, and of ecclesiastical Authors, from the Year 1550. to the Year 1600; in which I find nothing to hinder its being printed. Given this 20th Day of *January*, 1703.

BLAMPIGNON,  
Curate of St. *Merri's*.

## Approbation of the *Doctors of Divinity* of the Faculty of PARIS.

WE whose Names are under-written, *Doctors of Divinity of the Faculty of Divinity of Paris*, certify, that by the Order of the said *Faculty* we have read and examined a Book, entituled, *A History of the Church, and of ecclesiastical Authors, in the Sixteenth Century; by* Messieur Lewis Ellies du Pin, *Priest, Doctor of Divinity of the Faculty of Paris, and Regius Professor of Philosophy*: And that we have found nothing therein contrary to the Catholick Faith, or to good Manners. In Assurance whereof, we have set our Hands this 20th Day of *January*, 1703.

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# THE AUTHORS PREFACE.

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## PART I.

*The Reason of the Title. An Account of those Authors that have written upon the same Subject. A general View of the Design of this Work.*



THE Name of *Bibliotheca*, or *Library*, is not only given to those Places that contain great Numbers of Books; but also to Collections that have been made by several Authors, and to those Books that treat of their Works. Thus Collections of the Works of several Fathers, are called *Bibliotheca Patrum*: A General History drawn out of vast Numbers of Historians, such as *Diodorus Siculus's Bibliotheca Historica*: A Book that treats of the Sacred Volumes of Scripture, such as *Sixtus Senensis's Bibliotheca Sancta*, or rather, *Bibliotheca Sacrorum Codicum*: A Treatise upon those Authors who have written concerning Matters of Religion, as this of ours is, *Bibliotheca Authorum Ecclesiasticorum*: And, in short, any Book that speaks indifferently of all sorts of Authors, and Writings, composed upon different Occasions, may be called a *Bibliotheca*.

This is not the first time that such sort of *Libraries* have been made: *Apollodorus*, an *Athenian*, a most learned Grammarian, that lived under the Reign of *Ptolomæus Evergetes*, Two Hundred and Forty Years, or thereabouts, before the Nativity of Jesus Christ, composed a *Bibliotheca* of the Original of the Gods; that is to say, of the most ancient History, as it lies disguised under Fictions and Fables. In imitation of him, *Diodorus Siculus*, that lived in *Augustus's* Time, composed a *Bibliotheca* of General History; which was taken out of an infinite Number of *Authors*. To these, we must join those Authors that have written the Lives of Illustrious Persons; such as *Hermippus*, *Antigonius*, *Satyrus*, *Heraclides*, *Aristoxenus*, and *Diogenes Laertius*, amongst the *Greeks*; and amongst the *Latins*, *Varro*, *Tully*, *Nepos*, *Santra*, *Hyginus*, and *Suetonius*; who have composed the Lives of the Philosophers, and other Authors.

To descend now to those Christians that have made Catalogues of their own Authors: Are not *Clemens Alexandrinus's Stromata* a *Bibliotheca* of the Opinions and Judgments of an incredible Number of Writers? May not the History of *Eusebius* be called a *Library of Ecclesiastical Authors*? since his whole Book is little else but an Account of their Lives, a Catalogue of their Works, and a Collection of several memorable Passages. But St. *Jerom* is the first of the Christians, that has expressly treated of Ecclesiastical Authors; which Book was translated into Greek by *Sophronius*. *Gennadius* of *Marseilles*, *Isidore* of *Sevil*, *Ildefonsus* of *Toledo*, continued it down to their own Times. *Honorius* Bishop of *Autun* made a small Abridgment of these four Authors, *Sigebert* of *Gemblours*, and *Henry* of *Ghent*, continued their Books down to St. *Bernard's* Time. And Lastly, *Aubertus Miræus*, who published these Authors under the Title of *Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica*, continued the History of these Ecclesiastical Writers down to our Times. *Trithemius*, who lived about two Hundred Years ago, made a distinct Book upon the same Subject. We ought not to forget the *Roman Council*, held under Pope *Gelasius* the First, in the Year 494, in which there is a Catalogue of the Sacred Books, and of Catholick and Apocryphal or Heretical Authors. Amongst the *Greeks*, the learned *Photius* composed an excellent *Bibliotheca*, in which he gives a short Summary of the Books that were read; and passes his own Judgment upon near Three Hundred Volumes of different Authors, that not only treat of Religion, but also of History, Rhetorick, Philosophy, Grammar, Physick, Medicine, and other profane Sciences. But never was more Industry and Labour bestowed upon all sorts of Books, and especially Ecclesiastical, than has been in these last Ages, wherein we have revived (if I may use



the Expression ) all manner of Learning and Knowledge, and carried Criticism to a Perfection and Height that it never arrived to before. The *Roman Catholics* and *Protestants* have seemed to rival each other in composing of these *Bibliotheca's*. *Erasmus*, who caused some of the Fathers to be Printed, writ several Prefaces and Annotations upon their Works that contain abundance of judicious Reflections; and though he is sometimes overhasty in rejecting some particular Books, yet however we must own that he opened the Way for those that followed him. Since him, most of those Persons that have obliged the World in publishing those Authors, have written their Lives, and made some Critical Observations upon their Works. But to confine my self at present, only to those that have written upon Ecclesiastical Authors, *Sixtus Senensis*, in his *Bibliotheca Sacra*, has not only treated of the Authors of the several Books of the Bible, but likewise of their Commentators too: And since there is scarce any Ecclesiastical Author to be found, who has not writ something or other about the Scripture, he was obliged to speak of most of the Fathers, and a great Number of other Ecclesiastical Writers. Cardinal *Baronius* also, whose principal Design was, to collect together every thing that had a relation to the History of the Church, in his Annals, has written the Lives of the greater part of the Ecclesiastical Writers, and mentioned their Books. *Bellarmino* writ a distinct Treatise of Ecclesiastical Authors, which reaches down to the Year 1500. wherein, after he had briefly taken notice of their Profession, and the Time when they lived, he makes a Catalogue of their Works, with some Criticisms upon them. This little Book is very valuable for the great Variety of Things contained in it, but yet it is very imperfect, and his Critical Remarks upon the Works of these Authors are not always exact. *Possevin*, in his great *Apparatus*, that is disposed in an Alphabetical Order, has supplied part of those things that are wanting in *Bellarmino's* Book. An *Italian Master of the Sacred Palace*, has made some useful Reflections and Notes upon several Books. *Halloixius* treats very largely of Ecclesiastical Authors, but speaks very little of the Writers of the first Ages. After him, Father *Labbe*, a Jesuit, composed a Book of Ecclesiastical Writers, as a Supplement to *Bellarmino*, but it is very imperfect; and he himself tells us, that it was only an Extract out of a great Universal Library, that he had been preparing a long time: But whether he never liv'd to finish it, or for whatever other Reason it was, it has not as yet seen the Light. I shall say nothing of those that have made Critical Animadversions upon these Authors since his Time, because they have only copied from other Criticks that wrote before them, without adding any thing remarkable of their own. I shall likewise pass them over that have criticised upon some particular Books; as, *Sirmondus*, *Launoy*, and *Morinus*, upon the Books attributed to St. *Dionysius the Areopagite*; because it will be time enough to take notice of them, when I shall treat of the Books upon which they have criticised.

But we ought by no means to omit those Books which the Protestants have written upon these Ecclesiastical Authors, because, though they are full of Errors, Falshoods and Invectives, and sometimes treat the Fathers with little Respect; and have beside, upon false Conjectures rejected several Books which they disliked, as not being agreeable to their own Opinions, and discovering their own Errours; though, I say, it must be owned, that almost all the Treatises written by them upon this Subject, abound with such Faults as ought to be abhorred by all Catholics; yet we must do them the Justice to confess, that for what has a Relation to the Critical Part, they have sometimes seen more clearly than the Catholics themselves, and have discovered some Things that we are obliged to acknowledge and approve. The *Centuriators* were the first amongst the Protestants that seriously attempted to write the Lives of Ecclesiastical Authors, and to make Critical Remarks upon them; and it must be owned, that their Books are very useful even to the Catholics themselves. *Conrardus Gesner's Bibliotheca*, Abridged by *Josias Simlerus* and *Frisius*, and augmented by some others, is no ill Dictionary of these Authors. *Perkins* and *Cook* have published an accurate Examen of spurious Books; but they have done it rather upon the Faith of other People, than by their own proper Light. *Scultetus's* Work upon the Fathers of the Four first Ages of the Church, is more considerable, not only for several points of History and Criticism, that are there very succinctly set down; but also for the *Analysis*, or Abridgment of their Writings, which he has performed with great Exactness, but in a Scholastick Way, and consequently tedious. *Vossius's* Treatises upon the *Greek* and *Latin* Historians, Poets and Philosophers, amongst whom he has placed several Ecclesiastical Writers, are excellent Things in their kind, and shew a great deal of Learning. *Rivet* has taken the greatest pains, is the most exact, and has performed the part of a Critick best upon spurious Works; but then his Book is not exempt from those faults that are common to Protestants, as we have observed above. I shall not mention those that have spoken of the Ecclesiastical Authors by the bye; as *Tossanus*, *Hottinger*, *Aubertin*, *Maresius*, *Sandius*, and many others: As also those that have composed particular Treatises upon some Books; as *Blondel* upon the false Decretals of the Popes, and the Books of the *Sibyls*; *Daillé* upon the Canons and Constitutions of the Apostles, and upon the Epistles of St. *Ignatius*; *Pearson*, and some other *English-Men*, upon the same Letters; *Vossius* upon the Creeds; *Beveridge* upon the Apostolick Canons; *Alix* upon *Tertullian*; and several others.

There is not one of all these Books which we have mentioned, that comprehends all that might be said upon those Ecclesiastical Authors. Some of them contain nothing, in a manner



ner, but their Names, and a Catalogue of their works: Others only give a short account of their lives, and handle what relates to the critical part very succinctly. The greatest part of them wholly employ themselves in examining the spurious and supposititious Books. *Photinus* is the only man amongst the Ancients, that has made an abridgment, and passed his own censure upon the books he mentions; but then the Ecclesiastical Authors he treats of are few in number; and besides, he passes over some of them very superficially, and slightly. *Scultetus* is the only modern writer, who has given the World an Epitome of the doctrine of the Fathers; but then he speaks little or nothing of their lives, and has made no critical reflections upon their Works: The perplexed manner wherein he treats of these matters, renders him disagreeable to the Reader: And besides, he only concerns himself with the principal Authors of the Four first Centuries. *Halluinus* has wrote upon fewer of these Authors; and his work, which is of a prodigious bulk, is by no means exact, and he is full of false and useless things. Having thus observed the mistakes or failures of all these Works, I undertook to make a *Bibliotheca* of Ecclesiastical Authors, more ample and perfect than those that have hitherto appeared in the World; and that I might the better succeed in my design, I endeavoured to render it as like as was possible to what we commonly call a *Bibliothèque*, or *Library*. Thus, as we ordinarily range the Books in those places, according to the order of their Matter and Time, I have likewise in this Work disposed the Ecclesiastical Authors according to the order of Time; and it will be an easie matter to reduce them into a Method, according to their Subjects, by the assistance of a table at the end of every Volume. When we enter into any *Library*, the first thing we generally take notice of, are the Titles of the Books; and in this *Library* also, at the first opening of the Leaves, the Reader may see the Names of the Authors, and a Catalogue of their Works. But since it is not enough barely to consider the Titles of Books, so that we must of necessity read them over if we would be learned, I have not contented my self with making a Catalogue of their Treatises only, but I have drawn up an Abridgment or Summary of what is contained in them, observing at the same time what particular Opinions are to be found in their Writings. If in other *Libraries*, you often see the Pictures of great Men and famous Authors, either painted upon Cloth, or engraven upon Copper; here also you will see their Pictures drawn after a more lively and more natural manner; not only in the History of their Lives, but also in the Judgment that we have given of their Style, their Spirit, and their Genius. Lastly, As in great *Libraries* Men are not content with having only one Edition of an Author, but endeavour if they can to procure all, or at least a great part of them; so in this, I have taken notice of all the different Editions of Authors, that came to my knowledge, and I have endeavoured to omit as few, as was possible: However this *Library* of mine, will contain more Volumes upon Ecclesiastical matters, than any other Collection of Books can pretend to show; because, it not only comprehends those that we now have; but likewise gives an account of those that are lost; the number, whereof, is exceeding great; and then it may boast of another advantage wholly peculiar to it; and that is, It helps to distinguish those Books that are forged, from those that truly belong to the Authors, whose Names they bear, which are confounded and mingled together in common *Libraries*. This is the design of my Undertaking, a small but very considerable part whereof I now present to the Publick, which only concerns the Three first ages of the Church; with a resolution to publish a continuation of the other Ages (a good part of which is already done) and so to bring it down to our own times, if God gives me Abilities and Strength enough to finish so long a Work, and if the reception it meets withal in the World satisfies me, that my Endeavours may be of some advantage to the Publick. I am not so vain as to flatter my self with having performed so great a design, as perfectly as it ought to be, whatever diligence, pains or exactness I have used in the performance: But this at least, I may venture to assert, That of all the Books that have been written upon Ecclesiastical Authors, there is none that comprehends so many things. If I have failed in my Undertaking, I have this to comfort my self, that I have drawn such an Idea of a Work as may employ the learned a considerable time for the publick benefit; and if they will be pleased hereafter to acquaint me with the Faults which I may have possibly committed, or inform me of those things which I have let slip, and communicate to me part of their Observations, as well upon the Authors that are in this Volume, as upon those that I shall examine in the next; I hope this Work will be able to acquire some sort of Perfection, according to my hearty wishes, for the common benefit of Mankind, the advancement of Learning, and the advantage of Religion it self.

## PART II.

*Some Observations upon the Method. An Account of the Design of the Work. Rules of Criticism laid down.*

IT being not sufficient barely to represent the general design of this Work, as I have done in the first Part of the Preface, I found my self obliged to give some short account of the method I used in the management of it. I usually begin with the Life of every Au-



thor, which I relate as succinctly, and in as few words as possibly I can. For there being two ways of writing the Life of any person; one by taking in the Moral; the other by comprehending the Historical Part: I have applied my self wholly to the last, as being the most agreeable to my design. In the first, I set down all the Actions of those Men, whose Lives I write, and then enlarge upon their virtues; and make several Reflections upon their Behaviour and Conduct: In the second, I only take notice of the principal circumstances of their Life, passing over those actions that are purely personal, and that have no relation to the History of their Times, contenting my self with delivering Matters of Fact without a large examination, whether they were well done or not. After this manner, I have endeavoured to write the Life of those Authors of whom I have occasion to speak, chiefly taking notice of those circumstances that concern their Writings, and may serve either to illustrate them, or to make the Order, Subject, and Occasion of them known. For nothing is of more use to make us understand the meaning of any Author, than the knowing when, and with what Temper he wrote, what Hereticks he opposed, what Opinion he designed to establish; and lastly, what Condition he was in at that time. A Bishop, for example, writes otherwise than a Lay-Man, an *African* otherwise than an *Asiatick*, and a Man under persecution, talks in a different manner from one that is at ease. An Author that attacks the Heresie of his own time, and besides, has personal contests with his Adversaries, expresses himself in another strain, than a Man that writes against an Heresie that is extinct, and who has no other share in the Quarrel, or no other Motive of Writing, than to defend the Truth: In a word, we speak and we write generally according to the different Motions and Passions, with which we are agitated: the Objects that most forcibly strike us, represent themselves in a lively manner to our Imaginations, and by that means determine our Tongues and Pens to that side. After *Tertullian* was provoked against the Church, he never wrote one single Book, wherein he does not fall upon it, and bring in the *Paraclete* of *Montanus*. *St. Cyprian* making it his business to support his own Authority and the Discipline of the Church against those that attacked both, speaks always of the Unity of the Church, and of publick Penance. *Origen*, who was full of the *Platonick* Philosophy, considers all the Principles of Christianity as they have a relation to *Plato's* Doctrine. *St. Athanasius*, a sworn Enemy of the *Arians*, never took pen in hand, but he fell upon them. *St. Austin* having the *Donatists* and *Pelagians* always in view in all his Writings, and even in his Homilies, talks perpetually of the Church and of Grace. 'Tis the same with all the rest, and if we examine the matter narrowly, we shall find that all Men are made after the same sort, and agree as to this particular. We commonly know by a Man's discourse what Books he reads, what Sciences he studies, what Religion he is of, what Profession he follows, whether his Circumstances in the World are happy or not, and whether he is well or ill received by great Men; so difficult a matter is it to conceal our own opinions, when they have once made a deep impression within! We offer a violence to our selves when we attempt to conceal them for any time, and sooner or later they escape from us, notwithstanding all our endeavours to the contrary. And this shows what a considerable advantage it is to us towards the better understanding of any Author, to be perfectly instructed in the History of his Life, and to know what Country he was of, in what Times he lived, what was his Profession, his Genius and Inclination, what Hereticks he opposed, and what Interests he had to manage.

This very same Reason likewise makes us sensible, that it is not sufficient to know in general the Age wherein any Author wrote; but that we must also, if it is possible, find out the exact Time and Year in which he wrote every Treatise, and so observe the Order and Series of his Works; for besides, that a Man writes otherwise when he is Young, than when he is well in Years; it is a certain Truth, that the several Changes, that happen every day in the Course of worldly Affairs, and to every Person in particular, often make Men alter their Stile. *Tertullian*, when he was engaged in the Sect of the *Montanists*, opposes what he had formerly established. *St. Cyprian* speaks of the Reconciliation of Penitents, according to the different Circumstances of the Times he lived in; *St. Austin*, when he writes against the *Pelagians*, speaks otherwise of God's Grace and of Free-Will, than he used to do before. *St. Athanasius* when he was under Persecution, wrote more violently than when he enjoy'd Tranquility. In a word, since nothing is so changeable as the Mind of Man, and since every Accident, that influences it, is under continual Motion, it must necessarily follow, that an Author will write differently in different Times. It is therefore of infinite Use to observe, as we have done, the Chronology of any Writer's Works, if we can discover it either by Reasoning, or by conjecture; and this was more easily done in Polemical Discourses, than Treatises of Morality. The Characters, that help us to know the Time and Order of their Works, are, 1. The Years of the Emperors, the Names of Consuls; or lastly, the Years when any particular *Epocha's* begin, as we find them any where set down. 2. The Names of Persons that are mentioned there. 3. The Citations of the works of other Authors, or of the Author himself. 4. Conjectures drawn from the Stile, the Matters that are treated of, and the manner wherein they are delivered. I do not explain these Characters, because they are so easy to be understood, and because they may be so often discovered by an infinite Number of Examples in the Book it self.

A Catalogue of the Works of these Authors was absolutely necessary: Sometimes I made it separately, and sometimes, as I had occasion to discourse of them in a Chronological Order.



der. This Catalogue as well comprehends the Books that we have at present, as those that are lost, whose Titles have been preserved by the Ancients: but this has not been observed in the ordinary Catalogues, where they content themselves with setting down those Books only that are to be found in the Editions we now have. I have not suffered even those Authors to escape me, of whom we have not any entire Discourse remaining. I have made a Catalogue of their Treatises, where I cou'd be fully informed of them by any of the Ancients, and I have taken Care to preserve the Fragments of some Writers that are still remaining, and to acquaint the Reader in what Authors and in what Places they are to be found. I have referred what I have to say of the Rules of Criticism to the end of the Preface, where I shall examine them more particularly.

One would imagine that a Summary or Abridgment of these Books would prove a long Work, and swell the Volume to a mighty great Bulk; yet I have reduced it into very narrow Bounds, and have suffered nothing that was of considerable Moment, to escape me. I have contrived to make it as little troublesome and tedious as was possible, by not always confining my self to the Formality of an exact Method, and without making a scrupulous *Analysis* of their Propositions and Reasonings.

I contented my self with delivering the Arguments of their Books in a few Words. When I met with any considerable things either for Doctrine, Morality, or Discipline, I carefully took notice of them, and I have also drawn out of several Books those Passages that appeared to be the most beautiful, and those thoughts that were the most Sublime. For the end which I always proposed to my self, was to give a true Character of the Author I treated of, and to omit nothing that was remarkable, and yet for the Reader's Ease, I have done it as short as I could.

After this Abridgment of their Work, I generally give my Judgment of the Style, and Genius, and Learning of the Author. I don't in the least question but that several persons will be offended at the Liberty I have taken, and that even those who approve my design in the main, will be of a different opinion from me; for the Judgments of Mankind are so vastly divided in nothing as in the Censures they pass upon other Men. Every Man thinks he has sufficient authority in him self to judge another, and indeed every Man judges after his own way, led by his own fancy or humour, without any certain or steady rules.

Hence it follows, that it is almost impossible to find two persons that agree in their opinions of a third person, and indeed this reflection made me at first alter my design of drawing up the Characters of my Authors, foreseeing plainly, that I should hereby draw upon myself a great number of adversaries. For though the persons of whom I speak, have been long since dead, yet they have abundance either of admirers, or censurers, that will appear either for, or against them; so that whether I commend or blame them, 'tis all one, and I must expect to be censured and ill thought of. But afterwards, when I considered with my self, that since all the World give themselves the liberty to judge the Ancients upon all occasions, just as they please, I thought that no Man ought to condemn me for doing the same, after I had carefully read them over, and particularly in a Book where the subject and design seemed to require it; I resolved to do it however with moderation, and yet with a convenient freedom. I don't pretend to oblige any Man to follow my Judgment; neither do I flatter my self that I have always found out their true Characters; I only desire my Reader not to condemn me inconsiderately, or upon the faith of another, without having so much as read or studied these Authors; and I likewise conjure him to rest satisfied, that in passing my Censures, I have used all imaginable exactness and application, knowing that a Man cannot be too circumspect when he offers to judge others, and especially those persons that have left so great a reputation behind them in the World, and to whom we owe so much respect.

I conclude with a Catalogue of the several Editions of those Books, which I have examined with the utmost care and diligence. I am not certain that I have set down all, yet I am satisfied that I have mentioned the best, and given my Judgment of each in particular. So that any Man may see at first sight, which Edition is most used, and ought to be most valued.

At the end of these three first Centuries, I have made an abridgment of the Doctrine, Discipline, and Morality of those Times, that whatever is to be learnt in the Authors of those Ages, may be seen at one view. This Summary I have composed as faithfully and in as short a compass as I cou'd; however I don't pretend to have taken notice of every thing that is to be found in the Authors of the three first Ages upon these subjects, since I only designed to set down the principal points, that I might give my Reader a small Idea of them.

Lastly, There are several Tables at the end of each Volume, which will not be wholly useless. The first contains a Catalogue of the Authors, in a Chronological Order, where one may see the time of their Birth, and Death, and that wherein they flourished. The second contains a Catalogue of the same Authors, in an Alphabetical Order. The third, is a Catalogue of their Works: The genuine, the spurious, and those that are lost. The fourth, is a Catalogue of their Works, according to the matters contained in them. And the last, is an ordinary Table of the things contained in the body of the Book.

I have only now to acquaint my Reader, that at the end of each Author, I have added some Annotations, that are merely critical, to make my Book as plain and easy as was possible. In these Notes you will find some illustrations and proofs of the things that I asserted in the Text.



I was not willing to reserve them 'till the end of the Volume, because, generally most Men do not look so far, and so never mind them; nor to charge the Margin with them; because they were too long to be placed there, and consequently wou'd have interrupted the Series of the Discourse. But I have placed them at the end of each Author, where it is an easy matter to consult them by observing the several Letters that will conduct the Reader, and yet not detain him too long from the Text. Those that are but indifferently skilled in these matters, may, if they please, pass over these Notes; but I would desire those that have a mind to examine carefully what I have written, to read them along with the Text, because I have often barely asserted several things in the Text, that are justified and proved by these Notes.

I shall leave the Reader to judge, whether this Book may be of any advantage to the Publick, or no; but I think I ought to acquaint him, that the principal end I proposed to my self, was to excite those that shall peruse it, to read the Works of the Holy Fathers; and that whoever imagines himself dispensed with from consulting the Originals by reading my Book, does manifestly pervert and abuse the design of it. I published it with an Intention to give them a taste, and not to make them loose their appetite for the Fathers; and the abridgment I have made of their Works, was only designed to inflame those that love these things, to go and refresh themselves at the fountain-head. This Work may easily inspire Men with a desire of reading the Fathers, since it gives them before-hand a general Idea of their Doctrine and Maxims; but here is not enough to save them the labour of reading the Originals. And let a Work of this nature be never so well written, yet we ought to read these things in their Originals, where only they are to be found in their purity, and natural beauty. This I thought necessary to premise, before I set down the necessity and the rules of true Criticism, and the great Importance of them, which I am now going to explain.

Criticism is a kind of a Torch, that lights and conducts us in the obscure Tracks of Antiquity, by making us able to distinguish Truth from Falshood, History from Fable, and Antiquity from Novelty. 'Tis by this Means, that in our times we have dis-engaged ourselves from an infinite Number of very common Errours, into which our Fathers fell for want of examining things by the Rules of true Criticism. For 'tis a surprizing thing to consider how many spurious Books we find in Antiquity; nay, even in the first Ages of the Church. Several Reasons induced Men to impose Books upon the World, under other Men's Names. The first, and most general, is, the Malice of Hereticks; who, to give the greater Reputation to their Heresies, composed several Books, which they attributed to Persons of great Reputation; in which they studiously spread their own Errours, that so they might find a better Reception, under the Protection of these celebrated Names. And thus the first Hereticks devised false Gospels, false Acts, and false Epistles of the Apostles, and their Disciples: And thus those that came after them published several spurious Books, as if they had been written by Orthodox Authors, that so they might insensibly convey their Errours into the Minds of their Readers, without their perceiving the Cheat.

The Second Reason that inclined People to forge Books under other Men's Names, is directly contrary to the First; being occasioned by the indiscreet Piety of some Persons, who thought they did the Church considerable Service, in forging Ecclesiastical or Profane Monuments in favour of Religion and the Truth. And this Reason prevailed with some ancient Christians, to forge some Testimonies in behalf of the Christian Religion, under the Name of the *Sibyls*, *Mercurius Trismegistus*, and divers others; and likewise induced the Catholicks to compose some Books, that they might refute the Hereticks of their own Times with the greatest Ease. And Lastly, the same Motive carried the Catholicks so far, as to invent false Histories, false Miracles, and false Lives of the Saints, to nourish and keep up the Piety of the Faithful. Now, though the Design of these Persons seems to be commendable, yet we ought not, by any Means, to approve of the making use of these sorts of Artifices to defend the truth; which is well enough supported by real Proofs, without the necessity of inventing any false ones. It would be a Shame to call Lying and Falshood to its Assistance, and we must never use such sort of Methods, which Truth and Sincerity will always condemn, whatever good Effects they may pretend to have.

The Third Reason of the Forgery of some Books, keeps a middle Way between those we have already mentioned; for there have been some Persons in the world, that have been guilty of this Imposture, without any other Design, than to divert themselves at the Expence of their Readers, and to try how nearly they could imitate the Stile of other Men. Hence it is, that some Authors have composed treatises under St. *Cyprian's*, St. *Ambrose's*, and St. *Austin's* Names. But it must be confessed, that this reason has not been near so common as the other two, and that it very rarely prevailed, especially in the Primitive Times. Only in these latter Ages there have been some, who having Vanity enough to over-value their own Productions, have published them under the Name of ancient celebrated Authors; desiring rather (as the Abbot of *Billi* says) to appear abroad, and be esteemed under other Men's Names, than to continue despised, and be buried in Darkeness, by writing in their own. And these are the Reasons that may have occasioned the Forgery of Books; Malice, Indiscreet Piety, and the Humours of Men.

But besides these Reasons that have advanced this trade of Forgery, there are several others that have occasioned the setting Authors Names to several Books, which they never writ.

The



The first, and the most general, is, the Fault of the Transcribers, or Printers; who have frequently set wrong Names in the Title-Pages of their Books. And this has happened several Ways; for either they did it to raise the Price of the Copy, or, because they found these Tracts at the end of some other Author, they therefore concluded too rashly that they were done by the same Hand; or through Ignorance and Negligence; or lastly, some not being able to find out the Name of the true Authors, upon the strength of a few feeble Conjectures, have supposed they had good Reason on their side to change it.

From hence therefore, one Book has often carried the name of several Authors in manuscript, and this has principally happen'd to Sermons; either because the Transcribers found it their Interest to publish them under the Names of Great Men, to make them more vendible; or because these Sermons, though of different Authors, by being often inserted into the Office of the Church, and divided into Lessons, were so interwoven and confounded one with another, that it was a difficult matter to distinguish them.

A second Reason of the giving to some Books the Name of wrong Authors, is, because sometimes Men have written Books by way of Dialogue, or otherwise, to which, in imitation of *Tully*, they have given the Names of those Persons whom they have introduced there as Speakers. After this manner *Vigilius Thapshensis* made five Books under the Name of St. *Athanasius*, and perhaps too under the same Name he composed the Creed that is attributed to that Father: Where it happened, that those that looked upon the titles of these Books, attributed them to St. *Athanasius*, without examining the Reasons why they carried his Name: As if we should attribute *Tully's* Books to *Laelius*, *Brutus*, or *Cato*.

Lastly, The Ambiguity of Titles, and the Resemblance of Names, have often contributed to the ascribing of Books to those to whom they did not belong. Two Authors were of the same Name, though perhaps they differed in every Circumstance beside; and this has given Occasion to several unwary or ignorant Readers, to attribute their Books to the wrong Persons. This has frequently happened; and, to give one remarkable Instance of it, the Resemblance of the Names of *Sixtus* the Philosopher, and *Sixtus* the Pope, caused Sentences that were written by the former to be attributed to the latter.

Having thus discovered the reasons why we find so many Books attributed to Authors who have no just title to them, we ought to establish the rules of true Criticism. 'Tis equally dangerous to be ignorant of them, as to take them the wrong way, and mis-apply them; for if we do not know them, we may be easily imposed upon by false Monuments; and if we do not understand them aright, or if we abuse them by allowing our selves too great a liberty, we may very often reject the Truth it self. This last abuse has been frequent with many Critics of our time, and particularly *Protestants*, who, upon very slight superficial Conjectures, have rejected several Books that are unquestionably ancient and genuine, because they contradict their Doctrine or Discipline. Wherefore we may, in the first place, set this down for a general rule in these matters, that we ought always to act fairly, and upon the Square; and that we must lay aside our passions, or our interests, and hearken only to our reason, when we pass our judgment upon suppositious or genuine Books. 'Tis very ill done to conclude that such a Book is spurious because it pinches us, and afterwards to search for reasons why it may be thought so. We ought, on the contrary, when a Book does not please us, to use more than usual circumspection to examine the reasons that make us call it into question; since it is to be feared, that unless we take due care, the Prejudices we have formed against it may cast a mist before our eyes, and make us mistake frivolous conjectures for solid reasons. We shall now examine the proofs and conjectures that a Man may have of a Book's being spurious, one by one, as they lie: They are either external, or internal; and both one and the other may be convincing or probable.

The internal proofs are those that are drawn out of the Books themselves, which we apparently demonstrate to be suppositious, either by the Time there set down, or by some other Sign, or by the Opinions that are there maintained, or by the Style wherein it is written. Time is one of the most certain proofs; for nothing more evidently shews that a Book cannot belong to that time wherein it is pretended to have been written, than when we find in it some Marks of a later date. These Marks, in the first place, are, false dates; for 'tis an ordinary thing for Impostors, that are generally ignorant, to date a Book after the death of the Author to whom they ascribe it, or of the person to whom it is dedicated, or written; and even when they do fix the time right, yet they often mistake in the names of the Consuls, or in some other Circumstances: All which are invincible proofs, that he that dated this Book did not live at that time. Secondly, Impostors very often speak of Men that lived long after the death of those persons, to whom they attribute those spurious discourses; or they relate the History of some passages that happened afterwards, or they speak of Cities and People that were unknown at the time, when those Authors wrote; or lastly, they cite Authors that wrote and lived after those whom they make to mention them.

The Opinions or Things contained in a Book, do likewise discover the Forgery of it; 1. When we find some Opinions there, that were not maintained 'till a long time after the Author, whose Name it bears. 2. When we find some Terms made use of, to explain these Doctrines, which were not customary 'till after his death. 3. When the Author opposes Errors, as extant in his own Time, that did not spring up 'till afterwards. 4. When he describes Ceremonies, Rites and Customs, that were not in use in his Time. 5. When we find some Opinions



nions in these spurious Discourses, that are contrary to those that are to be found in other Books, which unquestionably belong to that Author. 6. When he treats of matters that were never spoken of in the Time when the real Author was alive. 7. When he relates Histories that are manifestly fabulous.

In short, Stile is a sort of Touch-stone, that discovers the Truth or Falshood of Books; because it is impossible to imitate the Stile of any Author so perfectly, as that there will not be a great deal of difference. By the Stile, we are not only to understand the bare Words and Terms, which are easily imitated; but also the Turn of the Discourse, the Manner of Writing, the Elocution, the Figures, and the Method: All which Particulars, it is a difficult matter so to counterfeit, as to prevent a Discovery. There are, for instance, certain Authors, whose Stile is easily known, and which it is impossible to imitate: We ought not however always to reject a Book upon a slight difference of Stile, without any other Proofs; because it often happens, that Authors write differently, in different Times: Neither ought we immediately to receive a Book as genuine, upon the bare resemblance of Stile, when there are other Proofs of its being spurious; because it may so happen, that an ingenious Man may sometimes counterfeit the Stile of an Author, especially in Discourses which are not very long: But the Difference and Resemblance of Stile may be so remarkable sometimes, as to be a convincing Proof, either of Truth or Falshood.

The external Proofs are, in the first place, taken from ancient Manuscripts; in which, either we do not find the Name of an Author, or else we find that of another: The more ancient or correct they are, the more we ought to value them. Secondly, from the Testimony or Silence of ancient Authors; from their Testimony, I say, when they formally reject a Writing as spurious, or when they attribute it to some other Author; or from their Silence, when they do not speak of it, though they have occasion to mention it: This Argument, which is commonly called a Negative one, is oftentimes of very great weight. When, for example, we find, that several entire Books which are attributed to one of the Ancients, are unknown to all Antiquity: When all those Persons that have spoken of the Works of an Author, and besides, have made Catalogues of them, never mention such a particular Discourse: When a Book that would have been serviceable to the Catholicks, has never been cited by them, who both might, and ought to have cited it, as having a fair Occasion to do it, 'tis extreamly probable that it is supposititious. It is very certain, that this is enough to make any Book doubtful, if it was never cited by any of the Ancients; and in that case, it must have very authentick Characters of Antiquity, before it ought to be received without contradiction. And on the other hand, if there should be never so few Conjectures of its not being genuine, yet these, together with the Silence of the Ancients, will be sufficient to oblige us to believe it to be a Forgery.

These are the Rules of Criticism, by which we distinguish false and spurious Works from those that are genuine. As I said before, some of these Rules are convincing, and some are only probable; the internal Proofs are generally more certain than the external; and amongst these, the positive Testimony of Authors is the most presumptive and strong. But it may be said, that all of them are sometimes more, and sometimes less convincing and probable; and that the Sovereign Rule is, the Judgment of Equity and Prudence; according to which we ought to balance the Reasons of one side and the other, and consider all the Conjectures that can be brought for or against it. For it often happens, that although every Conjecture, considered apart, does not seem to bear any considerable weight, yet when they are all joined together, they make the thing almost morally certain. I have brought no examples to explain all these Rules that I have set down; for, besides that they are sufficiently clear and intelligible of themselves, it is impossible to read in any Pages of my Book, without finding them applied upon all Occasions.

Before I conclude my Preface, I am obliged to make some kind of Answer to those who have been pleased to declare, that they should have been better satisfied if I had wrote my Book in *Latin*. Some Persons have been of that Mind, because they have a greater Value for *Latin*, since it has lasted longer, and is more currant in foreign Countries: Others take it ill that I have published those things in *French*, which, as they pretend, ought only to be understood by Divines. These Men have told me, That they could not endure to see Women and ignorant People learn the most curious Parts of Divinity: And that it might prove of dangerous Consequence to instruct them thoroughly in the Doctrine of the Fathers.

As for the First, I shall take care to satisfy them, by translating my Book into *Latin* some time or other, if the Publick shall think it worth being preserved.

For the Others; As their Complaint is unreasonable, so I never saw any good Reasons to hinder my publishing it in *French*: For when the Fathers themselves wrote, they made use of a language that was understood by all the World; and we live at present in an Age, wherein great numbers of their Books have been translated with Applause. No Man therefore ought to take it ill, that I publish an Abridgment of their Doctrine to all the World: On the contrary, It were to be wished, that every Christian could be instructed in these Matters, that they might be the better confirmed in their Belief, when they see that this Doctrine has been always taught in the Church of *JESUS CHRIST*, who is the Pillar and Ground of the Truth.



# HISTORY OF THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE TO THE Fourth and Fifth Centuries.

**I**T would be here very unnecessary to make Encomiums on the Ecclesiastical Writers of the fourth Century of the Church; the Publick is sufficiently prepossess'd in their Favour, their Names are better known than those of the Authors of the three first Ages, their Reputation more establish'd, and the World has a greater Idea of their Knowledge and Merits. In short, we may affirm, that as the Church was never in a more flourishing Condition outwardly, so it never enjoy'd such Illustrious, Learn'd and Eloquent Authors, as at this Time; which makes me hope, that this Century will please the Learn'd as well as the three former. I have endeavour'd to render it even more Exact than them, and the Extracts of some of the finer Passages of the Fathers, will make it more useful and agreeable; as to other things, I have altered nothing in the Method and Design I first propos'd, which I have explained at large in my General Preface.

The History of the Ecclesiastical Authors, that flourish'd in the beginning of the fifth Century, and died before 430, is very large, tho' those that lived in that period of time were so few in Number, that my Readers may apprehend they do not deserve so particular an Account; but when they find *St. Chrysostome*, *St. Jerome* and *St. Augustine*, of that Number, they will not only cease to wonder that I have written so largely on them, but will be in pain to conceive how I could give a detail of their Works in so few pages; the World is so strongly prejudiced in their Favour, and has conceived so high an Esteem for them, that I doubt not in the least, but it will be pleas'd, to find here a faithful and exact Abridgment of them, and will be so far from reproaching me for being too prolix in this part of the Work, that it will rather charge me with being over concise: I believed notwithstanding I ought to observe a just Medium; and in examining the Works of these great Saints, I have endeavour'd to say enough to make their Character thoroughly known, without entering too much into Minute particulars; tho' in every part of the Work we find more Authors named and more Years run over, yet we will no where meet with so great and agreeable Subjects, nor see any Authors that equal or even compare with those mentioned here, as all that read the whole will be fully convinced.

Altho' the latter part of the fifth Century, comprehends not so great a Number of Famous Authors, as the first, yet it has many however of the first rank. The *Greek Church* produced two celebrated Antagonists, *St. Cyril* and *Theodoret*, whose Works the World is well acquainted with. The *See of Rome* was adorned with Bishops of extraordinary Worth, among whom *St. Leo*, the most Eloquent of the Popes, Excells. In fine to say nothing of other Churches, that of *France* shone at this time with great Numbers of Illustrious Men, whose Works are equally admired for their usefulness and elegance; but the Affairs which made the greatest Figure in this part of the Century, were the Controversies about the Mysteries of the Incarnation debated with so much heat, discuss'd with so much Subtlety, and decided in two general Councils. There is perhaps no part of the Ecclesiastical History more considerable, and also none of which we have more authentick Monuments. We have faithfully copied them, and with assistance of those which are lately published, we have discover'd many particulars in this History unknown to the Authors who have written before us.



T H E  
A U T H O R'S  
P R E F A C E  
T O T H E  
Sixth C E N T U R Y.

THE greater the Excellence was of the ecclesiastical Writers in the fourth and fifth Ages, the more it discovers the Weakness of those in the following Centuries: For the former were like great Lights, whose meridian Splendor darkened the little Lustre, and discovered the Defects of the latter. Yet there were some still in the sixth Age who were Men of Merit. St. Gregory is admirable as to what concerns Morality and Discipline: St. Fulgentius and some other Fathers, retained also something of the sublime Thought of the Ancients, and the Councils of this Age left us very excellent Canons; but it must be confess'd that the Gust of the Time began to be deprav'd. Men pleas'd themselves with starting a great many unprofitable Questions, with explaining Mysteries by the Principles of Logick, and disputing with dogmatical Stiffness about things of small consequence. Moreover, too great Credulity begun to possess the Minds of the more Learned and Wise. There was nothing then heard of, but Miracles, Visions, and Apparitions; the Veneration due to Saints and their Relicks was advanced beyond just bounds, and a mighty bustle was made about some very indifferent Ceremonies. Altho' the Councils continually renewed the ancient Canons, yet Discipline now grew remiss, and the Rigor of the ancient Laws about Penance, was now very much abated. The Riches of the Church began to be burthensome to it, because its Ministers consider'd them as their own peculiar Possessions, whereas before they were look'd upon only as the Patrimony of the Poor. This oblig'd the Councils of this Age to make so great a number of Canons about the Distribution and Preservation of these Possessions; which was a Matter wholly new, about which there were never any Canons made before this time. In the Latin Church the Obligation to live in Celibacy, was extended as low as to Subdeacons; but to free their Behaviour from all Suspicion, they were forced to renew very often, and with particular Circumstances, the ancient Canons, which forbid Clergymen to keep strange Women in their Houses. Contests and Canvassings for obtaining Bishopricks were very common, and many were promoted to them, who had neither Knowledge, Merit, nor Capacity. The Church of Rome was thrice disturbed with the Schisms of Anti-popes, and the Sees of Alexandria and Antioch were frequently the Prey of the Ambitious. The eastern and western Churches begun to be divided; some Popes pretended to such Rights and Prerogatives as their Predecessors never thought of, and there wanted not Flatterers, who endeavour'd to persuade them, that they were independent upon, and superior to Councils: But the more holy rejected these false Maxims, and assert'd their greatest Glory to consist in maintaining the Laws of the Church.

Yet it cannot be denied but this Age had also its own peculiar Advantages. In it the Doctrine of the Church was explained with all possible Exactness; the African Bishops defended the Faith with a Constancy and Boldness equal to that of the primitive Bishops: The Popes in it shew'd much Prudence, Conduct and Charity in the most difficult Times; and the eastern Bishops discovered great Subtlety and Sharpness of Wit in the Disputes they had among themselves, and with the Occidentalists. The western Councils made very good Laws, concerning the Discipline of the Church, which are still observed to this day. They regulated the Ceremonies and Rites of divine Service, the Degrees of Consanguinity within which 'tis unlawful to contract Marriage, the Qualifications requisite for entering into Orders; the Impediments which render Persons incapable of receiving them, and many other things of this nature. Lastly, the monastical Order was perfected in the East by the Laws of the Emperors, and divers pious Writings; and in the West by many Rules, and particularly by that of St. Benedict, whose Order in a little time spread, not only into Italy, but also into France and England.

I should here conclude this Advertisement, but that I think my self oblig'd to precaution the Reader against a Doubt which has been started since the Impression of this Tome against some Authors contained in it, whose Works all the Criticks have hitherto received as most authentick Monuments. 'Tis in a Writing, entitul'd, *A Defence of the Letter of St. Chrysostom to Cæsarius*, p. 78. He has also, says the Author of this Writing, added moreover Facundus; he has explained his Words agreeably to the Sentiments of the African Church, because he who forged this Work under his Name, would not have it thought that he was of any other Judgment. Yet P. H. was convinc'd from thence, that it was a forged Piece, though he chose rather to follow for some time the common Opinion, because he must be reserv'd in declaring who is the genuine Author of a Work. But since I know the Original of his Secret and his Proofs, I am willing to make you now my Confidant in this particular. Know then, that Facundus, Liberatus, Marius Mercator, Victor of Tunona, Cassiodorus, to whom so many Works are attributed, excepting only his Formularies, the Treatise of the Soul, and his Commentaries upon the Psalms, and Isidore, who



who is thought to be the Author of the Book of Ecclesiastical Writers: Know then, I say, that all these pretended Africans, Italians, Spaniards, with some others, were born in France, and are not near so old as they are believed to be. I will tell you at some time hereafter the Reasons I have to reckon them among forged Writings.

If he to whom this Opinion is attributed were an ordinary Person, his Judgment might be despised as not being founded upon any Proof: But because *P. H.* is an Author famous for Learning and Worth, whose Reputation may make some Impression upon the Mind of the Reader, it will be convenient to produce the Proofs, upon which the Monuments, which he is said to reject, are founded.

We shall begin with the Treatise of illustrious Men, written by *Isidore of Sevil*, which gives testimony to the Truth of the Books of *Facundus*, and of the Chronicle of *Victor of Tunona*. Never was Book attested to be genuine by Authors more worthy of Credit. The first of them is *Braulio Bishop of Saragosa*, the Friend and Cotemporary of *Isidore*: This Bishop surviving him, made his Elogy, and the Catalogue of his Works, and there he has reckoned among the rest, *The Book of Illustrious Men*, to which we have added, says he, what I said just now about it. The Authority of the Witnesses cannot be rejected, nor can his Testimony be called in question; the former is unquestionable, and the other has all the Characters of Truth that can be desired. He speaks of the Works of *St. Isidore*, as one that was very well acquainted with them; he observes that it was at his Request that this Author undertook the Book of *Etymologies*, that he had left it imperfect, and only divided it into Titles: He speaks of *Isidore* also in such a manner, as sufficiently discovers that he had seen him, and had been his Friend.

The second Witness for this Book of *Isidore of Sevil*, is *Ildephonsus of Toledo*, who may have seen *Isidore*; for *Isidore* died in 636, and *Ildephonsus* was ordained Bishop in 658. This last wrote a Book of illustrious Men, in the Preface to which he observes, that he did it to continue the Works of *St. Jerome*, *Gennadius* and *Isidore*. To these two Witnesses may be added *Honorius of Autun*, who abridged the Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, and their Works, and transcribed from *St. Jerome* in the first Book, from *Gennadius* in the second, and from *Isidore* in the third. I do not relate the Testimony of the Chronicle of *Isidore of Paca* concerning this Work, because it is not an unquestionable Monument.

If we should set aside these Witnesses, and consult the Book it self of *Isidore*, we must judge very favourably of it; for it has not any Mark of Forgery; the Stile of it is not different from that of his other Works, it contains nothing but what agrees with History; the Authors mentioned in it are genuine, the greatest part of the Books which it mentions are still extant. It cannot be said to be the Work of an Author born in France, since it appears, that he chiefly insists upon the Writers of Spain, and that the History and People of that Country are best known to him. He relates also some Particulars concerning the Writers of his own Time, which no ways appear to be fabulous, and which could not be known but by an Author of that Time and Country. You need only read the last Writers he mentions to be convinced of this. Lastly, the Manuscripts of this Work were found in Spain, from which *Garcias* published it. There are many of them yet extant; there was one at *Coria*, into which was inserted by a Mistake the Work of another Author, who made a Catalogue of twelve Writers: But the other Manuscripts contain nothing but the Books of *Illustrious Men* by *Isidore* and *Ildephonsus*, with their Names at the beginning. These are all the Proofs that can be had that any Work is genuine.

It seems that they had never called in question the Authority of *Isidore*, but that they might have some pretence to reject the Writings of *Facundus*, and the Chronicle of *Victor of Tunona*, which are mentioned by *Isidore*. They saw well enough, that if the Book of *Isidore* was genuine, they could not doubt but these Monuments were authentical: And for the same Reason they should have carried on their Conjectures to *Ildephonsus* also; but either they durst not, or they forgot it, and so the Authority of *Isidore* stands good still, and consequently that of *Victor of Tunona* and *Facundus* cannot be question'd. But tho' we could imagine, that *Isidore's* Book of *Illustrious Men* is supposititious, yet I believe they dare not say the same of his Books, called *Origines*. Now in the last Chapter of the fifth Book of this Work, he mentions the Chronicle of *Victor of Tunona*. *Ado Bishop of Vienna* does also mention it in the beginning of his Chronicle, and *Otho Frisingensis* in his History, Book 5. chap. 4. But that which determines this Matter, is this, that *John Abbot of Bictarum*, an Author of the same Time, has continued the Chronicle of *Victor of Tunona*, as he himself assures us, at the beginning of his Chronicle. There are no Witnesses more worthy of Credit, than those who give testimony to the Authors who wrote before them upon the same Subjects: For they having carefully enquired about them, speak not at a venture, nor upon the Credit of another. *Gennadius* gives testimony to *St. Jerome* by continuing his Work of *Illustrious Men*, *St. Isidore* to *Gennadius*, and *Ildephonsus* to *St. Isidore*: *St. Jerome* also gave testimony to the Chronicle of *Eusebius*, by continuing it. *Prosper* followed them, after him came *Victor of Tunona*, and lastly, *John Abbot of Bictarum*, who gives testimony to those who preceded him: *Honorius of Autun*, and *Ado of Vienna*, undertake after these Authors to write upon the same Subjects; they follow them, and give testimony to them, as well as those who come after. 'Tis not easy to break this Chain, and to give the Lie to so certain a Tradition. Lastly, if we should refer our selves wholly to the reading of the Chronicle of *Victor of Tunona*, we shall find nothing in it, which appears either feigned or fabulous: On the contrary, we find in it the most notable Transactions related with their proper Circumstances, which do perfectly agree with other Histories: There are many things in it which concern the Church of Africa, and particularly *Victor of Tunona*; and everywhere there are Marks of Ingenuity and Sincerity, which are not to be met with in the Works of Impostors.

We have now re-established the Authority of two Witnesses, who depose in favour of the Books of *Facundus*; for both *Victor* and *Isidore of Sevil* make honourable mention of them. *Cassiodorus* also speaks of this Author in his Commentary upon *Psalms* 138. a Work which is excepted out of the number of those which are falsely attributed to *Cassiodorus*. 'Tis true, he speaks not there of the 12 Books, but of two others addressed to *Justinian*, which are probably the same that are mentioned in the Preface of the twelve. But this Testimony however informs us, that there was an African Bishop called *Facundus*, who dedicated some Works to *Justinian*; that this Author wrote briskly and subtilly, *Hereticorum penetrabili subtilitate destructor*, a Character which agrees very well to the twelve Books of his which still remain. But



But without searching for Witnesses, we need only consult the Work it self, to be persuaded that it is serious and genuine, and that it cannot be the Fiction of an Impostor. 'Tis plain, that he who was the Author of it, wrote at such a time, when the Controversy about the three Chapters was very fresh and warmly debated: He speaks of it himself with much heat, as a Person extremely addicted to one side; he appears thoroughly informed of all that passed, and he takes a great deal of pains to gather together every thing that might justify his Cause. His Exhortation alone to the Emperor *Justinian*, with which he concludes, sufficiently discovers that this Emperor was then alive, and that this Work is not a Fiction: The Preface also confirms the same thing. Lastly, if ever a Work had the infallible Marks of being genuine, this is certainly such. I know not, whether they had also a design to question the Letter of the same *Facundus* to *Mocianus* or *Mucianus*, but I can assure them that there is the strongest Evidence that this is not the Work of an Impostor. It has the same Stile with the twelve Books, and this Stile is peculiar to this Author. There is no Writer that came after him who resembles it; it is an Original in its kind. In a word, it is as clear as the Day, that these Works are a Bishop's of *Africa*, who was banished into the East, and lived in the time of *Justinian*, and who was one of the most zealous Defenders of the three Chapters. This Truth cannot be called in question, but if you must overturn all the Rules of good Criticism, and render all things liable to Doubts. The very same almost is to be said of the Works of *Marius Mercator*, and *Liberatus*. 'Tis true the Ancients have not mentioned these Works, but they have such plain Marks of being genuine, and contain some Transactions so particular and remarkable, that no question can be made of receiving them, upon the Credit of the ancient Manuscripts, from which they were published. They have been made use of for clearing up many Points of ecclesiastical History, which were unknown before these Authors came to light. The learned Criticks thought they had made a great Discovery by lighting upon them. Now these Men who reject them would deprive us of all that Light and clearer Knowledge which they have given us, and throw us back into the same Darkness in which we were before. This indeed is not to endeavour the Advancement of Learning.

As to *Cassiodorus*, since they acknowledge for genuine the *Formularies*, the *Commentary upon the Psalms*, and the *Treatise of the Soul*, I cannot see how they can reject the other Treatises which we have ascribed to him, which have the same Stile, and chiefly the Book of *divine Learning*, which is so perfectly like for Method and Stile to his *Treatise of the Soul*, and where he discovers himself in so many places, that none but he who does wilfully blind himself, can doubt but it is his. To which we may add the Testimonies of *Sigibert of Gemblours*, and of other Library-keepers, and the Authority of many very good and ancient Manuscripts.

The Proofs which we have alledged are more than sufficient to establish the Genuineness of those Works, which the Author of *The Defence of the Letter of Cæsarius*, would have us to doubt of, upon the Opinion of *P. H.* I know not whether it will be confess'd by this learned Man; but this I know, that if he would oppose the Testimonies and Proofs which I have produced, he must draw from the Works themselves Demonstrations to the contrary. Now there is not the least probability, if there were any such thing, that they should have escap'd the Notice of Father *Sirmondus*, *Labbee*, *Garnier*, *Geberon*, and Mr. *Baluzius*, and so many other able Criticks, who have examin'd these Authors with all possible Exactness.

But the Boldness wherewith he rejects these Monuments, is nothing in comparison of the Judgment which is given of the Works of St. *Justin*. [*'Tis alledg'd that some heard a little while ago from P. H. that which is not to be found in Mr. Prior, that of all the Works which go, under the Name of Justin, there is none but the Dialogue with Tryphon which is truly his, and that all the rest are superstitious.*] It was not necessary to seek out this Instance, for proving that *P. H.* knew some things that are not in Mr. *Prior*. Many other things might have been produced which had been less liable to be blam'd, and many People could rather wish that nothing were said but what is in Mr. *Prior*, than that such a strange Paradox as this should be asserted. The two Apologies of St. *Justin*, cited by *Eusebius*, St. *Jerome*, and by all the Ancients, being so authentick and so famous, that no Person ever doubted of them, what greater Assurance can we have of the Genuineness of the Dialogue with *Tryphon*, than we have of these two Apologies. It seems to me, that if there were any room for doubting of the one or the other of these two Monuments, one should rather doubt of the Dialogue than of the two Apologies, whereof the one has at the beginning the Name of *Justin*, and of his Father, and the place of his Birth; and the other does plainly describe him. In it he mentions the Snares that were laid by him for the Philosopher *Crescens*, who was at last the Cause of his Death; as *Tatianus*, a Disciple of St. *Justin* relates it in his Book to the *Gentiles*, where he manifestly alludes to the words of St. *Justin*, and cites also what he had said in this place concerning the Delusions of Demons. *Caius*, or another ancient Author who wrote against the *Ebionites*, cited by *Eusebius*, Book 5. cap. 12. of his *History*, places St. *Justin* in the number of the Apologists for Religion, and cites at the same time *Tatianus*. Lastly, *Methodius* in his Book of the Resurrection, transcribes what St. *Justin* had said of his own Country in the beginning of his Apology to *Antoninus*.

These are Witnesses as Authentick as can be desired, and there are but few Monuments of Antiquity, for which the same Proofs can be alledged. For the most part Men satisfy themselves with the Testimony of *Eusebius* and St. *Jerome*, without ascending higher: But here we find Witnesses cotemporary, *Tatian* the Disciple of the Author, of whom the Question is, and two other Authors who followed very quickly after him. If there can be any doubt, whether the Apologies of St. *Justin* be genuine or no, there is not any Monument in Antiquity which may not be made to pass for supposititious.

I know that the Author of the Defence adds, *That to his knowledge P. H. has very good proofs to show, that these Pieces, together with Aristæas, were contrived at the end of the second Century.* These Proofs must be founded either upon the Testimony of the Ancients, or the Difference of Stile, or upon the Matters of Fact related in these Pieces, which cannot be reconciled to the History of that time. But it does not appear, that he can have any of these Proofs. All ancient Authors make St. *Justin* the Author of the two Apologies, not one doubts of it, but it passes for a thing most evident among them. Tho' there should be some difference between the Dialogue and the Apologies, it were a thing not to be wondered at, since these Works are of different natures: But on the contrary, 'tis plain that the Stile and Doctrine of these two Works agree very well together. There remains therefore only the historical Mat-  
ters



ters which can be alledg'd against them; but we have prov'd that the Emperors named at the beginning of these Apologies, and the Matters of Fact related in them, agree very well with the History of the Time in which St. *Justin* flourished. Besides, *P. H.* could not find in the Pieces themselves any Proofs of their Novelty, since he confesses that they were written at the End of the second Age. Upon what grounds therefore can this so new an Opinion be founded, which robs the Church of one of the most excellent Monuments which it has to justify the Antiquity of its Liturgy.

I shall add no more, and perhaps what I have said may be too much. All the Favour which I desire of him who is said to be of that Opinion which I have opposed, is to believe, that I have not done it upon any design to offend him, but only upon the account of defending the Works which I think to be most genuine. The Republick of Learning ought to enjoy an entire and perfect Liberty, and the Spirit of Tyranny and Domineering ought to be banish'd out of it. Whatever Rank some hold in it, we ought never to be offended because others are not of our Opinion, especially when it is new. 'Tis a bad way for any Man to defend himself, by treating his Adversary with Contempt, by comparing him to *Zoilus*, and calling himself a *Homer*. He must bring good Proofs of his Opinion, and refute solidly the Reasons of others, without Bitterness, Passion, and Reproach. Thus ought those to do who seek not their own Glory, in attacking the Reputation of others, but only endeavour to find out the Truth, and to maintain Charity.

# The TRANSLATOR's P R E F A C E To the FIFTH CENTURY.

SINCE the Publication of the former Volumes of this *Bibliotheca*, in our Language, we have had an Account, that the Author was censured for it at *Paris*: It was reasonable enough to expect, that some notice would be taken of that great Freedom, with which he so industriously maintains the Privileges of national Churches, against the Pretensions of the Court of *Rome*; especially if ever the French King should command those of his Clergy, who assisted in the general Assembly in 1682. to make such Submissions as the Court of *Rome* would accept of. The great Care which M. *Du Pin* has taken to get full Approbations from several Doctors of the *Sorbonne*, to every Volume, seem'd sufficient to secure him from any ignominious Censures which he might have been in danger of at home; but when a Man meets with Enemies upon other Accounts, they will fall upon him for those things which at any other time would not have been regarded.

It is commonly said, that the first Beginning of M. *Du Pin*'s Misfortune, proceeded from a private Quarrel of the Bishop of *Meaux*'s, who was angry with him for publishing a Translation of the *Psalms*, when himself had publish'd another not long before. This was interpreted to be a Trial of Skill in an inferior Presbyter, who presumed to contest with so great a Bishop, that had so long been famous for his Skill in writing: It touch'd M. *de Meaux* the more sensibly, because M. *Du Pin* is said to have corrected several Things in his Translation, wherein the Bishop had been mistaken. Therefore, since he could take no hold of that, without exposing himself, which he would not run the Hazard of, he collected several bold Expressions in M. *Du Pin*'s *Bibliotheca*, and exhibited an Accusation of Heresie against him to the Archbishop of *Paris*, who accordingly proceeded against him.

This Accusation was seconded by the Pope's Nuncio, who concerned himself so far in this Matter, that M. *Du Pin* thought it necessary to yield to his Diocesan, who obliged him to retract several Propositions, and to mollifie others that were thought too hard, and to submit his Book entirely to the Archbishop's Mercy. How great that was, appear'd by the Archbishop's Condemnation and Censure of M. *Du Pin*'s *Bibliotheca*, printed at *Paris*, with M. *Du Pin*'s Retraction annex'd to it. I have not been able to procure the Condemnation it self, but the Author of the *Historie des Ouvrages des Scavans*, has printed an Extract out of it in his last Volume, which says, that the printed Censure condemns M. *Du Pin*'s *Bibliotheca*, because it contains, 'Several Propositions that are false, rash, scandalous, capable of giving Offence to pious Ears, tending to weaken the Arguments that are brought from Tradition for the Authority of the canonical Books, and of several Articles of Faith injurious to general Councils and the apostolick See, erroneous and leading to Heresie; and, therefore, he forbids all Persons to read it, or to keep it by them.

This Ordinance of the Archbishop of *Paris* was seconded by an Order of the Parliament of *Paris*, bearing date April 25. 1693 which says, 'That the *Gens de Roy* acquainted the Court, that they thought it was her Duty to inform them, that the Archbishop of *Paris* had lately condemned a Book, entituled, *A new Bibliotheca of ecclesiastical Authors*, written by M. *Ellies Du Pin*, Doctor in Divinity of the Faculty of *Paris*, because it contained Propositions contrary to sound Doctrine: That the Cognizance of every thing that relates to the Faith belonging to the Church, and the Decision of those Matters to the Bishops within their respective Diocesses, the Suppression of the Books which they condemn, and the afflictive Punishment of those who persist in Opinions which have been



been censured by the Bishops, belong to the King's Officers, and principally to the Court, the Depositary of sovereign Justice: That they have nothing to object against the Author of this Book, because he has submitted himself to the Judgment of his Bishop, and because it appears by a Writing, which he has published, that he has retracted some of those Propositions which he had advanced, and explained the rest in such a Manner as frees them from all Suspicion of Error: That they are willing to believe, that the Faults which M. *Ellies Du Pin* fell into, and which deserved the Censure pronounced against him, proceeded rather from the Greatness of the Work that he undertook, than from any form'd Design of introducing new Opinions; and, besides, that there is a great deal of Learning in his Books: That they were obliged to take Notice to the Court upon this Occasion, of the Care, the Application and Vigilance, which the Archbishop of *Paris* shews to preserve sound Doctrine in his Diocese, and to stifle every thing, in the Beginning, which may disturb the Peace and Tranquility of the Church. And therefore, they omitted nothing in those Stations in which they had the Honour to be placed, that could second such good Designs; and this it was that obliged them to demand of the Court, that those Books that the Archbishop had condemned, might be suppressed; and that all Booksellers should be forbidden to sell them, till they shall be corrected according to the Writing of the said *Du Pin*, annexed to the Archbishop's Censure, and that the Corrections shall have been approved by him the said Archbishop. The *Gens de Roy* withdrawing, the Court took the Matter into Deliberation, and it was resolved, that all Booksellers and others, should be commanded not to sell or keep by them any Copies of the said Books, which have hitherto been printed; and it was ordered, that they should be brought forthwith into the Greffe of the said Court there to be suppressed; with very express Prohibitions to all Persons to reprint that Book in any Manner whatsoever for the time to come, without the Advice and Consent of the Archbishop of *Paris*. So far the printed Extract out of the Register of the Parliament of *Paris*.

If we may judge of all those things which M. *Du Pin* has retracted or mollified by that Specimen in the *Historie des Ouvrages des Scavans*, the Proceedings against him have been spiteful and malicious, rather to satisfy those particular Persons who are concerned to see his Credit lessened, than because he really deserved so rough a Treatment. He acknowledges, for instance, that the Title of *Mother of God*, given to the blessed Virgin, is not only an innocent Expression, but was always consecrated to her, and ought to be used; that when he said, that there are no positive Authorities for Purgatory in the Writings of the Fathers of the three first Centuries, he expressed himself too generally; that when he says, that S. *Cyprian* was the first that spoke very clearly of the necessity of the Grace of Jesus Christ, he did not pretend to say, that the Fathers did not speak clearly concerning it, before him; that when he said, that general Councils called about Matters of Faith, have seldom given Peace to the Church, he did not mean, that Councils do not bring Peace, or that they ever take the wrong side: These are all the doctrinal Retractions which the Author of the above-mentioned Extract has taken notice of; and then adds, *That his Explications are often very much forced.*

It is evident enough, from this short Specimen, that they had no Inclination to spare him, but to make him smart for all that Liberty with which he made his Abridgments, and passed his Censures upon the Writings of the ancientest Fathers of the Church. In Justice, they ought also to have proceeded against those Doctors of the *Sorbonne* who have given their Approbations, that are prefixed to the several Volumes, wherein they commend the Faithfulness and Judiciousness of his Extracts, and recommend his Work as extremely useful to all sorts of Men: These Doctors certainly knew very well what they did; they knew what use Protestants would make of this Work and of their Approbations; yet this did not, it seems, deter them from giving such Characters as no Man could give who was not himself in earnest, or at least would have others believe him to be so: Accordingly the first Volume, against which there has been the greatest Clamour, was not animadverted upon for near six Years.

It appears by the Order of the Parliament, that that Court acted only *ex Officio*, and that that illustrious Body has a great Value for M. *Du Pin*. Otherwise the *Gens de Roy* would not have made such Excuses for a Man, upon whose Writings they are then passing Censure; but the Pope's Nuncio is at present too great a Man to be deny'd Satisfaction, when he may be gratified with so small a Sacrifice; and it is probable, that the Archbishop of *Paris*, who went along with his Master in the greatest Oppositions which he made to Pope *Innocent XI.* was willing to embrace this Opportunity to shew the Pope how zealously he is concerned for the Interests of the See of *Rome*; especially, when he can gratify a private Revenge at the same time.

In the second Edition of the first Volume of M. *Du Pin's Bibliotheca*, when he gives an Account of the Condemnation of *Paulus Samosatenus* by the Council of *Antioch*, he has this Expression, '*Enfin apres avoir accuse de tous les Vices Ordinaires aux Eveques des grands Sieges, ils disent qu'ils l'ont condamne principalement a Paris qu'il renouvelloit l'Erreur d'Artemas.* In short after they have accused him of all those Vices that are ordinary in Bishops of great Sees, they say they condemned him, principally at Paris, because he revived the Error of Artemas. These Words at Paris, make the latter Part of the Period Non-sense; and could signify nothing to the Author's Purpose: If they had been Sense it should be read, *principalement parce qu'il renouvelloit; principalement because he revived.* And so it is in the *English* [edit. 1. p. 193. edit. 2. p. 173.] This unfortunate *Erratum* coming just after a very severe Character of *Paulus Samosatenus*, out of *Eusebius*, put every Body upon making a Parallel between this Ancient Bishop of *Antioch* and the present Archbishop of *Paris*, and if the Reports that are spread against this Archbishop are true, the Comparison was too just to be overlooked; and it is said at *Paris*, that this Sentence, thus faultily printed in the second Edition, did M. *Du Pin* a great deal of Mischief.

A Censure thus carried on, will be so little to our Author's Disadvantage, that few Persons will think the worse of this Book upon that Account; it is his Misfortune that he lives in a Country where he had no other way to save his Liberty, and perhaps his Life, but by yielding to the Storm: And, according to the Principles of his Religion, he was bound to submit to his Diocesan. But this will lessen the Authority of any Books that M. *Du Pin* may hereafter print upon ecclesiastical Matters, because Fear of giving Offence will make him extremely cautious, and he will dread a severe Inquisition that may set upon every thing which he shall write.

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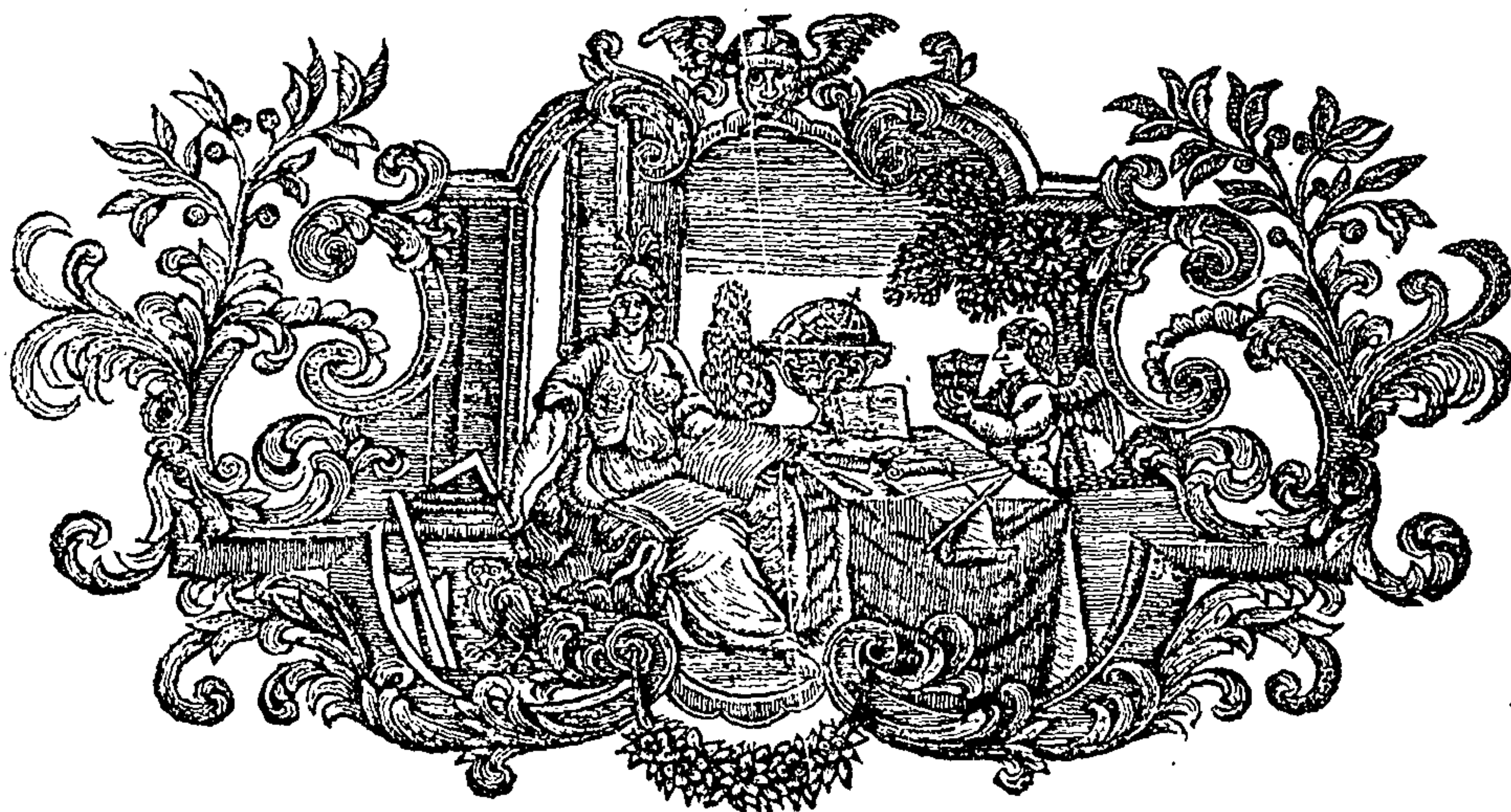


Those who are unacquainted with Antiquity will be hereby further confirmed in their Opinion, of the Impartiality of our Author, in his Abridgment of the Writings of these ancient Doctors of the Church, when they see how severely he has been dealt withal upon that Account: Otherwise it is very probable that some might think him too favourable in his Accounts of Monkery, Invocation of Saints and some other Superstitions which arose very early, and which were a Means of Introducing in a Course of Ages, such enormous Abuses into the Church; but tho' some Errors have a more ancient original than is commonly believed, yet that ought not to be wondered at by any Man, who believes that the Church was never Infallible since the Apostles Days. Still, as we read downwards, we shall see how that primitive Simplicity, which adorn'd the Profession of the first Christians, who were almost always under Fear of Persecution, lessened and wore away. Those who were sensible of the Decay of the primitive Zeal, sought to retrieve it by placing great Merit in the Practice of monastical Austerities, whereby they hoped to obtain that Reward which was believ'd to be peculiarly reserved for those who laid down their Lives for the Name of Christ: This put them upon all those Opinions that tended to mortifie, not only forbidden Lusts, but also the allowed Appetites of Humane Nature, which the christian Religion intended to regulate, and not to remove. And when those who could not be Martyrs, saw what Honours were paid to those who had formerly suffered for the Truth, it raised in them an Emulation to do something for the sake of Jesus Christ, that should be more disagreeable to Flesh and Blood than Death it self. This, I believe, is the most probable Reason of that great Ardour wherewith so very many Persons bound themselves under Vows to embrace a monastical Life, in the fourth and fifth Ages of the Church. The first Monks were some *Egyptians*, who in the Tenth Persecution fled into the Deserts of *Thebais*; there they accustomed themselves to Retirement, and Use taught them to relish the Satisfactions of a contemplative State: When the Storm was over, they returned home, and easily persuaded others, who had then, as they thought, no other way of shewing their Zeal for Jesus Christ, than to embrace this austere Course of Life. In those warm Climates this was not so extraordinary difficult: Those eastern People could live upon very little, better than other Men; so that those terrible Mortifications, mentioned in the oldest ascetical Books, were not so impracticable, as we, at this distance of Place and Time may be apt to think them. The Monk in *Sulpicius Severus*, who heard *Posthumianus* give an Account of the Abstinences of the eastern Monks; cries out, *Edacitas in Græcis Gula est, in Gallis natura. Excessive Eating is Luxury in a Greek, it is Nature in a Gaul*: And though one can hardly believe all that *Posthumianus* there relates of the Abstinence of the Monks of *Nitria* and *Cyrene*, yet it is most certain that they put a mighty Force upon Nature, such a one as nothing but the modern Practices of some of the *Mahometan* Dervises could make us believe to be possible.

But though the Honours paid to Martyrs, which gave Rile to an Opinion, That they could intercede for us in Heaven, or at least hear our Prayers, together with the Love which most Men then shewed for a single and a retired Life, may seem too excessive, yet the Opinions and Practices of these Ages were, generally speaking, very venerable. One sees a great and a serious Concern for the Truths of the Gospel in almost all their Writings; one sees a sincere Respect paid by Men of all Parties, to the Censures of the Church, and to the Persons of those with whom they were entrusted. They always distinguished between the Faults of Men and their Character and Employment, and when they punished the one, they took care not to cast a Disrespect upon the other; by which Means they preserved a real Veneration for Holy Things in their Minds, though their Divisions run as high, and were as eagerly managed as ever they have been since. This is not the only Age wherein Men have met with Temptations, and have shewn their Frailty, by being too weak to withstand them; so that an Acquaintance with the Opinions and Practices of these earlier Ages, before a general Corruption had infected the Church, will be of great Use to those who value Religion and Godliness for their own sakes, when it suggests such Thoughts as can only be effectual to restore that Sense of Piety which is so generally lost amongst us.

July 25.  
1639,

W. W.





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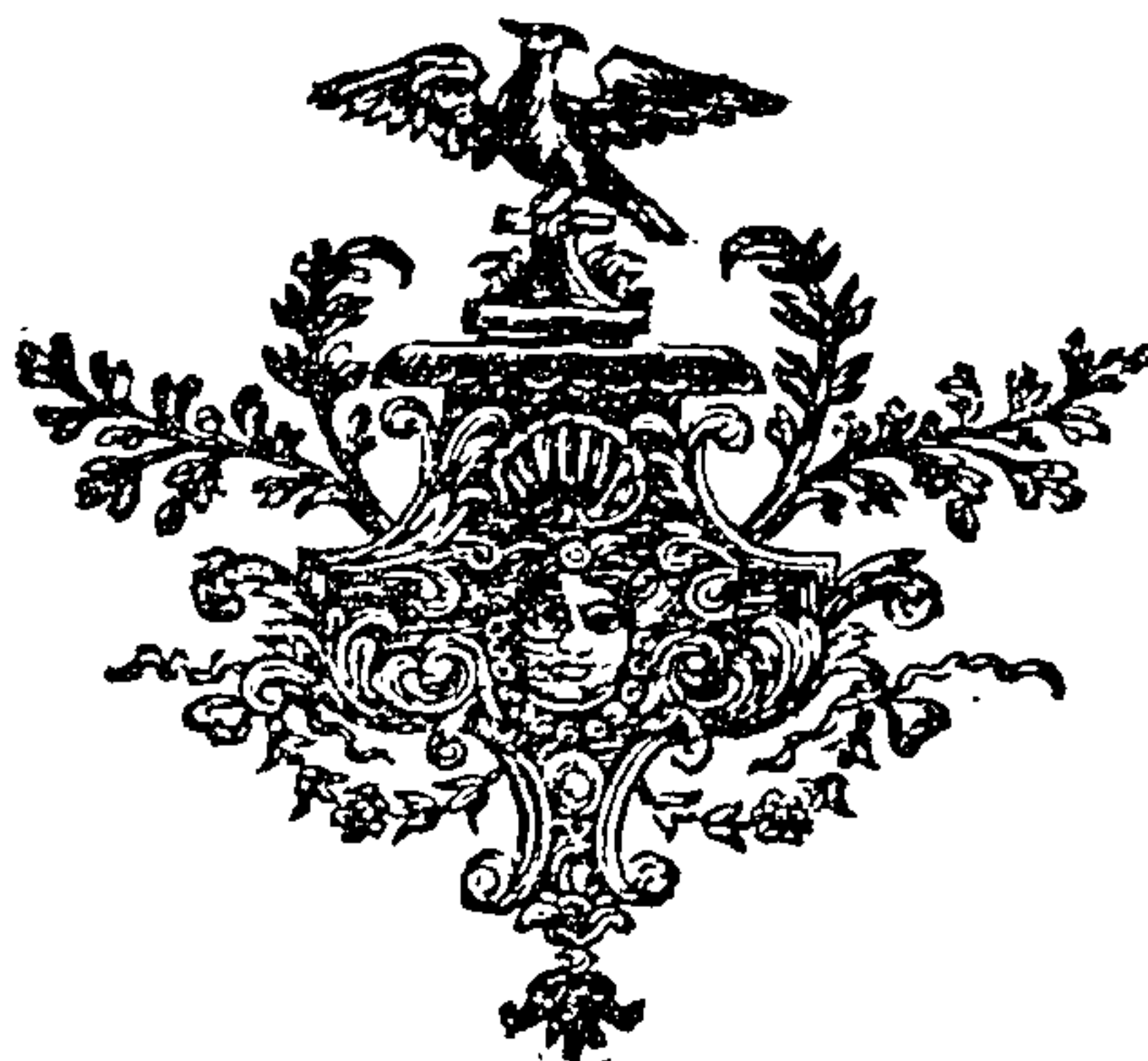
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Acacius of Constantinople. ibid.	St. Celestine. 432		Memnon. 445	Samuel. 503	
<b>A</b> = Aegeates 514	Cercalis. 506	<b>H</b>	Mochimus. 499	Sedulius. 447	
Aeneas Gazæus 524	Charisius. 445	<b>H</b> Elladius of Tarsus. 463	Museus. 502	Servus Dei. 506	
Agapetus. 425	Chrysippus. 497	St. Hilarius Bishop of Ar- 480		Syagrius. 498	
Alexander of Hierapolis. 444	Constantine. 498	les. 480	<b>N</b>	Simeon Stylites. 499	
	St. Cyril Patriarch of A- 434	Hilarus or Hilarius Pope. 507	<b>N</b> Emesius. 524	Simplicius. 509	
Alypius. 445		Honoratus. 501	Nestorius. 441	Sixtus, III. 445	
Anastasius. 2d. 521	<b>D</b>		St. Nilus. 429	Socrates. 448	
Anatolius. ibid.	<b>D</b> Esiderius. 513		Nonnus. 448	Sozomen. 449	
Andrew of Samosata. 463	Dorotheus. ibid.	<b>I</b>		Syrus. 503	
Anianus. 440	Dracontius. 497				
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Antonius Honoratus. 447		Idacius. 506	<b>P</b> Aschafius the Deacon. 522	<b>T</b> Alaia. 514	
Apollinaris Sidonius. 513	<b>E</b> Vagrius. 505	John Bishop of Antioch. 443	Paschasius. 495	Theodoret. 449	
Arnobius Junior. 501	St. Eucherius. 483	John Priest of Antioch. 514	Pastor. 505	Theodotus of Antyra. 445	
Aselepius. 499	Eudocia. 497	Irenæus. 463	Paulus Emesenus. ibid.	Theodulus. 506	
Asterius. 498	Eugenius. 506	Isaac. 499	Paul. 499	Theotimus. ibid.	
Athanasius. 495	Eusebius of Doryleum. 495	Ischirion. ibid.	Paulinus. 502	Tichonius. 420	
Atticus. 420	Eustathius. 505	Isidore Pelusiota. 421	Petronius. 498	Timotheus Ælurus 497	
Author of the Confessions of Faith, attributed to Rufinus. 431	Eutherius. 444	Julian of Coos. 495	Philippus Sidæta. 447	Timotheus. 505	
Author of the Books of the Vocation of the Gentiles and Epistle to Demetrias. 490	Eutropius. 505	Julian of Eclana. 441	Philippus. 498		
Author of the Memoir about the Affair of Acacius. 518	Eutyches. 495	Julianus Pomerius. 522	Philostorgius. 448	<b>V</b>	
Author of the Books attributed to Dionysius. 525	<b>F</b>	<b>L</b>	Photius of Tyre. ibid.	<b>V</b> Alerian. 485	
			Petrus Chrysologus. 485	Veranus. 495, 502	
<b>B</b>	<b>G</b>	<b>M</b>	Petrus. 499	Victor of Antioch. 447	
<b>B</b> Asil of Seleucia. 495	<b>G</b> Elafius 1st. 518	<b>M</b> Arius Mercator. 438	Petrus Fullo. 45	Victor of Carthenna. 486	
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		Maximus of Turin. 485	Proclus. 446	Victorinus of Marfeilles. 447	
			St. Prosper. 486	Victorius. 507	
			Proterius. 495	Vigilius, the Deacon. 497	
				Vigilius Tapfenfis. 515	
			<b>R</b>	Vincentius. 503	
			<b>R</b> Heginus. 445	St. Vincentius Lirinensis. 482	
			Ruricius. 513	Vitalis. 495	
			Rusticus. ibid	Voconius. 505	
				Uranus. 431	



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A		D		Gregory of Tours. 561		Leontius, Monk. 559		R			
A	Drian. 540	D	Ionyfius Exiguus. 549	St. Gregory the Great 566		Leontius, Bifhop. 584		R	Ulficus. 557		
	Agaperus. 543		Dinamius. 583	H		Liberatus. 558					
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	Anaftafius Sinaita. 563	E	H		Lucius Charinus. 584						
	Andronicianus. 584		Eracleanus. 584	M							
	The Anonymous Author of the Explication of the Oration. 546		Horimidas. 531	M							
	Aprigius. 555		I		Arcellianus. 540						
	Arator. 554		J		Martin of Bracara. 560						
	Aretas. 555		John I. Bifhop of Rome. 542		Maximus. 584						
	Avitus Bifhop of Vienna. 528		John II. Bifhop of Rome. 543		Metrodorus. ibid.						
	Aurelianus. 554		St. Joannes Climacus 564		N						
B		F		John of Bictarum. 563		N		I			
B	Andonnia. 560	F	F	John of Raithu. 565		O		T			
	Bafil of Cilicia. 541			John of Scythopolis. 541		O		E:radius. 554			
	St. Benediét. 551			John the Fafter. 563		O		Theodorus. 541			
	Boetius. 540			Joannes Maxentius. 539		O		Trifolius. 539			
C		G	G	Joannes Scholasticus. 561		O		V			
C	Boniface II. 542			Jobius, Monk. 547		P		Enantius. 560			
	C			Junilius. 557		P		Victor of Capua. 557			
				Justinian and Juftus. 554		P		Victor Tununenſis. 558			
				Justinian, Emperor. 547		P		Pope Vigilius. 552			
C	Affiodorus. 550	G	L	L		P		Z			
	Cafarius. 552			Aurence. 540		P		A			
	Chryfippus. 562			Leander. 583		P		Z			
	Cyillus of Scythopolis. 555			Leo. 554		P		Z			
C		L		P		Z		Z			
C	C	L	L	Afc hafius. 560		Z		Z			
				Paterius. 583		Z		Z			
				Paulus Silentarius. 558		Z		Z			
				Pelagius I. 558		Z		Z			
Pelagius II. 562		Z		Z							
Pontianus. 554		Z		Z		Z					
Primafius. 555		Z		Z		Z		Z			
Procopius Gazæus 545		Z		Z		Z		Z			

An Alphabetical Table of the Councils held in the fourth Century.

A		G		R	
C	Councils of <i>Alexandria</i> , under <i>Peter</i> Bishop of that Church. 592	C	Council of <i>Gangra</i> . 612	C	Council of <i>Rome</i> . 595, 614, 619
	Councils of <i>Ancyra</i> . 596, 608.				
—	Of <i>Antioch</i> . 601, 602, 604, 608, 610, 611, 615.		H		S
—	Of <i>Aquileia</i> . 617	C	Council of <i>Hippo</i> . 620		
—	Of the <i>Semi-Arians</i> . 612				
—	Of <i>Arminium</i> . 609		I	C	Council of <i>Sangarus</i> . 619
—	Of <i>Arles</i> . 595, 607			—	Of <i>Saragoza</i> . 618
B				—	Of <i>Sardica</i> . 605
C	Council of <i>Bagais</i> . 620	C	Council of <i>Jerusalem</i> . 602	—	Of <i>Seleucia</i> . 609
—	Of <i>Beziers</i> . 608	—	Of <i>Italy</i> . 611	—	Of <i>Sida</i> . 618
—	Of <i>Bithynia</i> . 598		L	—	Of <i>Singedunum</i> . 612
—	Of <i>Bourdeaux</i> . 618	C	Council of <i>Lampascus</i> . 611	—	Of <i>Sinuessæ</i> . 591
		—	Of <i>Laodicea</i> . 613	—	I. Of <i>Sirmium</i> . 607
C				—	II. Of <i>Sirmium</i> . <i>ibid.</i>
			M	—	III. Of <i>Sirmium</i> . 608, 609.
C	Council of <i>Cabarsissa</i> . 620				T
—	Of <i>Capua</i> . 618	C	Council of <i>Melitine</i> . 610		
—	Of <i>Carthage</i> . 594, 619, 620, 622, 625.	—	Of <i>Milan</i> . 604, 608, 619.		
—	Of <i>Cæsarea</i> . 601		N	C	Council of <i>Toledo</i> . 627
—	Of <i>Cirthea</i> . 591			—	Of <i>Turin</i> . 626
—	Of <i>Cologne</i> . 605	C	Council of <i>Neocæsarea</i> . 596	—	Of <i>Tyana</i> . 612
—	Of <i>Constantinople</i> against <i>Marcellus</i> 602, 610, 615, 616, 626.	—	Of <i>Nice</i> . 598	—	Of <i>Tyre</i> . 601
—	Of <i>Cyprus</i> . 626		P		V
E					
C	Council of <i>Elvira</i> . 592	C	Council of <i>Paris</i> . 611	C	Council of <i>Valence</i> . 615



# An Alphabetical Table of the *COUNCILS*.

## Of the Councils held from the Year 400, to 430.

C		M	
C	Council of <i>Constantinople</i> in the Year 400, and 401.	Council in the Suburbs of <i>Chalcedon</i> against <i>St. Chrysostome</i> in 403.	632
	Council of <i>Carthage</i> , in 403.	Council of <i>Constantinople</i> in 426.	640
	The same in 404.	Council of <i>Carthage</i> in 427.	ibid.
	The same in 405.	Council of <i>Constantinople</i> in 428.	ibid.
	The same in 407.		
	The same in 408.		
	The same in 409.		
	The same in 410.		
	Conference of <i>Carthage</i> , in 411.		
	Council of <i>Carthage</i> against <i>Cælestius</i> in 412.		
D		P	
C	Second Council against the same in 416.	THE same against <i>Cælestius</i> and <i>Pelagius</i> in 416.	635
	Council of <i>Carthage</i> in 417.	Council of <i>Prolemais</i> in 411.	635
	Of <i>Carthage</i> in 418.		
	Councils of <i>Carthage</i> in 418 and 419, concerning the cause of <i>Apollinaris</i> .		
	Council of <i>Carthage</i> in 420.		
E		R	
C	Council of <i>Ephesus</i> in 400 and 401.	Roman Synod under <i>Innocent</i> the first in 430.	631
		Council of <i>Ravenna</i> in 419.	639
I		Z	
C	Conference of <i>Jerusalem</i> in 415.	Council of <i>Zirta</i> in 412.	634
		Council of <i>Zella</i> in 418.	636

## Of the Councils held from the Year 430, to the End of the Fifth Century.

A		C		R	
A	Council at <i>Alexandria</i> against <i>Nestorius</i> .	A Council at <i>Chalcedon</i> , to confer with the <i>Eastern</i> Bishops.	669	A Council at <i>Ries</i> .	679
	A Council at <i>Amazarham</i> .	A Council at <i>Chalcedon</i> , General.	660	A Council at <i>Rome</i> under <i>Celestine</i> .	641
	At <i>Amaz</i> .	<i>Constantinople</i> in favour of <i>Bassian</i>	676	At <i>Rome</i> under <i>St. Leo</i> .	669
	At <i>Amaz</i> by the <i>Eastern</i> Bishops.	<i>Constantinople</i> , under <i>Flavian</i> against <i>Eutyches</i> .	662	At <i>Rome</i> under <i>St. Hilary</i> .	683
	At <i>Amaz</i> about the Peace.	<i>Constantinople</i> II.	668	At <i>Rome</i> under <i>Felix</i> .	516
	At <i>Amaz</i> in 436.	<i>Constantinople</i> III. in 459.	248	At <i>Rome</i> under <i>Gelasius</i> .	521
	At <i>Amaz</i> about the business of <i>Salomon</i> .	<i>Carthage</i> under <i>Hunericus</i> .	515		
	At <i>Amaz</i> II.	<i>Cilicia</i> .	655		
	At <i>Amaz</i> III.				
	At <i>Amaz</i> IV. in 463.				
B		E		T	
A	Council at <i>Berytus</i> .	A Council at <i>Ephesus</i> , General.	640	A Council at <i>Tarfas</i> by the <i>Eastern</i> Bishops.	650
		At <i>Ephesus</i> under <i>Dioscorus</i>	666	A Council at <i>Tours</i> .	683
O		V			
A	Council at <i>Orange</i> I.	A Council at <i>Vasio</i> .	681		
		A Council at <i>Vannes</i> .	683		

## Of the Councils held in the Sixth Century.

A		G		P	
C	Council of <i>Artois</i> .	Council of <i>Gerunda</i> .	688	Second Council of <i>Paris</i> .	711
	Council of <i>Artois</i> IV.			III. Of <i>Paris</i> .	ibid.
	Of <i>Artois</i> V.			IV. Of <i>Paris</i> .	714
	Of <i>Artois</i> under King <i>Theodoric</i> .			V. Of <i>Paris</i> .	ibid.
	Of <i>Artois</i> under King <i>Theodoric</i> .			Of <i>Poitiers</i> .	718
	Of <i>Artois</i> under King <i>Theodoric</i> .				
	Of <i>Artois</i> under King <i>Theodoric</i> .				
	Of <i>Artois</i> under King <i>Theodoric</i> .				
	Of <i>Artois</i> under King <i>Theodoric</i> .				
	Of <i>Artois</i> under King <i>Theodoric</i> .				
B		H		R	
C	Council of <i>Barcelona</i> in 540.	History of the Council of <i>Constantinople</i> under <i>Atanasius</i> .	699	Council of <i>Rome</i> under Pope <i>Symmachus</i> .	684
	Council of <i>Barcelona</i> in 549.			Council of <i>Rome</i> under <i>Boniface</i> II.	693
	Of <i>Barcelona</i> I.				
	Of <i>Barcelona</i> II.				
C		L		S	
C	Council of <i>Clervont</i> in <i>Arvernia</i> .	Council of <i>Lerida</i> or <i>Ilerda</i> .	690	Council of <i>Santones</i> .	712
	Of <i>Constantinople</i> under <i>Mennas</i> .	I. Of <i>Lyons</i> .	ibid.	Of <i>Saragosa</i> .	719
	Of <i>Constantinople</i> the second, which is called the fifth General.	II. Of <i>Lyons</i> .	712	I. Of <i>Sevil</i> .	717
	Conference held at <i>Constantinople</i> between the <i>Catholics</i> and <i>Severians</i> .	III. Of <i>Lyons</i> .	715		
E		M		T	
THE	First Council of <i>Mascon</i> .	First Council of <i>Mascon</i> .	715	Council of <i>Terraco</i> .	688
	Second Council of <i>Mascon</i> .	Second Council of <i>Mascon</i> .	ibid.	II. Of <i>Toledo</i> .	693
	Council of <i>Metz</i> .	Council of <i>Metz</i> .	719	III. Of <i>Toledo</i> .	716
				Of <i>Toledo</i> in 597.	719
				II. Of <i>Tours</i> .	712
				Of <i>Tusella</i> .	699
N		O		V	
C	Council of <i>Narbo</i> .	Second Council of <i>Orange</i> .	692	Council of <i>Vasio</i> .	692
	The Assembly of Bishops at <i>Nanterra</i> .	I. Of <i>Orleans</i> .	687	Of <i>Valentia</i> .	691
		II. Of <i>Orleans</i> .	695	II. Of <i>Valentia</i> .	715
		III. Of <i>Orleans</i> .	696		
		IV. Of <i>Orleans</i> .	697		
		V. Of <i>Orleans</i> .	698		
		Of <i>Osta</i> or <i>Huesca</i> .	719		



# An Alphabetical Table of the *COUNCILS*.

## Of the Councils held from the Year 400, to 430.

C		M	
Council of <i>Constantinople</i> in the Year 400, and 401.	632	Council of <i>Milevis</i> in 402.	637
Council of <i>Carthage</i> , in 403.	ibid.		
The same in 404.	ibid.		
The same in 405.	ibid.		
The same in 407.	ibid.		
The same in 408.	633		
The same in 409.	ibid.		
The same in 410.	ibid.		
Conference of <i>Carthage</i> , in 411.	ibid.		
Council of <i>Carthage</i> against <i>Celestius</i> in 412.	634		
Second Council against the same in 416.	ibid.		
Council of <i>Carthage</i> in 417.	635		
Of <i>Carthage</i> in 418.	ibid.		
Councils of <i>Carthage</i> in 418 and 419, concerning the cause of <i>Apollinaris</i> .	637		
Council of <i>Carthage</i> in 420.	639		
D		P	
Council of <i>Diospolis</i> in 418.	635	THE same against <i>Celestius</i> and <i>Pelagius</i> in 416.	635
		Council of <i>Prolemais</i> in 411.	633
E		R	
Council of <i>Ephesus</i> in 400 and 401.		Roman Synod under <i>Innocent</i> the first in 430.	631
		Council of <i>Ravenna</i> in 419.	639
I		Z	
Conference of <i>Jerusalem</i> in 415.	634	Council of <i>Zirta</i> in 412.	634
		Council of <i>Zella</i> in 418.	636

## Of the Councils held from the Year 430, to the End of the Fifth Century.

A		C		R	
A Council at <i>Alexandria</i> against <i>Nestorius</i> .	640	A Council at <i>Chalcedon</i> , to confer with the <i>Eastern</i> Bishops.	669	A Council at <i>Ries</i> .	679
A Council at <i>Antioch</i> .	653	A Council at <i>Chalcedon</i> , General.	660	A Council at <i>Rome</i> under <i>Celestine</i> .	641
At <i>Antioch</i> .	682	<i>Constantinople</i> in favour of <i>Bassian</i> .	676	At <i>Rome</i> under <i>St. Leo</i> .	669
At <i>Antioch</i> by the <i>Eastern</i> Bishops.	653	<i>Constantinople</i> , under <i>Flavian</i> against <i>Eusebius</i> .	662	At <i>Rome</i> under <i>St. Hilary</i> .	683
At <i>Antioch</i> about the Peace.	651	<i>Constantinople</i> II.	668	At <i>Rome</i> under <i>Felix</i> .	516
At <i>Antioch</i> in 456.	656	<i>Constantinople</i> III. in 459.	248	At <i>Rome</i> under <i>Gelasius</i> .	521
At <i>Antioch</i> , about the business of <i>Sabinian</i> .	677	<i>Carthage</i> under <i>Hunericus</i> .	515		
At <i>Arles</i> II.	681	<i>Cilicia</i> .	655		
At <i>Arles</i> III.	682				
At <i>Arles</i> IV. in 463.	508				
B		E		T	
		A Council at <i>Ephesus</i> , General.	640	A Council at <i>Tarsus</i> by the <i>Eastern</i> Bishops.	650
		At <i>Ephesus</i> under <i>Dioscorus</i> .	666	A Council at <i>Tours</i> .	683
O		V			
A Council at <i>Eryx</i> .	674	A Council at <i>Orange</i> I.	679	A Council at <i>Vasio</i> .	681
				A Council at <i>Vannes</i> .	683

## Of the Councils held in the Sixth Century.

A		G		P	
Council of <i>Agatha</i> .	685	Council of <i>Gerunda</i> .	688	Second Council of <i>Paris</i> .	711
Council of <i>Arles</i> IV.	691			III. Of <i>Paris</i> .	ibid.
Of <i>Arles</i> V.	711			IV. Of <i>Paris</i> .	714
Of <i>Arternia</i> under King <i>Theodoric</i> .	699			V. Of <i>Paris</i> .	ibid.
Of <i>Antipollorum</i> .	714			Of <i>Poitiers</i> .	718
B		H		R	
		History of the Council of <i>Constantinople</i> under <i>Mennas</i> .	699		
C		L		S	
Council of <i>Barcelona</i> in 540.	697	Council of <i>Lerida</i> or <i>Ilerda</i> .	690	Council of <i>Rome</i> under Pope <i>Symmachus</i> .	684
Council of <i>Barcelona</i> in 599.	720	I. Of <i>Lyons</i> .	ibid.	Council of <i>Rome</i> under <i>Boniface</i> II.	693
Of <i>Tracara</i> I.	712	II. Of <i>Lyons</i> .	712		
Of <i>Tracara</i> II.	718	III. Of <i>Lyons</i> .	715		
C		M		T	
		First Council of <i>Mascon</i> .	715	Council of <i>Santones</i> .	712
		Second Council of <i>Mascon</i> .	ibid.	Of <i>Saragosa</i> .	719
		Council of <i>Metz</i> .	719	I. Of <i>Sevil</i> .	717
E		N		V	
THE <i>Ecumenical</i> of <i>Constantinople</i> the second, which is called the fifth General.	702	Council of <i>Narbo</i> .	717	Council of <i>Vasio</i> .	692
A Conference held at <i>Constantinople</i> between the <i>Catholics</i> and <i>Severians</i> .	694	The Assembly of Bishops at <i>Nanterra</i> .	719	Of <i>Valentia</i> .	691
E		O		II. Of <i>Valentia</i> .	715
		Second Council of <i>Orange</i> .	692		
		I. Of <i>Orleans</i> .	687		
		II. Of <i>Orleans</i> .	695		
		III. Of <i>Orleans</i> .	696		
		IV. Of <i>Orleans</i> .	697		
		V. Of <i>Orleans</i> .	698		
		Of <i>Osca</i> or <i>Huesca</i> .	719		





A

# PRELIMINARY DISSERTATION

ABOUT THE

# AUTHORS

OF THE

# BIBLE.

## SECT. I.

### *Of the Authors of the Books of the Old Testament.*



F all those (a) Paradoxes, that have been advanced in our Age, there is none, in my Judgment, more rash and dangerous than the Opinion of those, who have presumed to deny, that *Moses* was the Author of the *Pentateuch*: For what can be more rash than to deny Matter of Fact, that has been established by express Texts of Holy Scripture (b), by the Authority of Jesus Christ (c), by the Consent of all Nations (d), and by the Authentick Testimonies of the most Ancient Authors (e)? And what can be more dangerous, than to bid Defiance to Antiquity, and consequently destroy the Authority of those Books, which are, as it were, the very Foundations of our Religion (f)? And yet this they do, who dare affirm that the Books of the *Pentateuch* are not written by *Moses*, and endeavour to prove it by such weak Conjectures, that 'tis impossible for a Man of tolerable sense to be convinced by them (g). For, allowing all that they alledge were true, (h) they could only prove, the same thing has happen'd to the Books of *Moses*, which has happen'd almost to all the Books of Ancient Authors, viz. That some few Words, Names and Terms have been altered or added to render the Narrative more intelligible to those that lived in the following Ages. For example: We find the Ancient Names of Cities are sometimes changed for those they received afterwards, because they would have been no longer known by their Ancient Appellations. There are, likewise some short Explications inserted into these Sacred Books, to illustrate what was said by the Author: And, in short, some necessary Passages have been added to compleat the History. These things are common; and we find Examples of it in the Books of *Homer*, *Herodotus*, and almost all the Ancient Historians, and yet no Body is inclined for all this to reject their Books, as if they did not belong to those whose Names they bear. Why then should we not say the same thing of the Books of the *Pentateuch*, which have been more constantly assigned to *Moses*, than the Poems of the *Iliads*, or the *Odysseys* to *Homer*, or the Histories of *Herodotus* and *Thucy-*

*dides* to those by whose Names they are known? Let us examine all the Reasons that are alledged against the Antiquity of the *Pentateuch*, since they imagine they are unanswerable, (which yet is very false, as we shall make appear in these following Discourses) and we shall see they only prove that some Names of Cities or Countries are changed, some few Words inserted to explain some Difficulties; and lastly, that the account of *Moses's* Death has been put in since, which was but necessary to finish the History of the *Pentateuch*. We ought therefore to affirm it for a certain Truth, That *Moses* was the Author of the first Five Books of the *Bible*, called the *Pentateuch*.

There are given to each of these Five Books, (which have their Names in *Hebrew* from the first Word in each Book) there are given 'em, I say, such Names as have a relation to the Subject. The first is called *Genesis*, because it begins with the History of the Creation of the World. It contains besides that the Genealogy of the Patriarchs, the History of the Flood, a Catalogue of the Descendants of *Noah* down to *Abraham*, the Life of *Abraham*, of *Jacob* and *Joseph*, and the History of the Posterity of *Jacob*, down to the Death of *Joseph*. So that this Book comprehends the History of 2369 Years, or thereabouts, following the account of the Years of the Patriarchs, as we find them in the *Hebrew* Text.

The Second is called *Exodus*, because the principal Subject of it is the Departure of the Children of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, and all that passed in the Wilderness under *Moses's* Conduct, for an Hundred forty five Years, viz. from the Death of *Joseph*, to the Building of the Tabernacle. We find there a Description of the Plagues wherewith *Egypt* was afflicted; an Abridgment of the Religion and Laws of the *Israelites*; together with the admirable Precepts of the *Decalogue*.

The third is called *Leviticus*, because it contains the Laws, the Ceremonies, and Sacrifices of the Religion of the *Jews*: All which has a particular Relation to the Levites, to whom God gave the charge of all those things that concern'd the Ceremonial part of that Religion.

The fourth is called *Numbers*, because it begins with the Numbring of the Children of *Israel* that came out of *Egypt*, and concludes with the Laws that were given the

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People



People of *Israel* during the Thirty nine Years of their sojourn in the Wilderness.

*Deuteronomy*, that is to say, the second Law, is so called, because it is, as it were, a Repetition of the first: For after *Moses* has described in a few Words the principal Actions of the *Israelites* in the Wilderness, he recites abundance of the Precepts of the Law.

(i) We don't certainly know when these Books were composed by *Moses*, or which was first written: However, 'tis very certain, that *Deuteronomy* was written last, in the Fortieth Year of the Departure out of *Egypt*, and a little before the Death of *Moses*.

We can't so certainly tell who are the Authors of the other Books of the *Bible*: Some of 'em we only know by Conjecture, and others there are of which we have no manner of Knowledge.

It is not certain that the Book of (k) *Joshuah* was written by himself; for as it is observed by the Author of the Abridgment of the Scripture attributed to St. *Athanasius*, this Title is set at the Head of that Book, not so much to discover the Author, as to make the Subject of it known; because it treats of War, and other things that happen'd under the Conduct of *Joshuah*, after the same manner as the Books of *Judges*, of *Kings*, of *Tobit*, of *Judith*, are so called, because they give an Account of the Lives and Actions of those whose Names they bear. But though 'tis commonly believed that this Book was written by *Joshuah*, and this Opinion seems to be countenanced by some Words of the last Chapter, where it is said that *Joshuah* wrote all these things in the Book of the Law: Nevertheless we must affirm, that 'tis certain, that *Theodoret*, and some others among the Ancients, are not of this Opinion, and that we have Reasons strong enough to make us doubt whether he is the Author or no. However it is, 'tis a most unquestionable Truth, that this Book is ancient, and that if it is not *Joshuah's*, it was written either by his particular Order, or a little after his Death. It carries the History of the People of *Israel* Seventeen Years beyond the Death of *Moses*, or thereabout.

We yet know less of the Author of the Book of *Judges*. Some with the *Talmudical* Doctors attribute it to *Samuel*, some to *Hezekiah*, others to *Ezrah*. In short, some Persons are of Opinion, that every Judge wrote his own Memoirs, which were afterward collected by *Samuel* or *Ezrah*. Be it as it will, the Book is certainly ancient, and (l) admit it was put into the condition we now find it by *Ezrah*, yet we cannot reasonably question its being composed from ancient Memoirs. It contains the History of what happen'd to the *Israelites* from the Death of *Joshuah*, to that of *Sampson*. We cannot precisely tell what Number of Years it takes in, tho' 'tis commonly fixed to something above 300 Years.

The Book of *Ruth* is a kind of an Appendix to the Book of *Judges*, which is the reason why the *Jews* made but one Book of these two, and for the same reason 'tis commonly believed that one Author composed both. 'Tis certain that the History of *Ruth* comes up to the times of the Judges, but we don't know the time exactly. We may assign it to the time of *Samgar*, Eight and twenty Years, or thereabouts, after the Death of *Joshuah*.

The two first Books of *Kings* are called by the *Hebrews* the Book of *Samuel*, which has occasioned the Opinion that they were in part written by that Prophet (m); that is to say, that he composed the Four and twenty first Chapters, and that the Prophets, *Gad* and *Nathan* afterwards compleated the Work. This is the Opinion of the *Talmudists* and *Isidore*, and is founded upon these Words of the *Chronicles*, 1 *Chron.* 29. 29. Now the Acts of David the King, first and last, behold they are written in the Book of Samuel the Seer, and in the Book of Nathan the Prophet, and in the Book of Gad the Seer. *Theodoret* and *Diodorus* of *Tarsus* seem to be of this Opinion, when they say, that it was the custom of all Prophets amongst the *Hebrews* to write down whatever happen'd in their time; and that upon this score it is, that the first Book of *Kings* is called the Prophecy of *Samuel*. Others pretend that these Books are of a later date, because we find some ways of speaking there which don't belong to that time, but perhaps they were added since; and it is very probable that both these Books are very ancient. However, 'tis certain that they were written before the *Chronicles*. The first of these two Books of *Kings* contains that which passed under the Government of *Eli*, of *Samuel*, and under the Reign of *Saul*: The second, is the History of *David's* Government. The two last Books of *Kings*, contain the History of the Reign of *Salomon* Son of *David*, and afterwards the Reigns of the several Kings of *Israel*, and *Judah*, down to the Destruction of *Israel*, and the Captivity of *Judah*. We don't know who is the Author of these two Books. Some, as the *Talmudists*

for instance, attribute them to *Jeremiah*, others to *Isaiah*, and the greatest part to *Ezrah*. 'Tis a Collection, or an Historical Abridgment drawn out of several Memoirs and Books of the Prophets, which are there frequently quoted. These Four Books of *Kings* contain the History of almost Six hundred Years.

The two Books of *Chronicles* are called *Paralipomena* by the *Greeks*, because they contain some Circumstances that were omitted in the other Historical Books. The *Hebrews* call them *Diaries*, and St. *Jerome*, *Chronicles*. 'Tis commonly believed that *Ezrah* wrote them, and that he drew this Abridgment partly from those Books of the *Bible* which we have, and partly from other Memoirs that he had at the time of his writing. St. *Jerome* thinks that this was the Book that is cited in the Book of *Kings*, under the Name of *The Book of the Sayings of the Kings of Judah*. But 'tis evident that it is not, and that the Book of *Chronicles* was written since that of *Kings*, as we prove by the last Words of that Book, where mention is made of the Deliverance of the *Jews* by *Cyrus*.

'Tis commonly believed that it was *Ezrah*, who composed the first Book of those that carry his Name; and indeed *Ezrah* speaks there in his own Person (n). *Huetius* pretends that the first Chapters of that Book were written by another Author, but his Conjecture is not strong enough to make us quit the common Opinion (o). The second Book belongs to *Nehemiah* without question (p), for he declares himself the Author of it in the beginning of the Book, and always speaks of himself in the first Person. The first of these two Books contains the History of the Deliverance of the *Jews* from their Captivity, and their Re-establishment in *Judea* from the first Year of *Cyrus*, to the twentieth of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, for 82 or 83 Years. And the second begins from the twentieth Year of the aforesaid *Artaxerxes*, and reaches to the Reign of *Darius* his Son, surnamed the Bastard, which comprehends the History of the *Jews* for thirty or one and thirty Years.

'Tis commonly believed, that *Tobit* and *Tobias* wrote their own History themselves (q): But this Opinion is very uncertain. 'Tis generally believed that this Book was at first writ in *Chaldee*, that St. *Jerome* translated it into *Latin*, and that this History was afterwards put into *Hebrew*. There are two different *Hebrew* Editions of it, one set out by *Munster*, and the other by *Fagius*. There is also an ancient *Greek* Edition, out of which the *Syriac* Version was composed. *Tobit* was one of the *Israelites* that were carried out of *Samaria* by King *Sabalmanezzer*.

The Author of the Book of *Judith* is yet less known, as *Isidore* has observed. Some believe it was written by *Eliachim*, or *Joachim* High Priest of the *Jews*, of whom mention is made in that Book: Others say it was *Joshuah* the Son of *Josedec*, the Companion of *Zorobabel*: Others, in short, maintain that it was not written till the time of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, before the *Maccabees* time. 'Tis written in *Chaldee*, and that has made *Huetius* think that it was written during the *Babylonian* Captivity. St. *Jerome* translated it into *Latin*, rather following the Sense, as he tells us, than the bare Letter. The *Greek* Version which we have is very different from the *Latin*, and seems to be more literal. The time wherein the History mention'd in this Book did happen, is no less uncertain (r). Some place it before the Captivity, others after, and some have the boldness to say, That whatever is in this Book, is only a Parable and Allegory, that has nothing of Historical Truth in it.

The time, and the Author of the History of *Hester*, are also very uncertain (s). St. *Epiphanius*, St. *Austin*, and St. *Isidore*, attribute this Book to *Ezrah*. Others to *Joachim* High Priest of the *Jews*, Grand-Son of *Josedec*. Most Men say that *Mordecai* wrote it (t), who is so often mentioned in it. The *Talmudists* attribute it to the Synagogue. The six last Chapters, that are found in the *Greek*, are not in the Original *Hebrew*. *Origen*, in his Letter to *Africanus*, believes it was lost. *Grotius* pretends that these Chapters were composed by the *Greek* Profelytes. *Sixtus Senensis* says they were taken out of *Josephus*. *Bellarmino*, and some others, maintain, that there are two *Hebrew* Editions of this Book, one larger than the other, where these last Chapters are found, and the other the same with what we have. Some say the History of *Hester* happen'd under *Darius* the Son of *Hystaspes*; others place it under *Xerxes*; and lastly, there are some who place it under *Ciaxares* King of the *Medes*. The first Opinion seems to be most probable.

The time wherein *Job* lived, is yet more difficult to discover; and the Author of the Book, who has compiled his History, is no less unknown (u). Some, as *Origen*, St. *Gregory*, and *Suidas*, attribute it to *Job* himself: Others believe that *Moses* was the Author of it, or that he translated it into *Hebrew*. St. *Gregory Nazianzen* attributes



attributes it to *Salomon*; others to *Isaiah*, or to some one of the Prophets. All these Opinions are built but upon very slight Conjectures. Wherefore 'tis better, in my Opinion, to suspend ones Judgment, than to assert any of the above-mentioned Opinions that are equally uncertain. But at the same time we must not fall into the opposite Errour, by saying with the *Talmudists*, and some other Criticks, that the History of *Job* is an entire continued Fiction (*x*). The Persons and Nations that are there called by their proper Names, the Testimonies of *Tobit*, of *Ezekiel*, and *St. James*, with the Opinions of the Ancient Fathers, ought to convince us that the Foundation of this History is real and true. But the manner wherein 'tis related, the Conversation that is held with the Devil, the Prolixity of the Discourses of *Job's* Friends, and of what *Job* himself delivered in his miserable estate, ought to make us acknowledge, that this History is mightily amplified and adorned with several feigned Circumstances, to render the Story more useful and agreeable. 'Tis commonly believed that *Job* lived before *Moses*, or at least in his time, and that the History related in this Book happen'd during the time when the *Israelites* were in the Desert, because there is not a Word spoken there about the Written Law. Some there are who make *Job* to descend from *Nabor*, the Brother of *Abraham*, but (*yz*) others from *Esau*. The last Opinion seems to me to be the most probable, because 'tis supported by the Authority of a very ancient Addition, which is to be found at the end of the *Greek* Edition of the Book of *Job*.

Though the *Psalms* are commonly called *The Psalms of David*, or rather *The Book of the Psalms of David*; yet 'tis certain, as *St. Jerome* has observed in many places, that they are not all of 'em his (*aa*), and that there are some of them which were written long after his Death. 'Tis therefore a Collection of Songs that was made by *Ezrah*. It is a difficult matter to say who are the Authors (*bb*), and to distinguish those that were made by *David*, from those that were composed by others. But whoever were the Author 'tis certain, as *Theodore* has judiciously observed, that they were composed by Persons inspired by God, and that they are cited under that Character both in the Old and New Testament (*cc*).

The Authors of the following Books are better known; the *Proverbs* or Parables belong to *Salomon*, whose Name is written in the beginning of that Book, *The Proverbs of Salomon the Son of David*. 'Tis observed in the 25th Chapter, that the following Parables are still *Salomon's*, but that they were collected by some Persons chosen by the King *Hezekiah*; These are also the *Proverbs of Salomon*, which the Men of *Hezekiah* King of *Judah* copied out. The 30th Chapter begins with these Words. *The Words of Agur the Son of Jakeh*, which shew that this Chapter is an Addition made to the *Proverbs of Salomon* by one *Agur*, as is easie to be proved, because this Chapter is entirely separated from the rest, and besides is written in another Style. In short, the last Chapter is entituled, *The Words of King Lemuel*. We ought therefore to conclude, from what has been said, that the 24 first Chapters are *Salomon's* Originally, that the five following ones are Extracts or Collections of his *Proverbs*, and that the two last Chapters were added afterwards.

The Book of *Ecclesiastes* is ascribed to *Salomon* by all Antiquity: And yet the *Talmudists* have made *Hezekiah* the Author of this Book, and *Grotius*, (*dd*) upon some slight Conjectures, pretends it was composed by *Zorobabel*. It begins with these Words, *The Words of the Preacher, the Son of David, King of Jerusalem*: Which may be applied to *Hezekiah* as well as to *Salomon*: But what is said of that Wisdom in several places, which was peculiar to him, and in the second Chapter of his Riches and Power, determines that we ought rather to understand it of *Salomon*.

*The Song of Songs*, that is to say, a Song by way of Excellence, is allowed to be *Salomon's* by the Consent of the Synagogue and the Church. The *Talmudists* attribute it to *Ezrah*, but without any Grounds.

The Book of *Wisdom* is commonly said to be *Salomon's* (*ee*), but this Opinion is not very probable. For, 1. This Book is not to be found in the *Hebrew*. 2. It was never received into the *Hebrew* Canon. 3. 'Tis evident, as *St. Jerome* has observed, that the Style is extremely different from that of *Salomon*, and that it was composed by a *Greek*. The same *St. Jerome* observes, that it was commonly attributed to *Philo*, which we are to understand of an older *Philo* than him whose Works we have. However, it appears plainly, that it was composed by a *Hellenist Jew*, who had a mind to imitate the Books of *Salomon*, from whom he has borrowed abundance of Thoughts.

The Preface which is before the Book of *Ecclesiasticus*, and the Fifth Chapter of that Book, inform us, that the

Author thereof was a *Jew*, named *Jesus* the Son of *Syrach*, who composed it in *Hebrew*, and which was translated into *Greek* by his Grand-Son. *St. Jerome* tells us, he saw in his time an *Hebrew* Copy of it (*ff*). Some of the Ancients attribute it to *Salomon* (*gg*), perhaps because of the resemblance of the Subject, and the Thoughts; which is so great, that 'tis visible he design'd to imitate him, and that several Thoughts are taken from him.

The Books of the Prophets carry the Names of their Authors undisputed: *Isaiah* is the first and most excellent of the Prophets. He was the Son of *Amos*, whom we are by no means to mistake for the Prophet of the same Name (*hh*). He Prophesied from the end of the Reign of *Uzziah*, to the time of *Manasses*, by whose Command, they say, he was cruelly slain, and sawn asunder with a Wooden Saw (*ii*). He himself collected into one Volume all those Prophecies which he delivered under *Uzziah*, *Jotham*, *Ahas* and *Hezekiah*, Kings of *Judah*. Besides these, he wrote a Book of the Actions of *Uzziah*, which is mention'd in the 2d of *Chron.* Chap. 26. Verse 22. Some Apocryphal Books are ascribed to him; amongst others, that famous one so often quoted by *Origen*; and another, intituled, *The Ascension of Isaiah*, which *St. Jerome*, and *St. Epiphanius* mention; and a later one likewise, called, *The Vision of Isaiah*. Some have pretended that this Book of *Isaiah* which we have, is only compiled out of the Works of *Isaiah*; but the Conjectures which they bring to prove it, are extremely frivolous (*kk*).

*Jeremiah*, born in a Village near *Jerusalem*, of Sacerdotal Extraction, began to Prophesie about the end of the Reign of *Josiah*, when he was very young, and continued his Prophecies till after the Captivity of the *Jews* in *Babylon*. He was not carried away with the other *Jews* into that City; but tarrying in his own Country to lament its Destruction, he was afterwards taken Prisoner, and carried into *Egypt* along with his Disciple *Baruch*; where, as 'tis commonly believed, he was stoned to Death. The Fathers think that he always lived in the state of Celibacy. We are told in the beginning of the 36 Chapter, that King *Jehoiachim* having burnt the Book of his Prophecies, this Prophet composed a new Volume larger and stronger than the former. He afterwards added those Prophecies, which he made till the *Babylonian* Captivity, and those which he delivered in *Egypt*. In the 50th and 51 Chap. he foretels all that was to come to pass in *Babylon*, and these he transmitted thither by *Sarraiah* the Son of *Neriah*. The 52d Chapter does not belong to him, for his Prophecies terminated at the end of the 51 Chapter, as appears by these Words, *Thus far are the Words of Jeremiah*. It was rather written by *Baruch*, or *Ezrah*, and contains an Account of taking of *Jerusalem*, and of what happen'd during the Captivity of the *Jews* in *Babylon*, after the Death of *Isaiah*. It serves to illustrate the Prophecies of *Jeremiah*, and particularly his *Lamentations*, which follow in order, and make another part of the Works of *Jeremiah*. In this last Book one sees the Ruine and Desolation of *Jerusalem* painted in lively Colours, and especially the Grief and Concern of the Prophet upon occasion of that mournful Scene. It has a Preface in the *Greek* and *Vulgar Latin*, which is to be found neither in the *Hebrew*, nor in the *Chaldee* Paraphrase, nor in the *Syriac*, and seems plainly to have been added to explain the Argument of the Book. In short, these *Lamentations* end with a Prayer to God. The Style of *Jeremiah*, if we may be determined by *St. Jerome's* Testimony, is Simple in its Expressions, and Majestick in its Sense. But this Simplicity of Language does not appear to us at present. On the contrary, we find him Elevated and Sublime, both in his Sense, in the Turn, and the Majesty of his Expression.

The Prophecie of *Baruch*, who was the Disciple and Secretary of *Jeremiah*, formerly made up but one Book with that of this Prophet. *Josephus* reports that *Baruch* was descended of an Illustrious Family, and that he perfectly understood the Language of his own Country. We are told in the first Chapter, Verse the first, that he wrote this Prophecie in *Babylon*, but we don't certainly know the time (*ll*). The *Hebrew* Copy of *Baruch* is lost, though we need not doubt but it was written in that Tongue. There is a Letter in the *Syriac*, which by some is attributed to *Baruch*, but 'tis very clear that it is written by a *Christian*. The Epistle to the Captives of *Babylon*, which we find in *Baruch*, belongs to *Jeremiah*. The Author of the Second Book of the *Maccabees* has mention'd it; it is exactly the Style of that Prophet, and contains nothing but what is very agreeable to the time in which it was written.

*Ezekiel*, the Son of *Buzi* the Priest, having been carried away into *Babylon* under *Jecooniah*, began to Prophecy in the fifth Year of the Captivity, and was slain, as 'tis commonly believed, by a Prince of that Nation, whom he reproved for his Adoration of Idols. His Prophecies



are dark and obscure. St. Jerome says, his Style is neither very eloquent nor very mean, but between both.

*Daniel*, one of the Royal Family, was sent captive into *Babylon*, when he was but an Infant. The *Jews* don't reckon him amongst their Prophets: But the *Christians*, following the Authority of Jesus Christ, who gives him that Title in St. *Matthew*, Chap. 24. Vers. 15. look upon him under that Quality and Character: And indeed there is no dispute, but what he has wrote, deserves the name of Prophecy, as the *Jews* themselves are obliged to confess. But they don't give him the name of a Prophet, because he lived a Life extremely different from that of the other Prophets, and rather like one of the Great Men of *Babylon*: Besides, they think that he was an Eunuch, and there is a passage in his Book seems to confirm it (*mm*). 'Tis certain, that the first Chapters of *Daniel's* Prophecies are undoubtedly his, though we have reason to doubt of the Antiquity and Truth of the two later, which contain the History of *Susanna*, and *Bel and the Dragon* (*nn*.) The four first Chapters in *Daniel* are written in *Hebrew*, the following ones, as far as the 18th Chapter, in *Chaldee*, and were afterwards translated into *Hebrew*. The last are written originally in *Greek*.

The Twelve lesser Prophets composed but one Book among the *Hebrews*. *Hosea* the Son of *Beer* is the first (*oo*). He prophesied in the Days of *Uzziah*, *Jotham*, *Ahaz* and *Hezekiah*, Kings of *Judah*; and 'tis very plain, that he wrote this Prophecy, because he frequently speaks of himself in the first Person. There is one passage in his Book that appears very extraordinary, and that is, God's commanding him to take a Wife of *Whoredoms*, and Children of *Whoredoms*. But either this ought to be simply understood of a Vision, as St. Jerome pretends, or we are to suppose that God did not command him to commit Adultery, but only to espouse a Prostitute, as St. Basil and St. Austin have explain'd this place. The Style of this Prophet is very pathetick, and full of short lively Sentences, as St. Jerome has observed.

The Prophet *Joel* follows *Hosea* (*pp*) in St. Jerome's Edition; but we don't certainly know the time when he prophesied (*qq*). Some Persons believe that he is more ancient than *Amos*; others say that he did not write till after the Captivity of the Ten Tribes; and there are plausible Conjectures both of one side and the other. According to some he was of the Tribe of *Gad*, but others place him in the Tribe of *Reuben*.

*Amos*, a Herdsman of *Tekoa*, a Village two Leagues from *Bethlehem* to the South, was chosen of God to be a Prophet in the time of *Uzziah* King of *Judah*, and of *Jeroboam* the Son of *Joash* King of *Israel*, two Years before the Earthquake, which happen'd in the 24th or 25th Year of *Uzziah*.

The time of *Obadiah's* Prophecying is altogether unknown (*rr*). St. Jerome, with the *Jews*, believes that this Prophet was he, that was Governor of the House of King *Ahab*, who is mentioned in the first Book of *Kings*, Chap. 18. Vers. 4. he that fed the Hundred Prophets. Others believe he is the same with that *Obadiah*, whom *Josiah* made Supervisor of the Building of the Temple, who is mentioned in the second Book of *Chronicles*, Chap. 34. Vers. 12. Most People make him Contemporary with *Hosea*, *Amos* and *Joel*. Some after all, believe that he lived in the time of *Jeremiah*, after the taking of *Jerusalem*.

*Jonah*, the Son of the Prophet *Amittai* (*ss*), of the City of *Gath*, near *Diocæsarea*, of the Tribe of *Zabulon* in *Galilee*, prophesied under King *Jeroboam*, *Uzziah* and *Azariah*. God sent him to the City of *Ninive* to Preach Repentance there, and his Book is an Account of his Messlage and Journey. He has written another Prophecy mention'd in the Book of *Kings*. This Book which we have, seems to be quoted by *Tobit* in the 14th Chapter, Verse the 4th, and is approved by our Saviour Jesus Christ himself.

The Prophet *Micah*, born at *Morasthi*, a Village of *Palestine* in the Tribe of *Judah*, prophesied under the Reign of *Jotham*, *Ahaz* and *Hezekiah*, after the Prophets of whom we have spoken already, but before *Jeremiah*, who cites him in the 26th Chapter. He is a different Person from him, who lived in the time of *Ahab* and *Jehoshaphat*, and 'tis commonly believed that he died a Martyr.

We don't certainly know the Country of the Prophet *Nahum*: Nor have we any better Assurances of the Time wherein he lived. His mentioning the Destruction of *Ninive*, makes some think that he lived in the Time of *Sardanapalus*, under *Jeash* and *Jehu*; which if it were so

he wou'd be the most ancient of the Prophets. *Josephus* is of Opinion, that he lived in the Time of *Jotham*, and that he foretold the Ruine of *Ninive*, which happen'd many Years after the time of *Josiah*. St. Jerome, *Theodoret* and *Theophylact*, say he prophesied after the Captivity of the *Israelites*; others say under *Hezekiah*, and some under *Manasses*. The most received Opinion is, that he prophesied after the Captivity of the Ten Tribes by *Shalmanezzer*, before *Sennacherib's* Expedition against the Tribe of *Judah*, which is foretold in the first Chapter of his Prophecy.

Nor have we any better Information either of the Country or time of the Prophet *Habakkuk*. The *Jews* say that he prophesied in the time of *Manasses*, or *Jehoiachin*, a little before the Captivity. St. Epiphanius, and the false Epiphanius, make him Contemporary with *Zedekiah* and *Jeremiah*. Others say he lived in *Josiah's* time, St. Jerome in *Daniel's*, confounding him with that *Habakkuk* who is mentioned by that Prophet. The most probable Opinion is, that he lived under the Reign of *Manasses*, whose iniquities he seems to describe in his first Chap. Vers. 13, and 14. and before the Expedition of the *Chaldeans* against the *Jews*, which he foretells in the first Chap. Vers. the 6th, as well as their Destruction Chap. the 2d. Vers. the 3d.

The time wherein *Zephaniah* prophesied, is exactly marked out to us in these Words at the beginning of his Prophecy, *The Word of the Lord came unto Zephaniah, the Son of Cushi, the Son of Gedaliah, the Son of Amariah, the Son of Hizkiah, in the Days of Josiah the Son of Amos King of Judah*. We don't know from what Country he came. St. Cyril makes him to have been of Noble Extraction, because he mentions his Ancestors.

*Haggai*, and the two following Prophets prophesied not till after the return of the *Jews* from the Captivity of *Babylon*. It is said in the beginning of *Haggai's* Prophecy, that it was written in the second Year of *Darius* (*tt*) the Son of *Hystaspes*, and the sixth Month.

*Zechariah*, the Son of *Barachiah*, Grand-Son of *Iddo* (*uu*), wrote his Prophecy in the same Year of *Darius*, two Months after the Prophet *Haggai*, as he himself has observed in the beginning of his Prophecy. He is a different Person from that *Zechariah*, of whom *Isaiah* speaks in his eighth Chapter (*xx*), and of him that was slain by the Command of King *Joash* between the Temple and the Altar, 2 *Chron.* 24. 20.

*Malachi*, whose Name in *Hebrew* signifies *My Angel* (*yy*), prophesied since *Haggai* and *Zechariah*, after the Rebuilding of the Temple, for the two former exhort the People to build the Temple, but he exhorts them to observe the Law, and offer their Sacrifices with purity; which does necessarily suppose that the Temple was already rebuilt. Besides this, the Disorders for which he reproves the *Jews*, are the very same with those which *Nehemiah* lays to their charge, which is a manifest Argument that they both lived in the same time. *Malachi* is the last of the Prophets; and as there was none other to succeed him till the coming of Jesus Christ, so he concludes his Prophecy with an Exhortation to the *Jews* to observe the Law of *Moses*, and wait for the great and dreadful Day of the Lord, who should turn the Hearts of the Fathers to the Children, and the Hearts of the Children, to their Fathers. All which clearly and expressly sets before us St. John Baptist, and Jesus Christ.

The two Books of the *Maccabees* were not written by the same Person, as the sensible difference of the Style, of the Chronology, and the History sufficiently shew (*zz*). We don't know who is the Author of the first; 'tis indeed very probable that it was Originally written in *Hebrew*, and afterwards translated into *Greek* and *Latin*. The second is an Abridgment or Epitome of *Jason*, who was one of the *Jews* of *Cyrene*, as it appears by the Preface of that Book, which begins Chap. 2. Vers. 23. It is preceded by two Letters of the *Jews* at *Jerusalem* to the *Jews* inhabiting *Egypt*, added by the Author of this Abridgment which he has made with a great deal of Liberty. These two Books are called *The Books of the Maccabees*, from the Name of *Judas* the Son of *Mattathias*, surnamed *Maccabeus*, because he had placed in his Banner the first *Hebrew* Letters of the Words of a certain Sentence in *Exodus* (*aaa*) which being joined together make that word. These two Books contain the History of the *Jews* under the Government of the *Greeks*, from the Reign of *Alexander* to that of *Demetrius Soter*, which comprehends the space of Forty Years, or thereabouts, and they conclude an Hundred and Thirty Years before the Coming of our Saviour Jesus Christ.



## N O T E S.

(a) **T**Here is no Paradox more dangerous than the Opinion of those who have presumed to deny that the Pentateuch was composed by Moses.] I have already observed in the first Edition, that this Paradox was started by Rabbi *Aben-Ezra*, because he is the first that raised these Objections, which have occasioned some Persons to believe, that *Moses* was not the Author of the *Pentateuch*; and though he durst not openly declare his Opinion in this Matter, yet he expresses himself after such a Manner, that it will evidently appear that he was not heartily perswaded that the *Pentateuch* was written by *Moses*. For in his Explication of these words in *Deuteronomy*, Behold what *Moses* said to the *Israelites* that were beyond *Jordan*, he not only makes use of this passage to shew that this Book was not *Moses's* but he musters up the most terrible Objections he could raise for this purpose. You will know the Truth, says he, if you comprehend the Mystery of the Twelve: *Moses* wrote the Law: The *Canaanites* were then in the Land: In the Mountain of the Lord it shall be seen: Behold his Iron Bed: Words which allude to some passages in the *Pentateuch*, and which he uses to prove; that it was not written by *Moses*. And 'tis principally upon the Authority and Reasons of this Rabbi that *Hobbs*, *Pererius*, and *Spinosa*, established their Doctrine, when they publicly maintain'd that the *Pentateuch* was not written by *Moses*. To these Authors we may add *Monsieur Simon*, who has wrote a Book, called, *A Critical History of the Old Testament*. I was not willing to name him in the first Edition of this Volume, though I took occasion then to confute his Reasons; but since he has been pleased to declare that he was the Person, whom I meant, in a Letter to *Monsieur Labbe* a Doctor of the Faculty, he ought not to resent it as an Injury, if I attack him by name, and endeavour to shew, that his Hypothesis about the Books of *Moses* is as rash and dangerous as *Spinosa's*.

*Monsieur Simon* lays down his Opinion in the first Chapter of the first Book of his Critical History, p. 3. of *Leer's* Edition. When we suppose that there have been such publick Scribes, we ascribe to them all the Historical part of the *Pentateuch*, and to *Moses* all that belongs to the Laws and Ordinances; and 'tis this which the Scripture calls the Law of *Moses*. And so one may say in this sense, that all the *Pentateuch* is really and truly written by *Moses*, because those persons that made the Collection lived in his time, and what they did was by his particular Direction. He says the very same thing in his 2d. Chap. p. 17. 'Tis therefore not improbable that there were in *Moses's* time such sort of Prophets, who were necessary to the State, because they preserved the most considerable Actions that passed in their Commonwealth. This being granted, we shall distinguish in these five Books of the Law that which was written by *Moses*, from what was written by the Prophets and publick Scribes: We may attribute to *Moses* the Commandments and Ordinances which he gave the People, in lieu of which we may suppose these same publick Scribes to have been the Authors of the greatest part of this History. In the seventh Chapter, p. 50. he adds: As for what concerns the Books of *Moses*, such as they now are in the Collection which we have, the Additions that have been made to the ancient Acts hinder us from discerning what is truly his, and what has been added by those who succeeded him, or by the Authors of the last Collection. Besides, this Compilation being now and then Epitomized out of the ancient Memoirs, one cannot be assured, that the Genealogies there are set down in their full length and extent.

From these Principles of *Monsieur Simon*, it follows in the first place, that *Moses* is not the Author of the greatest part of the *Pentateuch*, for the Controversie here is not about some few Passages that are of small consequence, but even those that make up the Body and principal Part of the *Pentateuch*; *Moses* according to his Notions, being only concerned about the Laws and Ordinances, has no share in any thing besides, and so the History of the Creation and of the Deluge, in a word, all *Genesis*, and whatever has a relation to the Historical part, is taken away from *Moses*. It is to no purpose to say, as he has done already, p. 3. That one may say, that all the *Pentateuch* is *Moses's*, because they that made the Collection lived in his time, and did nothing but by his order. For would it not be a Jest to ascribe to *Moses* the Works of the publick Scribes of his time? If this were really true, a Man might ascribe all publick Registers to those Kings and Princes, in whose time, and by whose order, they were compiled: But what is a great deal more surprizing, *Monsieur Simon*, or at least one of his Zealous Defenders, abandons this Hypothesis as not to be maintained, and acknowledges that there is no convincing proof to make us believe there were such publick Scribes divinely inspired in the time of *Moses*. This is taken notice of in a Marginal Note of the 17th Page of his Critical History, and the same Edition that we cited before. We find in truth, says the Author of that Remark, this sort of publick Scribes in the time of the Kings amongst the Hebrews . . . but we find no Foot-steps of them in the Books of *Moses*. The Author of the Answer to a Letter which *Monsieur Spanheim* wrote against *F. Simon* confesses the same thing. If you now demand of me,

what is my Opinion concerning these publick Scribes; I answer, That it would be very hard to reject 'em totally . . . In the meantime I don't altogether agree with him as to the time, wherein he pretends, that these Prophets were Established in the Jewish Commonwealth for the Reasons he brings, and indeed the greater part of his Authorities clearly suppose, that this happened after *Moses*. If this Letter was *Monsieur Simon's* as the World was inclined to believe, he cannot possibly excuse himself from having dealt very treacherously in a matter of the highest consequence about Religion, since he has established the truth of the *Pentateuch* upon a supposition, which he himself acknowledges to be either false or uncertain. But suppose this Letter was not his, it shows at least, that those persons who are the most favourable to his Hypothesis, freely own 'tis impossible to prove there were any of these publick Scribes divinely inspired in *Moses's* time; and consequently that *Monsieur Simon*, who has grounded the validity of the *Pentateuch* upon this Hypothesis, has done it upon a very weak Foundation, even in the judgment of those Criticks who stand up the strongest for him. Thus *Monsieur Simon* alleges this Conjecture as only a matter of probability. In the second place, *Monsieur Simon* has of himself ruined whatever he says of the Antiquity and Authority of the *Pentateuch*, by confidently asserting, as he has done in the third passage we quoted, that the *Pentateuch*, in the condition we find it in at present, is only an Abridgment of the ancient Acts that were made in the time of *Moses*, and that 'tis impossible to discern what is ancient, and what is not. Is not this formally to deny that *Moses* was the Author of the *Pentateuch*, and that the Books which we now have are not so ancient, as is pretended?

In a word, he establishes the Authority of the Books of Scripture upon the pretended Inspiration of certain Scribes or Keepers of the publick Registers, whom he believes to have been from time to time among the Jews. Now nothing is more uncertain than the Existence or Inspiration of these publick Scribes, as we shall shew in the following Pages.

(b) By express Texts of Holy Scripture.] It is very certain that *Moses* wrote the Law, and that in Scripture we are to understand the *Pentateuch* by the Law. *Exod.* 24. v. 4. and 7. *Moses* wrote all the Words of the Law, and took the Book of the Covenant, and read it in the audience of the People. *Deut.* 31. v. 19, and 22. *Moses* therefore wrote this Law, and gave it to the Priests the Sons of *Levi* . . . and to all the Elders of *Israel*. In *Exodus*, ch. 17. v. 14. God commanded *Moses* to write the Law, and give it to *Joshuah*. And in the Book of *Joshuah*, ch. 1. v. 7, and 8. God tells him, That the Volume of the Law which he received from *Moses* ought to be always in his mind; This Book of the Law shall not depart out of thy mouth, but thou shalt meditate therein day and night . . . that thou mayst observe to do according to all the Law which *Moses* my Servant commanded thee. Now tho' the Word Law may indeed be applied to one part of the *Pentateuch*, yet we ought to take notice, that it is generally taken in Scripture for the whole *Pentateuch*. And 'tis certain, that in the 31st Chapter of *Deuteronomy*, where it is said, *Moses* therefore wrote this Law, it is meant of all this Book, and the Passage of *Joshuah* ought likewise to be understood of the whole Law. To this may be added, that in the other Books of the Old Testament, they always consider the entire *Pentateuch* as the Work of *Moses*. In the first of *Kings*, ch. 2. v. 3. *David* speaking to *Salomon*, tells him, That the Ceremonies, Precepts, and Laws of the Jews, were written in the Law of *Moses*; Keep the Charge of the Lord thy God to walk in his Ways, to keep his Statutes and Commandments, and his Judgments, and his Testimonies, as it is written in the Law of *Moses*. It is therefore believed, that all the *Pentateuch*, which contains these Ceremonies, Precepts, and Judgments, was the Law of *Moses*. All the Law is likewise attributed to *Moses* in the second Book of *Kings*, ch. 21. and 23. v. 8. v. 25. If they observe all the Law of *Moses*. In the second Book of *Chronicles*, ch. 23. v. 18. To offer the Burnt-Offerings of the Law as it is written in the Law of *Moses*. Is not *Leviticus* therefore *Moses's* Book? That which is delivered in the 30th, 31st, 35th Chapters of the same Book, is taken out of *Leviticus* and *Numbers*; are they not therefore the Books of *Moses*? In the 25th Chapter, *Deuteronomy* is cited as one of *Moses's* Books; As it is written in the Law in the Book of *Moses*, the Father of all not die for the Children: Which Words are to be found in the 24th Chapter of *Deuteronomy*. *Leviticus* quoted by *Baruch*, ch. 2. as a Book that was written by *Moses*; As thou speakest by thy Servant *Moses*, in the day when thou didst command him to write thy Law before the Children of *Israel*, saying, If ye will not hear, &c. Which words are in the 26th Chapter of *Leviticus*, v. 14. In the second Book of *Kings*, ch. 22, and 23. as also in the second Book of *Chronicles* ch. 34. it is said, that *Hilkiah* found a Book of the Law of *Moses's* written, perhaps, with his own hand, as these words seem to intimate, Per manum *Moyssi*. This Book of the Law, according to *Josephus*, is all the *Pentateuch*, according to others *Deuteronomy*. However it



it is, yet it follows from hence at least, that *Deuteronomy* is his. Now *Deuteronomy* supposes, that the other Books of the Law were written, because it is as it were an Abridgment, and upon that account is called *Deuteronomy*, or *The Second Law*. In the ninth Chapter of *Daniel*, it is said, that the Curse, which is written in the Book of *Moses*, is fallen upon the *Jews*, and in the tenth Verse the words of *Deuteronomy* and *Exodus* are particularly cited. The Prophet *Malachi*, ch. 4. exhorts the *Jews* to remember the Law of *Moses*. *Raguel*, in the 7th Chapter of *Tobit*, says, He will give his Daughter in Marriage to *Tobias*, to obey the Law of *Moses*. The Law of *Moses* is frequently repeated in the *Psalms*; the 77th, 104th, 105th, 135th *Psalms*, contain the History of the *Israelites*, which is plainly taken out of the *Pentateuch*. The Law of *Moses* is often cited in *Ezrah*; (*Ez.* 9. 10. 23.) the Passages cited in these places are to be found in the Books of the *Pentateuch*. In the 10th Chapter of *Nehemiah*, v. 29. the *Israelites* oblige themselves by a new kind of an Oath, to keep the Law and Precepts of *Moses*. Now among these Precepts, there are several that are taken out of the Books of the *Pentateuch*. In the second Book of *Maccabees*, ch. 7. *Eleazar* saith, *I will not obey the King's Commandment, but that of the Law, which was given unto Our Fathers by Moses*. Lastly, whatever is taken out of the *Pentateuch* in the *New Testament*, is always cited under the name of the Law of *Moses*. St. *James* in the 15th Chapter of the *Acts*, says, the *Jews* read *Moses* every Sabbath day in their Synagogues; *Moses* of old time hath in every City them that Preach him, being read in the Synagogues every Sabbath day. And St. *Paul*, in his Epistles, says, That the *Jews* did not understand *Moses*, although they read him; *Usque in hodiernum diem cum legitur Moses*. Therefore they did not in the least doubt, that the *Pentateuch* was written by *Moses*, since they tell us, that those who read that Book, read *Moses*. All these Passages make it very evident in the first place, that *Moses* wrote the Law of the *Jews*. Secondly, that by the name of the Law, we ought to understand, the *Pentateuch*. Thirdly, That not only *Deuteronomy*, but also all the other Books of the *Pentateuch*, have been cited in Scripture for the Books and Law of *Moses*. Fourthly, That this has ever passed for a constant truth, of which no body doubted. Fifthly, that they not only believed *Moses* to be the Author of the things contained in these Books, but of the Books themselves, so that when they read them, one might say, they read *Moses*; as when we read the *Æneids*, we say, we read *Virgil*.

(c) *By the Authority of Jesus Christ.* In St. *John*, ch. 5. There is one that accuseth you, (saith our Saviour) even *Moses*, in whom ye trust: For had you believed *Moses*, you would have believed me, for he wrote of me. 'Tis plain therefore that *Moses* wrote, and that he wrote those Books, which the *Jews* read for his. Now who doubts that these Books were the *Pentateuch*. And indeed since our Saviour does always distinguish the Prophets from the Law of *Moses*, by the Law he can mean only the *Pentateuch*. In the first Chapter of St. *John*, *Philip* saith to *Nathaniel*, We have found him, of whom *Moses* in the Law, and the Prophets did write. There are many other places where our Saviour cites the Books of the *Pentateuch* under the name of the Law, and consequently we ought not to doubt, that he has assured us that these Books were written by *Moses*.

St. *Luke*, in the 24th Chapter of his Gospel, saith, That our Saviour beginning with *Moses*, and continuing with the Prophets Expounded to his Disciples, who were going to *Emmaus*, the Things that were said concerning himself in the Scriptures. Therefore *Moses* was the most ancient Author of the *Jews*, and the *Pentateuch* was acknowledged to be written by him, as they owned the Books of the Prophets to be written by the Prophets.

(d) *The Consent of all Nations.* 'Tis certain, that not only the *Jews* were always of opinion, that these Books were written by *Moses*, but also that all People have considered *Moses* as the Author of the Law and Religion of the *Jews*. 'Tis the unanimous Consent of all Nations, and all Men, no one ever questioning the Truth of it before these last Ages. *Huetius* maintains, that all Religions have borrowed their Theology out of the Books of *Moses*, whose History they have purposely altered and disguised, to accommodate it the better to their Fables. He pretends, for Instance, That *Adonis* of the *Phœnicians*; that *Mercury*, *Osiris*, *Serapis*, *Anubis*, and the other Gods of the *Ægyptians*; that *Zoroaster* of the *Persians*, and the Divinities of the Western Nations; that *Cadmus*, *Apollo*, *Priapus*, *Æsculapius*, *Prometheus*, and the other Gods of the *Grecians*; that *Janus*, *Faunus*, *Vertumnus*, *Evander* of the *Latins*; in a word, that all those Fabulous Deities, were taken out of the Books of *Moses*, but disguised according to the Pagan manner, and put into a new Dress. But these Conjectures being only Probabilities, and no more, cannot serve to demonstrate a Truth, which does not need such Supports, as being clearly established upon indisputable Principles.

(e) *And by the Authentick Testimonies of the most ancient Authors.* That is, a continued Tradition of Authors from the Times that came nearest to *Moses* down to ours; and as we cannot doubt that *Homer's* Poem is his, because all Writers that have appeared since his Age have attributed it to him; so neither can we reasonably doubt, that these Books were written by *Moses*. They commonly produce the Authority of *Sanchoniathon*, who, as they give out, lived before the *Trojan*

War, and wrote the History of the *Phœnicians*, Translated afterwards into Greek by *Philo Byblius*, where he has borrowed several Passages out of the Books of *Moses*. But 'tis not certain that this Author is so ancient as they pretend. They likewise affirm, that *Homer* and *Hesiod* have taken many things out of him, and 'tis indeed extremely probable. The same thing has been observed of the Philosophers, as *Thales*, *Pythagoras*, *Anaxagoras*, *Socrates*, and *Plato*, but all this is said by Conjecture. We ought therefore to rely principally upon the Testimony of those Authors who tell us positively, that *Moses* was the Chief Leader and Law-giver of the *Jews*, such as *Manetho*, cited by *Josephus* in his first Book against *Appion*, *Philostratus* the *Athenian*, whom the Author of the *Exhortation to the Gentiles*, commonly said to be St. *Justin*, mentions; *Eupolemus*, cited by the same Author; *Eupolemus*, cited by *Alexander Polyhistor*, mentioned by *Eusebius*; *Apollonius Molo*, cited by *Josephus*; *Castor*, cited by the Author of the *Exhortation to the Gentiles*; *Diodorus Siculus*, produced by the same Authors, and by St. *Cyril* in his first Book against *Julian*, though in our Copies he does not make mention of *Moses*, but of *Mnæses*, who is the *Osiris* of the *Ægyptians*; *Charemon* Author of the *Ægyptian* History, cited by *Josephus*; *Trogus Pompeius*, Epitomized by *Justin*, who makes *Moses* the Author of the *Jewish* Laws; *Nicolaus Damascenus*, cited by *Josephus*; *Mendesium*, cited by the Author of the *Exhortation to the Gentiles*, by *Tatian*, by *Eusebius*, and by St. *Cyril*. *Strabo*, who makes *Moses* the Author of the Religion and Laws of the *Jews*; *Appion*, who although an Enemy to the *Jews*, yet supposes that *Moses* gave 'em their Laws; *Juvenal*, who speaks of the Volumes of *Moses*, Sat. 14. *Tradidit arcano quodcumque volumine Moses*. *Ptolemy* of *Alexandria*, who calls him the Legislator of the *Jews*; *Pliny*, *Tacitus*, and *Justin*, who have observed the same things; *Numenius*, who has taken notice that *Plato* was a Grecizing *Moses*; *Longinus*, who commends the beginning of *Genesis*, and produces a Passage in it as an Example of Sublimeness, calling the Author in these words, *The wise Law-giver of the Jews*; *Porphyry* and *Julian*, who wrote against the *Christian* Religion, yet acknowledged that the Books of the *Pentateuch* were written by *Moses*. To these we may add several Authors who have delivered Histories down to Posterity, that were undeniably taken out of the *Pentateuch*, such as *Hecataeus*, *Berosus*, *Abydenus*, *Manetho*, *Eupolemus*, *Alexander*, *Polyhistor*, *Artapanus*, *Demetrius* the *Jew*, and many others, cited by *Josephus* in his first Book against *Appion*, by the Author of the *Exhortation to the Gentiles*, by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, by *Eusebius* in his Books *De Præp. Evang.* I have not mentioned *Philo*, *Josephus*, and the other *Jews*, because they all take it for granted that *Moses* is the Author of the *Jewish* Laws, meaning by these words, the five Books of the *Pentateuch*. The *Samaritan Pentateuch* affords us yet more convincing Proofs; for after the division of the People of *Israel*, which happened under *Rehoboam* the Son of *Salomon*, the ten Tribes preserved the *Pentateuch* written in the *Samaritan* Character, which is the ancient Character, of the *Hebrews*, from whence we may rationally conclude, that at that time they had the *Pentateuch* in the same condition, as it is in at present, which they constantly ascribe to *Moses*. One cannot with any tolerable pretence question the Antiquity of the *Samaritan Pentateuch*, since it is written in Characters, which were not in use after the *Babylonish* Captivity. The Version of the *Septuagint*, which is assuredly very ancient, is likewise another Proof that the Books of the *Pentateuch* are written by *Moses*. In a word, all those who have spoken of the *Pentateuch*, whether *Jews*, *Christians*, or *Pagans*, have taken it for granted that these Books were written by *Moses*. And certainly 'tis extravagant rashness to oppose a few weak ill-grounded Conjectures to the Universal Consent of all Mankind.

(f) *And consequently Ruine the Foundation of our Religion.* One of the great Proofs of the Truth of our Religion, is its Antiquity, which is principally supported by the Antiquity of the Books of the Law. Now if they are not *Moses's*, and if they carry a false Name, what Proof can we give of their Antiquity? this is the ready way to give occasion to *Libertines* to Ridicule 'em, and consider 'em only as Fabulous Books, composed at pleasure by the later *Jews* after the Captivity.

(g) *If what they alledged were true, yet they could only prove.* Here are the Objections which Rabbi *Aben-Ezra*, *Spinoza*, the Author of the Book of the *Prædomites*, *F. Simon*, and some others, propose against the Antiquity of the Books of *Moses*, and the Answers to them, from which we shall better discern their Weakness.

The first Objection is drawn from these words of *Deuteronomy*; Behold the Words which *Moses* spoke before all the Congregation of *Israel* beyond *Jordan*. This could not be written, say they, by *Moses*, who never passed the *Jordan*, no more than the Children of *Israel* did, while he was alive. Answer. The *Hebrew* word, as *Vatablus* observes, may signify on this side as well as on the other side. *Pigninus*, *Buxtorf*, and all Persons that are conversant in *Hebrew* are of the same opinion. It literally signifies, *In transitu, in transendo; In their passage, being ready to pass*. Thus this Objection that appeared so terrible at first sight, carries indeed no difficulty with it.

Second Objection. In the *Pentateuch*, *Moses* is always spoken of in the third Person. He is commended there in several places, as in *Numbers*, ch. 12. where he is called, *The meekest*



man upon earth; as also in *Deuteronomy*, ch. 34. And there arose not a Prophet since in Israel like unto Moses. And is it credible that Moses would have thus commended himself? *Answer*. 'Tis ordinary for those who compose a History, where themselves are concerned, to speak of themselves in the third Person. Caesar in his Commentaries always speaks of his own Actions in the third Person. Josephus does the same thing in his History of the Wars of the Jews. St. John in his Gospel speaks likewise of himself in the third Person; The Disciple, says he, whom Jesus loved. And in another place, If I will that he tarry, what is that to you? St. Matthew relating his own Conversion, speaks of himself in the third Person, and some say, that St. Luke was one of the two Disciples, whom our Saviour met going towards Emmaus. The Praises which Moses gives himself are not excessive. It was necessary that in his own Books he should take notice of the signal Favours which God had conferred upon him, as well as conceal none of his own Mis-carriages. Josephus and Caesar often commend themselves after the same manner.

*Third Objection*. In the 12th Chapter of *Genesis* the Author has this remarkable Parenthesis, *And the Canaanite was then in the Land*. Which makes it evident, say they, that this was written when the Canaanites were no longer in Palestine, otherwise this Advertisement had been impertinent. Now 'tis plain, they were not chased out of that Land till a long time after Moses's death, and consequently he is not the Author of this Book. *Answer*. Since these words, *Canaanus erat in terrâ illâ*, bear this sense, it may be reasonably supposed, that this Parenthesis was inserted after Moses's time. This is an usual thing, and it often happens that these sorts of Explications, which at first were written in the Margin, to illustrate the Text, afterwards were inserted into the Text by way of Parenthesis. But one may likewise say, that these words *Canaanus autem erat in terrâ*, don't signify *Olim erat in terrâ*, but *Jam tum erat in terrâ*, i. e. That Moses speaking of the passage of Abraham through the Land of Sichem, observes that the Canaanites were then in the Land. Thus the sense is natural, and no ways forced.

*Fourth Objection*. In *Genesis*, ch. 22. v. 14. the Mountain Moria is called *The Mountain of the Lord, who will provide*; *Appellavitque Abraham nomen loci illius, Dominus videt*. Now, say they, it had not this Name, till after it was set apart to make a Temple there. *Answer*. But how do they know this? For is not the contrary expressly attested in that place of *Genesis*? And does it not appear, that this Mountain received the name of *The Lord will provide*, because of Abraham's Answer to his Son, *My Son, God will provide*?

*Fifth Objection*. In *Deuteronomy*, ch. 3. v. 10, and 11. where mention is made of Og King of Basan, 'tis said, That he alone was remaining of the Race of the Giants. *Behold his Bedstead was a Bedstead of Iron, is it not in Rabbath of the Children of Ammon? Nine Cubits was the length thereof, and four Cubits the breadth of it*. They say, these words make it evident, that the Author of *Deuteronomy* was of a later standing than Moses. For in the first place, why should Moses speak of this Bed, to prove the greatness of this Giant, since all the Israelites might have beheld it themselves? 'Tis more probable to say, That this was written by an Author, who lived in a time, when they had no knowledge of this King. Secondly, Why was not this Bed any longer in the Land of Basan, but in Rabbath of the Children of Ammon? In short, say they, this Bed was not discovered till the time of David, who subdued the Ammonites, and took Rabbath, as we find it related in the second Book of *Samuel*, ch. 12. v. 30. *Answer*. Supposing all this to be true, 'tis easily answered, by saying that, as for what has a relation to Og's Bed, it was added in a Parenthesis. But why might not Moses give an account of that Bed, to prove the greatness of that Giant, even when he addressed himself to the Israelites, since perhaps he was writing this Relation some considerable time after the King was slain, and 'tis not to be imagined that all the Israelites had seen the Bed? But admit the Matter was not so, yet Moses might very well make use of this Proof to make the Matter of Fact credible to Posterity. Thus the Historians of our time, when they occasionally discourse of any extraordinary thing, although it is never so well known to the World, yet they frequently say, We have such and such Proofs of it, the Monster is still kept in such a place, &c. As for what follows, that this Iron Bed was in the Land of Basan, and not in Rabbath this is all taken upon supposition, for why might not the Ammonites possess it in the time of Moses?

*Sixth Objection*. The Author of the *Pentateuch*, say they, gives such Names to several Cities and Countries as they had not, till a long time after the Death of Moses. In *Genesis*, ch. 14. 'tis said, That Abraham pursued the Kings, who had carried away his Nephew Lot, as far as Dan. Now the Name of Dan was not given to this Country till a long time after, when six hundred Men of the Tribe of Dan took the City of Zais, and, after they had taken it, gave it the Name of their Tribe, as we read in the Book of *Judges*, ch. 18. The same Author likewise speaks often of the City of Hebron, which was not so called, till after the death of Moses, from Hebron the Son of Caleb, to whom Joshua gave it; formerly it was called Kirjath-Arba, as we are particularly informed in *Joshua*, ch. 14. v. 15. In *Deuteronomy* ch. 3. v. 14. it is said, That

Jair the Son of Manasseh took all the Country of Argob unto the Coasts of Geshuri, and Maachathi, and called them after his own name Bashan-Havoth-Jair unto this day. *Answer*. We may generally answer these Objections thus, by saying, That these Names were changed after Moses's time, to render the History more intelligible to those, to whom the ancient Names of those Cities and Countries that Moses used, would be altogether unknown. But the first difficulty may be cleared otherwise, by saying, That the Name of Dan is more ancient than they pretend: That the River Jordan was so called, because it has its Original from two Springs Jor and Dan: So we may say there was another City of that Name called Dan or Danna, whereof mention is made in the 15th Chapter of *Joshua*, Verse the 49th, which was in the Tribe of Judah, in the Country of Sodom. To the second Instance we may return this answer, That it is not clearly said in the Book of *Joshua*, that Hebron gave his Name to the City of Kirjath-Arba, but only, that the City of Hebron was formerly called by that Name. Which may be well enough understood of an ancient Name, which it had heretofore. The last Difficulty is not considerable, 'tis only in these Words, *Usque in presentem diem*. Now Moses might use this expression to demonstrate that Country more clearly, or perhaps it might be added after him.

*Seventh Objection*. The Author of the *Pentateuch* speaketh of things that happened after the Death of Moses, in *Exodus*, ch. 16. v. 35. it is said that the Children of Israel did eat Manna, Forty Years, until they came to a Land inhabited; they did eat Manna, until they came to the Borders of the Land of Canaan. Now this could not be written by Moses, who died before the Forty Years were accomplished. After the same manner 'tis written in the 36th Chapter of *Genesis*, Verse 31. *And these are the Kings that reigned in the Land of Edom, before there reigned any King over the Children of Israel*. Which words put it beyond controversy, that he who wrote this, was alive after the Israelites had Kings set over them. To this we may add, that after this Author has given us a Catalogue of the eight Kings of the Edomites, he speaks of their Dukes. Now they had not Dukes in the place of their Kings till a long time after, as we may observe in the first Book of the *Chronicles*, Chapter 1. Verse 5. In short, 'tis said in *Deuteronomy*, Chapter 2. Verse 12. that the Sons of Esau dwelt in Seir, after they had driven out and destroyed the ancient Inhabitants called Horims, as the Children of Israel did unto the Land of their possession. Which passage, say they, seems to intimate, that the Israelites had subdued the Edomites when this was written. *Answer*. If all these places were to be taken in the sense that is given them, yet we might answer, that some of them have been since added, or that Moses sometimes spoke by a Prophetick Spirit. But we need not run to such Solutions. Moses might say, that the Israelites should eat Manna Forty Years, knowing, as he certainly did, that they were to tarry so long in the Desert, as it appears in the 14th Chapter of the Book of *Numbers*. Moreover, God had revealed to Moses, that the Israelites should afterwards have a King, as it is clearly foretold in the 17th Chapter of *Deuteronomy*, Verse 14. The eight Kings of the Edomites there mentioned, might have reigned from Esau to Moses; and the Dukes, of whom he speaks, did not succeed the Kings, but govern'd at the same time. Lastly, these Words, *As the Israelites did to the Land in their possession*, don't at all signify or intimate the Land of the Edomites, but the Land which was promised to the Israelites. And let not any one say, that the Israelites were not as yet in possession of the Land of Promise in Moses's time, since 'tis certain that the Tribes of Reuben and Gad, with a great part of that of Manasseh, had possessed themselves of the Country of the Amorites, and of the Men of Basan, after they had put 'em to the sword.

*Eighth Objection*. The strongest Argument at first view is the Death and Burial of Moses, which is described at the end of *Deuteronomy*. To this there are two *Answers*. The first of those, who say with Philo and Josephus, That Moses wrote it himself by a Spirit of Prophecy. The second, which is the more common and solid of the two, That this Account was added either by Joshua, or by Ezra; or lastly, by the Synagogue of the Jews, to make the History of the *Pentateuch* more perfect.

*Ninth Objection*. They say, That Moses is so far from being the Author of the *Pentateuch*, that the Author there cites Books that were composed by Moses; as *The Book of the Covenant*, *Exod. 24*. *The Book of the Wars of the Lord*, *Numb. 21. 14*. in which there was likewise written the War against Amalek, which is mentioned in *Exodus*, Chap. 17. Verse 14. *The Book of the Law of the Lord in Deuteronomy*, Chap. 31. Verse 9. And lastly, a Song, which is referred to, in the two and thirtieth Chapter of *Deuteronomy*. From whence they conclude, that the *Pentateuch* was composed out of the several Books of Moses. *Answer*. This Objection carries no force with it; for what should hinder Moses from citing the Books which he had formerly composed? Besides, should we grant that all these passages are to be understood of those Books that were written by Moses, it would not invalidate our Opinion. But this cannot certainly be proved. For in the first place, we don't know, whether there was any such Book or no that was intitled, *The Battles of the Lord*; for the Hebrew Text does not intimate that it was already written, but that it might be. Neither is



it evident whether there is any Book mentioned: For the Hebrew Word may signify any manner of Narrative, and so the Words that are cited may bear this sense, *As it will be related when the Israelites describe the Battles of the Lord.* Mr. Simon, quarrels with this Interpretation, which, I say, these Words will naturally bear; but however, he does not demonstrate that they cannot be thus applied. Others understand this place of a certain Song, which they used to sing in honour of their Victories. It is not said in *Exodus*, Chap. 17. that the War of *Amalek* was written in the Book of the Battels of the Lord, but only God commanded *Moses* to write it, and 'tis that which he did in that place. That passage in *Exodus*, Chap. 24. does not prove that *Moses* wrote a Book of the Covenant, but only that being come down from the Mountain, he recited to the People the Laws which God had given him in the Mountain, which are set down in the preceding Chapters. And this it is which is called in that place *The Book of the Covenant*. *The Book of the Law*, of which mention is made in *Deuteronomy*, is not different from *Deuteronomy* it self. And after all, it is not improbable that *Moses* referred to a Song, which he himself had composed.

*Tenth Objection.* There were (says Mr. Simon) amongst the Hebrews, Prophets inspired by God, who had a particular Charge given 'em to preserve in Writing the most important Actions that happened in that Government. 'Tis probable, there were several of these Prophets in the time of *Moses*, and then we may rationally suppose, that *Moses*, as a Legislator, wrote only the Edicts and Commandments which he gave to the People, and that he left the care of collecting and transmitting to Posterity the most considerable Passages of State to these above-mentioned Scribes or Prophets. *Answer.* This Supposition is founded upon very uncertain Conjectures, and precarious Principles. The Egyptians, say they, had such Scribes or Registers to write down their Sacred Transactions, and therefore there were such also amongst the Jews. A very fine Consequence this! 'Tis credible however that *Moses* established such an Order of Men. But what Proofs have they to support this tottering Supposition? Why, *Josephus* and *Eusebius* tell us, that amongst the Hebrews it was not lawful for every one to write their History, but only for the Prophets who were inspired by God. All this may be very true; but then *Josephus* and *Eusebius* understand by these Prophets no other Persons but *Moses*, and those after him, who wrote the Books of the Old Testament down to the Reign of *Artaxerxes*. We must pass the same Judgment of *Theodoret*, say they, and the other Fathers: Now this, in my Opinion, is to make 'em speak things they never thought of, and not to understand them aright. As for what they add farther concerning these Prophets, whom they have invested with an Authority to add or diminish from the Books of Scripture, this is still more improbable than the other. They barely tell us instead of proving it, that in the Books of *Kings* several other Memoirs are quoted, from whence they draw this Conclusion, that all the Books of the Bible, which have come down to our hands, are only Abridgments and Summaries of the ancient Acts. But does it follow from hence, that all the other Books of the Bible were used after this rate? Does it follow, that they added to, or retrenched from them, after they were once made? Or lastly, that they were composed by these Prophets? They would have it proceed from this Reason, that there are so many Contradictions in the Books of the Holy Scripture. They say that this is the Reason of the Differences between the *Chronicles* and other Historical Treatises of the Bible, of that variety of false Conjectures that ruine the Authority of the Scriptures; and what is yet more material, that 'tis not impossible to reconcile these seeming Contradictions. To this purpose they amass together a great quantity of other Conjectures of this nature, very subtly invented, but weak and ill-grounded, and yet upon the strength of these, they make the Authority of the Bible to depend, after they have endeavoured to undermine the solid Foundations which bear it up. Thus by pretending to advance Criticism, they forsake the Rules of true Judgment, and follow the fantastick Chimæras of their own Imaginations. There is no weight in what they have invented themselves, or what they have found ready invented to their hands by some Rabbies; and yet at the same time they scruple and doubt of several things that are clearer and better established.

Although I did not name Mr. Simon in my first Edition, yet he very well perceived that this reproach was addressed to himself. The manner wherein he answered me, sufficiently shewed, that he was sensibly touched, however this his Carriage does not in the least justify him. For instead of demonstrating by solid Reasons, that the Reproaches I fasten'd upon him, were undeserved and ill-grounded, he has filled his Letter with nothing but Contumelies and scornful Reflections, which shews how heinously he resented the Liberty I took in examining his Hypothesis; and this all sensible Men observed as soon as ever his Letter appeared in publick. But now to make it evident to the whole World, that I have Reason on my side, viz. that Mr. Simon is in the wrong for quarrelling with me upon this occasion, I shall only cast my Eyes on the Preface of his Book, where he sets down the Principles of his Work at length: *The World will observe*, (says he) *that having considered nothing in this Essay but the Profit of those who have a mind to know the Grounds of the Holy Scriptures, I have inserted a*

*undance of Principles, very useful to resolve the most weighry Difficulties of the Bible, and at the same time to answer those Objections which are usually made against these Holy Books.* These Principles are reducible to three Heads: The first is, That there were always amongst the Hebrews a sort of Prophets, or Publick Registers, Divinely inspired, who made what Alterations or Additions they thought fit, in the Books of the Old Testament. The second is, That they heretofore wrote their Books upon little Leaves, which they rowled one over another round a small piece of Wood, without stitching them together; whence it happened sometimes, that not taking sufficient care to preserve the order of these ancient Leaves or Volumes, the things themselves treated of, have sometimes been misplaced. The third is, That there is a great deal of Reason to believe, that those Persons who joined these old Memoirs together, to keep up the Body of these Canonical Books which are now remaining, made no scruple at all to cut off several Synonymous Terms, which were found in their Copies, and were perhaps inserted only for a fuller Illustration. These are the great and admirable Principles of Mr. Simon, his Publick Registers, his Rolls, and Synonyms. Here is, according to him, a way to resolve the most perplexed Difficulties of the Bible, and to defend its Authority against the Disciples of *Spinoza*. Here is an infallible Expedient whereby we may confound the Socinians and Protestants, and invincibly prove the Inspiration of the Holy Books. And lastly, here is a never-failing Salve to silence all the objections that can be urged against the Scripture. I am of Opinion that Mr. Simon will find very few People who will be inclined to subscribe to the usefulness of these Principles. But this is not the Business I design to examine, 'tis their Solidity I desire to see, upon which he values himself so exceedingly. For if it be made evident, that these Principles are only established upon weak frivolous Conjectures, then adieu to all those Advantages, say I, that may be drawn from thence. Let us therefore examine all the Proofs that Mr. Simon has brought together in his *Critical History*, and other Books.

The first of his Principles, is that about the Scribes or Registers that were Divinely inspired. But he gives us no Proofs of this matter in his Preface; it seems that was not the proper place. In the first Chapter of his Critique, which is a sort of a second Preface, he contents himself with saying, That he gives the name of Prophets to the Authors of the Books of the Bibles, and with repeating what he said before in his Preface concerning the great advantage of these publick Scribes; as if it were enough for him barely to assert these things, without giving himself the trouble of proving them. But in the second Chapter he endeavours to make this whole matter evident, and therefore let us consider by what Reasons he offers to do it. In the first place he observes, that the Jewish State acknowledged no other Chief or Head, but God. From this Principle he concludes, that God himself gave 'em Laws by the Ministry of *Moses*, and of the other Prophets who succeeded him. This Conclusion is undeniable, but it was not necessary to prove it by a Principle more obscure than the Conclusion that is drawn from thence. But we are not concerned to know, whether there were any of these Prophets amongst the Hebrews, for that is a constantly received Truth; but 'tis our business to know, In the first place, Whether there were in all Ages amongst the Jews those Scribes or Registers whom he talks of, who looked after the Records and Histories of the Affairs of that Nation. Secondly, Whether they were divinely inspired. Thirdly, Whether they are the Authors of the Books of the Bible. 'Tis Mr. Simon's business to prove these three Propositions, and not barely to tell us in general, that there were Prophets amongst the Jews. The second Remark made by Mr. Simon is this, *That in all well-regulated Kingdoms, and especially in the Eastern Nations, they had always certain Persons, who took care to see, that the most important Occurrences of State were preserved in Writing.* I thought indeed that Mr. Simon would have concluded from this Observation, that they had such Persons likewise amongst the Jews. He disowns this Consequence, and therefore this can only pass for a Comparison, and so we must look for other Arguments to shew there were such publick Scribes amongst the Jews. It carries a great deal of Probability with it, continues he, that *Moses*, upon the first establishment of that State, set up this sort of Scribes, whom we may call Publick or Divine ones, to distinguish 'em from particular Writers, who usually engage to write the History of their own Times from no Motives but those of Interest. However 'tis not certain that *Moses* ever did institute these Scribes, 'tis a mere Conjecture and nothing else. But how does Mr. Simon endeavour to prove it? He gives us two Reasons in a Parenthesis; the first is, *Because Moses was bred up in the Egyptian Court, where they had Priests, to whom they gave the name of Scribes or Registers of Sacred Things.* As if it were necessary, or indeed probable, that *Moses* would appoint amongst the Children of Israel whatever he saw practised by the Egyptians. He ought to have produced some Reason, or at least some Conjecture, to prove that *Moses* imitated them in this. But Mr. Simon omits to do it. The second Reason, which he alleges to prove that *Moses* established this sort of Scribes amongst the Jews, is, *Because he was a perfect Law-giver*; as if it was necessary for a perfect Law-giver to institute such a Custom. Was not *Lycurgus* a perfect Law-giver? And yet, by the

acknow.



acknowledgment of Mr. Simon himself, he did not appoint any of these publick Scribes in his Commonwealth. But for what purpose I wonder should Moses set 'em up amongst the Jews, when he himself had written their Laws and History. Besides, could Mr. Simon undeniably prove, that there were these publick Scribes in the time of Moses, yet it would not follow from thence, that they were the Authors of the *Pentateuch*. And thus we see, that all Mr. Simon's admirable Conjectures to show, that the Books of the *Pentateuch* were written by the Scribes divinely inspired, fall to the ground, without doing what they were produced for.

Let us now see, if he is more fortunate in his Citations. The first is from *Josephus*, who tells us, *That amongst the Jews it was not lawful for every one to write their Annals, but that this Province was only reserved for the Prophets, who knew remote and future Things by Divine Inspiration, and committed to Writing all the remarkable Passages of their time.* Now to this I formerly answered, *That Josephus by the Prophets understands no more than Moses, and those that wrote the Books of the Old Testament after him.* Mr. Simon answers, *That the Reasons of Josephus are too general to be explained by such a Restriction.* But this is a matter where we need not wholly depend upon Conjectures; 'tis but reading the whole passage in *Josephus*, and it will evidently appear, that in this place he only speaks of those Books that were received by the Jews for Canonical. The Words faithfully translated are these; *It is not lawful for every body amongst us to write History, there is no contrariety at all in our Histories. They are the Prophets who write, either about ancient Things that happened a long time ago, and which they learn by Divine Inspiration, or about Things that happened in their own time, and these they set down in order as they were transacted. We have not millions of Books that contradict one another, and only serve to perplex the Reader. We have only twenty two, which contain the History of all times, and to which we resign our Belief with a great deal of justice. Of these Books there are five by Moses . . . From Moses down to Artaxerxes King of Persia, who lived after Xerxes, the Prophets in thirteen Books wrote the History of their Times. The four following contain Hymns in Praise of God, and several moral Precepts. In short, from Artaxerxes down to our own Times we have our History very well written, but these Books are not of the same Authority with the former, because there has not been a continued and regular Succession of Prophets. Nothing in the whole World can be more directly opposite to Mr. Simon's Hypothesis than this passage of *Josephus*. Mr. Simon supposes, that in Moses's time there were publick Scribes, who cited the Memoirs from whence they composed the *Pentateuch*; and *Josephus* expressly tells us, that these five first Books were written by Moses. Mr. Simon supposes, that the following Books are only Abridgments of those ancient Memoirs, that were from time to time written by the publick Scribes, and afterwards collected together by others of the same Character; and *Josephus* supposes, they were written in the same manner as we now find 'em, by the Prophets that lived upon the spot when these things, which they have delivered, were transacted. Mr. Simon would needs have it, that in the Jewish Nation there were always publick Scribes divinely inspired; and *Josephus* plainly tells us, that the Succession of Prophets failed after Artaxerxes. Now what can be more irreconcilable than all this? Besides, 'tis observable, that *Josephus's* Prophets are different from Mr. Simon's publick Scribes. They were not Men entrusted with the Registers, and appointed to write History: But Prophets, whom from time to time we find amongst the Jews, who took care to transmit the Passages of their time to Posterity; and their Books are not at all different from those, which the Jews acknowledged for Canonical in the time of *Josephus*. From all which it necessarily follows, that this passage confirms my Hypothesis, and utterly destroys Mr. Simon's: For we maintain with *Josephus* against Mr. Simon, that Moses is the Author of the *Pentateuch*, and that the other authentick Books of the Old Testament were written by Men divinely inspired, or by Prophets who lived near the times wherein those Occurrences happened which they delivered, though we do not certainly know their Names: 'Tis to these Books and not to the *Pentateuch*, that we are to apply the Words of St. Gregory upon *Job*, which Mr. Simon manifestly perverts and abuses in his first Chapter, *Quis hæc scripserit valde supervacue queritur, cum tamen Auctor Libri Spiritus Sanctus fideliter credatur.* For this Father speaks this only with relation to the Book of *Job*, whose Author is unknown to us.*

The second Author, that Mr. Simon alledges in his *Critical History* to prove these Scribes divinely inspired, is *Eusebius*: *Eusebius*, says he, *confirms this Opinion, when he takes notice, that amongst the Jews it was not allowed for all sorts of People to pass their Judgment upon those Men that were inspired by the Holy Spirit to write Holy Books.* He cites in the Margin, *Eusebius de preparatione Evangelicâ*; that is to say, a great Book in Folio; I have diligently hunted after this passage there, but have not been so happy as to meet with it. But let the matter be how it will, I don't see what Assistance it brings to Mr. Simon's Hypothesis; The Jews had Writers that were divinely inspired; Who questions it? As also, That it did not belong to all the World to judge who they were, that were thus divinely inspired; but this Province was reserved for those Persons, who had the same Inspiration themselves. Well then, suppose it were so, does it therefore follow that the Books of Moses were composed by the Keepers

of Registers? Does it follow that those who were appointed to write History, and that too out of the publick Memoirs, were divinely inspired? Or lastly, That all the Books of Scripture which we now have, are but so many Abridgments extracted out of these Memoirs. As for what remains, Mr. Simon could not have cited any Author more contrary to his own Hypothesis, than *Eusebius*, and that even in this very Book *De Preparatione Evangelicâ*. For one of the great Principles, which he there establishes in several places, is the Authority and Antiquity of the Books of Moses, which he always supposes to have been written by that Prophet in the same manner as we have 'em at present. The Truth of this Assertion he confirms by these three Propositions, which he lays down in the beginning of the 14th Book. The first is, That Moses is ancients than any Greek Author. The second, That he has written what he had learned of his Ancestors. The third, That the Jews have neither added nor diminished from the Writings which he left them. And now I'll leave the World to judge whether these Principles of *Eusebius* agree with those of Mr. Simon.

The third Author cited by Mr. Simon is *Theodoret*. It must be confessed, that this Father owns, (as well as several other Authors have done) that the Books of *Kings* and *Chronicles* were composed from very ancient Memoirs. But this is not the point in Question. We confess, we are not assured of the Authors of those Books. We acknowledge they are a Collection drawn out of old Memoirs. But we demand of Mr. Simon whether it follows from hence, that the *Pentateuch*, and other Books of the Bible, are of the same Nature. This is a thing which *Theodoret* would beware of saying, because he owns Moses to be the Author of the *Pentateuch*. 'Tis with this Assertion he begins his Preface to the Books of *Kings*, from whence Mr. Simon has drawn these passages which he quotes. *After having explained the Books of Moses, &c.* To these three Authors has Mr. Simon in his Letter to Monsieur L' Abbe, added the Author of the *Synopsis*, attributed to St. *Athanasius*. This Author follows the Opinion of *Josephus*, and after having observed that the five first Books of the Bible do without dispute belong to Moses, he says, that all the following Books are not written by those whose Names they bear, but that they were composed by Prophets who lived from time to time. Lastly he observes, when he is speaking concerning the *Chronicles*, that one finds several Historical Books of the Prophets quoted there. And what does all this make for Mr. Simon's Hypothesis? Have not we said the very same thing? Does not all the World agree as to this particular? Had Mr. Simon kept himself here, no Body would have fell upon him.

The last Author, whom Mr. Simon cites to justify his Hypothesis, is the Author of the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*. This Author in the place transcribed by Mr. Simon, tells us, that there were some Prophets who wrote their own Prophecies themselves, as David the Book of Psalms, and Daniel his Prophecy; and that there were others who did not write themselves, but that they had Scribes in the Temple, who wrote down, as it were in a Journal, the Words of each Prophet . . . . That the Books of *Kings* were thus composed by parts, that under Saul's Reign they wrote whatever passed in his time, and so likewise in David's time, and the other Kings; That the *Chronicles* are but a Collection of Registers, and several Papers of their Kings; That Moses wrote the *Pentateuch*; That *Joshuah* is the Author of the Book which bears his Name; That the Book of *Judges* was written by the Scribes in the Temple from time to time, as well as that of *Ruth*; That *Salomon* composed the *Proverbs*, the *Canticles*, and *Ecclesiastes*. This Author's Hypothesis is extremely different from that of Mr. Simon. 1. He supposeth for a certain truth, that Moses was the Author of the *Pentateuch*, and does not attribute his Works to the publick Scribes or Abbreviators. 2. He does not say, that these publick Scribes were inspired by God, or that they wrote the History of themselves. He supposes the Prophets dictated that to them as well as their Prophecies. 3. He believes that the Books of *Kings* and *Judges* were the very Originals from the Prophets, which were joyned together. Instead of which Mr. Simon believes, that these Books are Abridgments. I won't lose so much time as to answer the Rabbies, and other Authors of that Stamp, whom Mr. Simon has mustered up in his last Letter. 'Tis visible there's not one single Author he quotes that is of the same opinion with himself. For, in the first place, they all of 'em acknowledge, That the Books of the *Pentateuch* ought not to be attributed to Scribes, or to Prophets divinely inspired, but to Moses himself. Secondly, they say, That the following Books were written by Persons divinely inspired, to whom they gave the name of Prophets, but they don't tell us, that these Prophets were Supervisors of the Registers, or publick Scribes. Thirdly, they acknowledge, that there were ancient Memoirs, or ancient Histories, often quoted in the Books of *Kings*, and the *Chronicles*. No body doubts this, I have frequently observed it, and have made a Catalogue of the Books that are quoted in the *Old Testament*. But it does not follow from hence, that all the Books of the Bible are extracted from these Memoirs, and compiled a long time after. Mr. Simon has given these publick Scribes authority to change, to enlarge, and abridge these sacred Books as they see convenient. To prove this, he quotes Don *Isaac Abarbanel*,



barbinel, a learned Spanish Jew, as if we were obliged to take all for Gospel that these Rabbies have been pleased to deliver. He joyns *Procopius* and *Theodoret* to this Jew, as Men that have observed, that the Books of *Kings* and *Chronicles* were drawn out of several other Historical Books. Not to displease Mr. *Simon*, he has mightily altered the Point, for this is not the Question under debate. We agree with him, that the Authors of the Books of *Kings*, and the *Chronicles*, compiled their Histories out of Memoirs and particular Historians whom they found, as *Livy* and *Mezeray* made use of the ancient Historians to compose their Histories: But for all this, we dare not say, they have changed or diminished the ancient Histories, that always continued in the same condition they were in, nor that they had a Privilege to do this, much less that they have made any considerable Alterations or Additions to the Books of *Moses*. Mr. *Simon* at last brings in a very dangerous Maxim, though he covers it under a specious appearance of Usefulness: *It would be dangerous, says he, to pretend to Correct one Book of Scripture by another, because they don't agree altogether themselves.* 'Tis very truly said, that we ought not to Correct one Book of Scripture by another: But it is not true, that two Books of the Scripture don't altogether agree with each other. There is not any real Contradiction between the Books of the Bible; if there are any apparent ones, the fault does not lie in the Authors, but in our want of understanding them. 'Tis a piece of extraordinary Rashness and Presumption to suppose with Mr. *Simon*, that there are real Contradictions in the Books of the Bible, that the Author of the *Chronicles* has reported Matter of Fact otherwise than it is in other places, or that the Genealogies and Chronology of the Scriptures are faulty, and the like: *I know, says Mr. Simon, that it is expressly forbidden in Deuteronomy to add or diminish a Tittle from the Word of God.* Here then there is an express Text against Mr. *Simon's* Hypothesis. Now to answer this Passage, he ought to alledge some other place of Scripture, which restrains and limits this Prohibition to private Persons, or gives Permission to the Prophets and publick Scribes to do the contrary. But Mr. *Simon* thinks it enough to quote the Author of the Book *Cozri*, who is of the same opinion, but by a peculiar Misfortune that attends him, we find, that a certain Commentator towards the bottom of the Page, where this Book is quoted, observes, *That the Author of the Book Cozri does not speak of the Scripture in that place, but only of the Explication of the Commandments, which depended upon the Judges of the Sanedrim, who had power to extend or limit them according to the circumstances of Time, and emergent Occasions.* What becomes then of Mr. *Simon's* Answer? It stood only upon the Authority of the Author of the Book *Cozri*, and now we see, that this very Author will not be brought to say what he would have him. After all, Mr. *Simon* quotes the Common Opinion of the Fathers, who believe, that the Collection of the Old Testament, such as it now is, was composed by *Ezrah*, which confirms, says he, what I am now maintaining; for *Ezrah* could not correct and restore these Books, which, according to them, had been corrupted during the time of the Captivity, but in the Quality and Character of a Prophet and publick Scribe, and therefore he is called a Scribe by the way of Excellence in the Bible. I would willingly know what necessity there was, that *Ezrah* should restore the Holy Scripture in quality of Publick Scribe, or Master of the Rolls. Is it not infinitely more probable to imagine he did it, because he was commanded to restore the Religion and Laws of the Jews in their ancient Purity, as being their Chief and High-Priest. Whenever he is called a Scribe in Scripture, 'tis not in Mr. *Simon's* sense, but because he was well skilled and knowing in the Law of the Lord. We need only give our selves the trouble to read this passage, *Ez. 7. v. 6. Ezrah went up from Babylon, and he was a ready Scribe in the Law of Moses, which the Lord God of Israel had given.* That is to say, he perfectly understood the Law, the Word Scribe being taken in the same sense in *Jeremiah, ch. 8. v. 8.* And it does not signify any thing else in the New Testament, where this Name is given to all the Doctors of the Law.

The second Principle of Mr. *Simon* depends upon the changing of the Rolls or Volumes in which these sacred Books are written. I said before, that *this Conjecture is only pleasant because it is new, and that it was a Chimæra, that had nothing at all to do with the Argument in hand.* Mr. *Simon* answers me immediately, That what I call a Chimæra, was a very ancient opinion, and likewise taken notice of by the most ancient Criticks. It was therefore his business to look after his Proofs. But I have no Exceptions to make to the Antiquity of Rolls, (for 'tis very plain that they formerly wrote upon Leaves which they rolled together) but only to the ill use he makes of 'em. He ought to have shown by convincing Instances, that these Rolls frequently occasioned Transpositions, and he ought likewise to have applied this Conjecture to some Examples in Scripture which had suffered by this disorder. But this I defy him to do after all his attempts, he dares not undertake any thing of that nature, but contents himself to say in general terms, that it may be so. I said also, that this Conjecture had nothing to do with the Subject, because if we supposed, that some little confusion might accidentally happen in the rolling of these Leaves, yet the Abridgers might easily recti-

fie 'em and set 'em in order. To this Mr. *Simon* replies, that 'tis to no purpose to talk of the Abridgers, because these Leaves were disordered long after the Collection of the Abridgments. I did indeed believe Mr. *Simon* had spoken of the Leaves of the Originals or Memoirs, out of which, as he pretends, they made an Abridgment of the Bible, and I am still of opinion, that he is thus to be understood, where he says, p. 35. *I much doubt whether we are to attribute to Moses and the publick Scribes, that lived in his time, the disorder and confusion which we find in several places of the Pentateuch: There is great probability for us to believe, that as they wrote their Books then upon little Rolls, or single Leaves, which they rolled one upon another, the order of these Leaves has been changed.* Now it was very probable, that this then had a relation to *Moses*, and the publick Scribes: But since Mr. *Simon* is willing to have it understood of the Times that followed these Abridgments, he ought to inform us, that the little Order which we find, as he pretends, in the *Pentateuch*, proceeded from the changing of these Rolls. But this he can never be able to do, and I challenge him to apply this Conjecture to the Examples which he produces; as one may readily rectify a printed Sheet of Paper which was transposed in binding a Book. Hence it follows, that this second Principle of Mr. *Simon* is so very far from being well grounded, that 'tis indeed wholly useless. As for what concerns his third Principle, which is the Repetition of the Synonymous Terms, from whence he pretends to conclude, that the Books of the Bible are composed from several ancient Memoirs, 'tis a false and frivolous Conjecture; for there is much greater reason for a Man to believe, that these Repetitions came from one Author, who wrote these things as Memoirs at first, than from an Epitomizer, who has weaved one continued History without making any repetition of the same things, or the same Words: Besides, that these Repetitions which Mr. *Simon* produces as Examples, are not absolutely needless, but serve either to Illustrate what has been said, or else to Corroborate some Circumstances or other, or lastly, to give more Force and Efficacy to what is written. 'Tis no unusual thing to meet with Repetitions of that nature in most Authors, and principally in those, that write the History of their own times with an air of Simplicity and Unaffectedness.

*Eleventh Objection.* 'Tis pretended that the Repetitions, which we meet with in the *Pentateuch*, were not in all probability made by *Moses*, but rather by them, who made a Collection of the Holy Books, and have joyned together several Precepts or Explications of the same Words. There are abundance of these Repetitions which they produce. They say moreover, that there are many Repetitions of the same thing differently related, and this makes it appear, that this History is drawn from several different Memoirs. They add, that we cannot rationally attribute them to *Moses*, because of the little Order or Regularity we find them in. They produce upon this occasion a Conjecture that is pleasant enough, because new. *There is reason to imagine, say they, that as they wrote their Books in those times upon Rolls, or separate Leaves, which they rolled one upon another, the order of the Leaves has been changed and inverted.* And so they pretend, that the diversity of Style, which is to be found in the Books of the *Pentateuch*, is a satisfactory Proof, to shew that the same Writer was not the Author. Answer. All these Objections are extremely weak and impertinent, and rather destroy, than contribute any thing to the Hypothesis they are produced to establish. For can any Man in the World believe, that an Author, who had abridged any History, would so often repeat the same things, that he would preserve no order, and not write in the same style throughout. On the contrary, Don't all Abbreviators make it their business to make their Relations in as few Words as possible, regularly, and after an uniform manner? The contrary Faults more frequently belong to the first Authors of History, who naturally and simply recount all Affairs which they know. This sort of Repetition is very familiar and common among the Ancients, and particularly amongst those, who wrote an History or Fable first; and they are rarely found in Historians, who compile their Works out of the Memoirs of other Men, the reason is, because the first write naturally, just as they speak, without Meditation and Study, and the others on the contrary, having all their Matter ready fitted to their hands, are only at the Expence of ranging, and digesting it Methodically. The Repetitions, which we find in the *Pentateuch*, are often necessary to explain the Particularities of those things, which at first they were forced to relate in general; for this reason it is, that the particular Circumstances of the Creation of the World, which were set down in the first Chapter of *Genesis*, were afterwards told over again, more particularly in the second. 'Twas the Genius and Custom of the *Hebrews* to repeat the same Words, as it was indeed the fashion of all the Ancients.

But we are not to believe, that there is so little order, as they would make us believe, in the *Pentateuch*, and if there were less than there really is, that would be rather an Argument to show it belongs to *Moses*, who wrote without Art, Method, and Affectation, as those People generally do, who leave Memoirs behind them of those Passages, wherein themselves bore a share. The conjecture about the Rolls is an extravagant



travagant Whimsie, that makes nothing at all to the purpose, for if there were any confusion of the Leaves, the Abbreviators might without any great difficulty set them right in their true order. Lastly, what they pretend about the considerable difference of style in the *Pentateuch*, is notoriously false: On the contrary, a Man may observe all along the Genius of the same Author; and if he sometimes does not happen to enlarge upon the Affairs, which he relates, 'tis because his Matter required shortness, or because he did not judge it convenient to use that liberty. Now we cannot in justice call this a difference of Style, when all the rest is agreeable, and of a piece.

But let us leave Mr. Simon to answer his Adversary, who pretends, as well as himself, that the *Pentateuch* does not belong to Moses, but to a Jewish Priest sent from Babylon to instruct the Christians. His Conjectures, which are easily answered, are these:

In the first place, he says, that the 11th and 12th Verses of the second Chapter in *Genesis* could not be written by Moses. The names of the first is *Pison*, that is it which compasseth the whole Land of *Havelah*, where there is Gold. And the Gold of that Land is good, there is *Bdellium*, and the *Onyx Stone*. These Remarks, says Mr. Simon's Adversary, seem to proceed from an Author who had been in that Country, that is to say, in *Chaldea*, for *Pison* is an Arm of *Euphrates*, that discharges it self into the *Persian Gulf*. It is by no means probable, that Moses, who never went far from *Aegypt*, should be able to give so particular a relation of a Country so remote and distant, in a time when such Voyages were very rare, and attended with abundance of Difficulties. But I would willingly understand what should hinder Moses from knowing, that this Country was watered with the River *Pison*, and how was it possible for him to give a description of the place, unless he had given the most publick and commonly known Marks. We see plainly, that some Countries, though never so remote, are yet known well enough for those excellent and precious Commodities that are found there, which are to be met with no where else, and which are transported from thence to other places. 'Tis not necessary for a Man, to go to *Potosi*, to be informed, that the Gold of that Country is very fine, and in great plenty; or to make a Voyage to the *Indies*, to know that Pearls and precious Stones, are found there; nor is there any more strength in the second Reason, which supposeth, that the exactness wherewith this Author describes the erecting of the Cities of *Mesopotamia* and *Assyria*, v. 18. of the 10th Chapter of *Genesis*, is a clear indication, that the Writer thereof had been in that Country. For is it necessary that an Historian should have been in all the places he mentions? On the other hand, Was there ever any Historian in the World that has seen all the Countries which he gives an account of?

These are this Author's private Guesses: We have already answered those which have been started by *Hobbs*, *Spinoza*, and Mr. Simon, as well as himself, but don't think it worth the while to throw away any time in refuting those extravagant Whimsies he makes so much noise about, to prove that the *Pentateuch* was written by a Samaritan Priest. They are so weak and pitiful that they deserve no body's Consideration, and indeed if such Reasonings were to be allowed, I don't know one single Book in the World which might not upon as good Grounds be taken away from the true Author, and bestowed upon another. From hence we may see, of what ill consequence it is to give ones Imagination too large a Scope, and mistake bare Conjectures for eternal Truths.

(b) They would only prove, that the same thing has happened to the Books of Moses, which has almost happened to all the ancient Authors, viz. That some few Words, Names, and Terms, have been added or altered to render the Narrative more intelligible,] If one examines all these Objections that I have already answered, he will be convinced they prove no more, and that one might have answered almost all of them by this very Remark. Mr. Simon, who cannot contradict me in this Point, is mighty desirous to set upon me another way, by objecting, that in my Preface, and other places of my Book, I have laid down Rules which seem to prove from these Additions, that the *Pentateuch* is a supposititious Work: For it seems I had affirmed in the first part of my Preface, That impostors for the most part relate Matters of Fact that happened after the Death of those whom they speak of, and they give an Account of Cities and people that were not known in the time of those Authors whose Names they assume. From whence Mr. Simon draws this Consequence, that since I own there are several such Additions in the *Pentateuch*, a Disciple of *Spinoza* may thence conclude, that according to my Rule 'tis a supposititious Work. To this I answer, that this Objection of Mr. Simon shews, that he has not so great a share of good Sense, and closeness of Arguing, as he has of Rabbinical Learning. For if he had only considered the General Remark which I made in my Preface about the Rules of Criticism there laid together, he could not have been guilty of so manifest a Solecism as this. I desired him to mind these Words a little: A Man may say, that all these Rules which I have here laid down, are convincing and probable in different degrees, but that the Sovereign and Principal Rule is the Judgment of Equity and Prudence, which instructs us to ballance the

Reasons of this and t'other side, in distinctly considering the Conjectures that are made of both sides. Now this is the General Rule of Rational Criticism, and we abuse all the rest if we don't chiefly make use of this. Let us now apply it to the present Question. There are in the *Pentateuch* some Terms, and Names of Cities, and other Passages that could not come from Moses; must we therefore hastily conclude that it was not written by Moses, because 'tis a certain sign that a Book is spurious, when one finds such Occurrences in it, as have happen'd after the Death of the Author to whom it is attributed, and because we there meet with some Names of Cities and People that were not known in his time? Or on the other hand, Does it follow, because the *Pentateuch* was writ by Moses, notwithstanding some Additions which are there to be found, does it I say thence follow, that the above-mentioned Rule is false? These two Consequences are very indiscreetly drawn, but the Rule is still good, and the Books of the *Pentateuch* may yet be written by Moses. The Rule is good, but we ought to make a good use of it. When there are no certain Proofs of the Antiquity of a Book, and besides there are other Conjectures to incline us to doubt of it, we may in pursuance of this Rule, conclude it spurious. But when it is past Dispute that such a Book is written by such an Author, and there is an infinite number of evident Arguments to demonstrate the truth of it; then we are necessarily to conclude, that these Words, and Terms, and Names, were afterwards added. After all, where there are Reasons on one side, as well as on the other, we ought carefully to ballance them, to weigh one against the other, and at last to determine the matter on that side, where the greatest appearance of probability lies. These are the true Rules of Criticism, which it seems Mr. Simon is ignorant of, or at least does not rightly examine, otherwise he could never have forgot himself so far, as to accuse me wrongfully for giving favourable Rules to the Disciples of *Spinoza*. The fault is by no means to be imputed to these Rules, which almost every Critick has given before me, but 'tis his way of Arguing, and drawing of Inferences that has been favourable to the *Spinozists*. His Conjectures, and Objections, and in short his Hypothesis, has served to confirm those Persons in their Errors, besides that several places of his Book give the greatest Blow imaginable to the Authority of the Holy Scripture; When he asks me, What answer I will return to a *Spinozist*, who to prove that the *Pentateuch* was not written by Moses, shall use my own Reasons to show that the Liturgy of St. James, as 'tis commonly received by the Oriental Nations, was not made by him? I will answer him, that there are not the same Reasons to induce a Man to believe that St. James was the Author of that Liturgy, which goes under his Name, as that the Books of Moses were written by him: That this was never affirmed in any of the Epistles of the Apostles, that the Ancients never speak of it, that this Liturgy does not agree with the Discipline that was in use in St. James's time. Whereas the Scripture informs me that Moses was Author of the *Pentateuch*, and Jesus Christ and his Apostles have assured me of the truth of it, and all the ancient Writers have testified so much, besides the Universal Agreement of all People in this matter. 'Tis therefore a manifest Injustice and Calumny in Mr. Simon to accuse me for designing to destroy the Books of Moses, under a pretence of defending them against the *Spinozists*.

Nor does Mr. Simon reason better in applying what I have said with regard to the Book of *Joshuah*, to the Books of the *Pentateuch*; 'tis but comparing the Arguments I brought to prove that the Books of the *Pentateuch* belonged to Moses, with those that are commonly produced to prove that the Book of *Joshuah* was written by *Joshuah*, and any Man will soon perceive the mighty difference between one and the other, and that the Reasons that are alledged in favour of Moses, are infinitely stronger than those that are urged to prove that *Joshuah* composed the Book that bears his Name. No man ever yet doubted that the *Pentateuch* was written by Moses, but 'tis not the same case with the Book of *Joshuah*. Mr. Simon supposeth there is as much evidence for one, as the other; in order to prove this, he imagines that all those formal places of Scripture that are produced to shew that Moses was Author of the *Pentateuch*, reduce themselves to this Head, viz. That Moses wrote the Law; and he pretends there is the same reason to affirm, that *Joshuah* added the Book of his History to the Books of the Law. But if any one will give himself the trouble to consider the passages that are to be found in the Notes (b) and (c), he will be persuaded that they are very positive as well as numerous, and don't lie in so narrow a compass as those which are brought in behalf of *Joshuah*: Besides, 'tis but reading the 24th Chapter of the Book of *Joshuah*, where we find this last passage, and we shall see that it may be very well understood of the Moral and Ceremonial Precepts that are mentioned in that place. From hence it evidently appears, that there's a vast difference between the Reasons that prove Moses to be the Author of the *Pentateuch*, and those that seem to intimate that *Joshuah* composed the Book which contains this History; and that a man without incurring the guilt of rashness, may doubt whether he is the Author of that Book; but that he cannot doubt whether Moses wrote the *Pentateuch*, without being guilty of that



crime to the highest degree. At the same time I will not absolutely deny that *Joshuah* was Author of the Book that carries his Name; I have only observed, that it is not absolutely certain, and 'tis an easy matter to take notice, that I rather incline to that party which assign it to *Joshuah*.

(i) *We don't certainly know when these Books were written by Moses.* Some say that *Genesis* was written by *Moses*, after the departure out of *Egypt*; so *Pererius* and *Tena*. 'Tis most probable, that all of them were written after the departure out of *Egypt*; and particularly that *Genesis* was composed after the Promulgation of the Law. This is the Opinion of *Eusebius* and the Ancients, and indeed we find in *Genesis* several Allusions to the Law; as for example, in Chap. 2. there is mention made of the Law of the Sabbath; and in the 7th and 8th Chapters of clean and unclean Beasts: Which are sufficient Intimations that *Moses* wrote those things, when his Thoughts were full of the Law then newly made. *Deuteronomy* is the last, for besides that it is a Repetition of what we find in the Law, it plainly tells us, that *Moses* spoke those things to the People of *Israel* when they were ready to go over *Jordan*. To this we may add, that he there relates whatever happened towards the end of his Life; and lastly, that the Account of his Death is inserted there, as being his last Work.

(k) *Though 'tis commonly believed that this Book was written by Joshuah.* Most of the Modern Writers are of this Opinion, as was also *Isidore* in the 6th Book of his *Origines*, *Juvenius*, and *Dorotheus*, *Vatablus*, *Abulenfis*, *Driedo*, and *Bellarmino* say the same, as do likewise the *Talmudists Babatra*, c. 1. This Opinion is chiefly supported by these words in the last Chapter, Vers. the 26th, where it is said, that *Joshuah* wrote all these things in the Book of the Law of God. However, this passage may have a relation only to what is written in this Chapter, or else perhaps *Joshuah* might have written another Book, of which this was an Abridgment. 'Tis said in *Ecclesiasticus*, Chap. 46. that *Joshuah* was the Successor of *Moses* in Prophecies; But this does not prove that he wrote any thing. *Theodoret* assures us, that the Book of *Joshuah* is nothing else but an Extract out of the Book of *Jasher*, which is mentioned in the 10th Chapter, Vers. the 13th.

The Reasons that are brought to prove that this Book was not written by *Joshuah*, are generally these. In the first place, say they, it is observed there in the 10th Chapter, Vers. 13. that the Book of *Jasher*, Where the Wars of *Joshuah* were written, is quoted, therefore the Book of *Joshuah* is later. 2. We meet there this fashion of speaking, *Usque in presentem diem, unto this day*, frequently repeated: As for instance, when 'tis said in the 4th Chap. Vers. 9. *That the twelve Stones which Joshuah took out of the midst of Jordan, continue there unto this day.* And in the 5th Chap. Vers. 9. *The name of the place is called Gilgal, unto this day.* 3. The taking of the City of *Lachish* is related Chap. 10. Vers. 35. tho' it happen'd not till after the Death of *Joshuah*, as we may see, *Judges*, Chap. 18. Vers. 29. So likewise, Chap. 11. Vers. 14. and the following, there is an account of *Caleb* and his Daughter *Achsah*, which passage did not fall out till after the Death of *Joshuah*, as it is written in the first Chapter of the Book of *Judges*. In the same Chapter, Vers. 28. there is mention made of the Land of *Cabul*, which received this Name from *Hiram* King of *Tyre*, as we may find it in the 9th Chapter of the first Book of *Kings*. Lastly, in the 9th Chapter, Vers. 23. and the last, it is said, *That Joshuah made the Gibeonites Drawers of Waters and Hewers of Wood in the House of his God*, which is probably to be understood of the Temple, that was not built long after the death of *Joshuah*. These Arguments are not wholly unanswerable. First, We don't know what manner of Book the Book of *Jasher* was; 'tis not said that all the Wars of *Joshuah* were set down there, but only the relation of the Sun's standing still. Some think that *Genesis* is there called the Book of *Jasher*, where, as they pretend, this memorable Event was foretold. Others believe 'tis the *Pentateuch*; *Grotius* says it was a Song composed upon that occasion. *Huetius* supposes that it is a Book of Morality. Lastly, others imagine it to have been a Book of Annals. If this last Opinion were the only true one, yet it by no means follows, that *Joshuah* was not Author of that Book where these Annals are quoted. Secondly, Supposing that *Joshuah* wrote this book towards the end of his Life, as is most reasonable to think he did, when he had occasion to speak of those things that happen'd at the beginning of his Ministry, he might very well make use of that Expression, *Usque in presentem diem, unto this day*, even as *St. Matthew* himself, who wrote a little after the Death of our Blessed Saviour, tells us, that the Field *Aeldama* was called *The Field of Blood unto this day*. These, and the following Objections, may be answered, by saying, that these things have been added since, and particularly the taking of the City of *Lachish* by the *Danites*: Or at least we may say that the City of *Lachish*, mentioned in *Joshuah*, is a different place from *Lachish* in the Book of *Judges*. The second Objection may be answered by saying, That whatever is said concerning *Othoniel* and *Achsah* in the Book of *Judges*, is only a Recapitulation of what happened in the time of *Joshuah*. The Land of *Cabul*, mentioned in *Joshuah*, is different from that in the Book of *Kings*: *Josephus* has distinguished them; one is a Country, the other a Village. The house of God,

mentioned in the Ninth Chapter, may be understood well enough of the Tabernacle and Ark, which was in the time of *Joshuah*.

(l) *Be it as it will, the Book of Judges is ancient.* To prove that this Book was not composed till after the Captivity, they commonly instance in these words in Chap. 18. Vers. 30, 31. *Until the day of the Captivity of the Land; and in these, in those days there was no King in Israel.* Words, say they, which demonstrate that this Book was written after the Captivity, and in the time when they had Kings in *Israel*. But the Captivity, spoken of in this place, is not that of *Babylon*, but the Captivity that happened in the time of *Heli*, when the Ark was taken by the *Philistines*, and the Idol of *Micah* was destroyed, as it is observed in this place of the Book of *Judges*. And as for these words, *In those days there was no King in Israel*, they don't necessarily suppose that there were any when this Author lived, and perhaps they were added by *Ezrah*.

(m) *Which has made Men think, that the Books of Samuel were written by that Prophet.* This Opinion is not certain, because Chap. 9. Vers. 9. it is said. *That he that is now called a Prophet, was before-time called a Seer*, which *Samuel* could not say. In the fifth Chapter, Verse the fifth, the Author of this Book, relating the History of the taking of the Ark, tells us, that the Priests of *Dagon* did not tread upon the Threshold of *Dagon* unto this day. But this might well enough be said by *Samuel*, because that happened when he was young, and he wrote not this Book till towards the end of his Life.

(n) *Ezrah speaks there in the first Person.* He speaks of himself in the first Person, *Ezrah*, Chap. 7. Vers. 27, and 28. *God hath extended his Mercy towards me before the King, and I, &c.* And Chap. 9. Vers. 5. *I fell upon my Knees, and I spread out my Hands.*

(o) *The Conjecture of Huetius is not so strong as to make us quit the common Opinion.* He says that the Author of the six first Chapters was at *Jerusalem* in the time of *Darius*, as it appears by these words in the fifth Chapter, *ad quod respondimus eis quæ essent nomina.* Now *Ezrah* came not to that City till after *Darius's* Reign under that of *Artaxerxes*, as is easily proved by the beginning of the seventh Chapter. But 'tis no hard matter to refute this Conjecture, by observing that when *Ezrah* said, *Respondimus eis*, he only spoke in the name of the *Jews*; and 'tis an usual thing with the Historians of any Nation to cry, *We did such or such a thing*, although the Historian had no share in the doing it.

(p) *The second Book is constantly attributed to Nehemiah.* He begins thus, *The Words of Nehemiah*; and after the same manner, *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, and *Timæus*, &c. begin their Works, not to mention the Prophets. The Author of *Ecclesiasticus* speaks of the Actions of *Nehemiah*, Chap. 40. and the Author of the second Book of the *Maccabees* commends his Writings.

(q) *'Tis commonly believed, that Tobit and Tobias wrote their own History.* This Opinion is principally founded upon the Angel's commanding them in the 12th Chapter, Vers. 20. *Narrate omnia mirabilia ejus.* In the Greek Interpreter it is *ῥητέματα*, that is, *Write all his wonderful Works*. Secondly, because in the Greek and Hebrew Editions they speak of themselves in the first Person.

(r) *The time wherein the History of Judith happen'd is no less uncertain.* Some say this History happened before the Captivity, and prove it, first, because it is said in this Book, that it happen'd a little after the City of *Ecbatana* was built by *Arphaxad* King of the *Medes*. Now that City, according to *Eusebius* and *Herodotus*, was built by *Dejoces*, who lived a long time before the Captivity. Secondly, King *Nebuchadnezzar*, who sent *Holofernes* into *Judaea*, reigned in *Ninive*, which City was destroyed before the Captivity of *Babylon*. Thirdly, This *Nebuchadnezzar*, they tell us, is *Saosdouchinus* Grandson of *Sennacherib*, and son of *Assaradon* King of the *Babylonians*, who gave the Name of *Nebuchadnezzar* to their King. Fourthly, They say that *Eliachim*, or *Joachim*, was High-Priest under *Manasses*, as we may see in the 22d. Chapter of *Isaiah*. Those who are of the contrary Opinion, return the following Answers to these Conjectures. To the first they reply, that *Ecbatana* was several times rebuilt. To the second, that *Ninive* was restored to its ancient Splendor by the Kings of *Persia*. To the third, that the Name of *Nebuchadnezzar* was common to the Kings of *Babylon* and *Assyria*. To the fourth, that *Eliachim*, of whom mention is made in *Isaiah*, and in the second Book of *Kings*, Chap. 18. was not High-Priest. The Reasons which they alledge for this Opinion are as follows: First, that this History happen'd at a time when there were no Kings at *Jerusalem*, and the High-Priests had the whole Authority in their Hands: Now this was not before the Captivity. Secondly, We read that there was one *Eliachim*, or *Joachim*, High-Priest after the Captivity. Thirdly, *Achior*, Prince of the *Edomites*, being ask'd by *Holofernes*, Chap. 5. Vers. 3. Who the People of *Israel* were? He tells him, that they were lately carried away Captives into a strange Land, but now possess'd the City *Jerusalem*. *Et plurimi eorum captivi abducti sunt in terram non suam, nuper autem reversi ad Dominum Deum suum, ex dispersione quâ dispersi erant adunati sunt, & ascenderunt Montana hac omnia, & iterum possident Jerusalem.* And in the Greek it is added, *καὶ ὁ ναὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστὶν ἐκεῖ*



ἡ δὲ ἐκδομή ἐστὶν τοῦ ἱεροῦ. Et Templum Dei eorum factum est in solum. Words that shew, that this passage ought to be understood of the Captivity, and Destruction of the Temple. Lastly, They add that it is said in the 16th Chapter, that *Judith*, who lived an Hundred and five Years, saw no more War in *Israel*; and in the 8th Chapter, that when she went to find out *Holofernes*, she was young and beautiful. Hence they say it evidently follows, that this History did not happen during the Reign of *Manasses*, because from the War which *Pharaoh Necho* made in the time of King *Josiah*, it was but Forty five or Forty six Years to the Captivity, so that by this account she must have been Sixty four Years old, when she went to meet *Holofernes*, which is by no means probable. These Reasons, I confess, are not unanswerable; but however, this Opinion seems to me to be most agreeable to truth. The greatest part of the Protestant Criticks, as *Luther*, *Chytraeus*, *Beroaldus*, *Scaliger*, and *Grotius*, believe that this History is a Fiction, or Allegory, which *Grotius* has very handsomely explained; but this is a rash Opinion, and ought not to be followed.

(f) The time and Author of the History of Hester are still uncertain.] *Scaliger* assures us that it happened under *Xerxes*. First he says, that the Name of *Ahasuerus*, in Greek Ὀξυγνης, resembles that of *Xerxes*: That *Xerxes's* Queen, whose Name is *Amestris* according to *Herodotus*, is the same with *Hester*: That the Feast whereof mention is made in this Book, is that which is related by the same Historian, which *Xerxes* made before his Expedition against *Greece*. This Opinion is easily confuted, because from hence it would follow, that *Hester* was very old when she was married to *Xerxes*, and that her Uncle *Mordecai* was an Hundred and sixty Years old; for being one of those who were carried away Captives into *Babylon* in the time of King *Jecooniah*, when he was Ten Years old, if we thereto add the Seventy Years of Captivity, and the Years of the Kings of *Persia* after *Cyrus*, it will by the least Computation make up an Hundred and fifty Years. Secondly, *Amestris* was married to *Xerxes* a long time before his Expedition into *Greece*, as it appears by the joyned Testimonies of *Herodotus* and *Ctesias*. The Father of *Amestris* was *Onophes* a *Persian*, and no *Jew*. In short, that Queen was ill-natured and cruel. The Opinion of those, who place this History under *Artaxerxes*, is confuted by the same reason that is urged against the former; for 'tis precisely said in the second Chapter, Vers. 6. that *Mordecai* was of the Number of those, who were carried away by the King of *Babylon* along with *Jecooniah*. The third Opinion of those, who believe it was *Cyaxares*, is no less improbable. For first of all, the King who is mentioned in that Book, is called King of the *Persians*, and not of the *Medes*. Secondly, It is said that he Ruled from *India* to *Aethiopia*; now the *Medes* were never so powerful. Thirdly, *Ahasuerus* commonly resided in the City of *Susa*, which, as *Solinus*, *Diodorus*, and *Plutarch* testify, was the place of residence of the Kings of *Persia*, and not of the *Median* Kings. Lastly, It could not happen under *Cyaxares* the Father of *Astyages*, as the Authors of this Opinion are agreed. As for *Cyaxares*, who is supposed to be the son of *Astyages*, he is altogether unknown to *Herodotus*, and other ancient Historians. None mention him but *Xenophon*, and all the world knows he is no exact Historian in his *Cyropædia*. So that after all, the Opinion of those who believe that *Ahasuerus* was the same with *Darius* the Son of *Histaspes*, as it is by far the most probable, so it carries no difficulty with it. The first Reason alledged against the other Opinions, makes it evident that it could not be any of the *Persian* Kings after *Darius*; and as for what is said of him in this Book, that he Ruled from *India* to *Aethiopia*, it excludes all the Kings before *Cambyfes*, and at the same time excludes *Cambyfes* himself, who never conquered *Egypt*, and consequently belongs to none but *Darius*. It is said there, that *Ahasuerus* resided in the City of *Susa*, which agrees very well with *Darius* the Son of *Histaspes*, because, as *Ælian* has observed, that King built himself a Palace in that City; and besides *Herodotus* adds, that he kept his Treasure there. The same Historian tells us, that he passionately loved one of his Wives, whom he calls *Artifone*, and that he put a Diadem upon her Head. This passage suits mightily with the History of *Hester*, and the Name too bears some Conformity, for *Hester* is likewise called *Hadassa*. King *Ahasuerus* made all the Isles of the Sea Tributary to him. Now according to *Thucydides*, *Darius* the Son of *Histaspes* conquered them, as it is also observed by *Plato* in his *Menæxenus*, and after him none of the *Persian* Kings brought them under their Command. They Object, That *Ahasuerus* was descended of the *Persian* Kings, as it appears in the 16th Chapter, whereas *Darius* was the Son of *Histaspes*, who was no King. But *Herodotus* assures us, that he was of the Royal Family. They likewise tell us, that it is written in the same Chapter that *Haman* would have translated the Empire to the *Macedonians*. Now say they, the *Macedonians* were not known till a long while after the time of *Darius*. Some People say, that *Haman* was no *Macedonian*, and that in stead of Μακεδών, we ought to read Ἀμαλιντάρης, because he was of the Race of *Agag*, but this Conjecture is not solid. Answer. The History of *Hester*, could not happen after this King, as we have already shewn, and the contrary Opinion is very weak. It was Natural for *Haman*, who was a *Macedonian*, to endeavour to Translate the Empire to his own Na-

tion, which was very Famous and Powerful at this time, as *Justin* has informed us. Lastly, they say, That *Ahasuerus* is also called *Artaxerxes* in the 16th Chapter; Now there were but three Kings of that Name, viz. one surnamed *Longimanus*, another *Anemon*, and the Last *Ochus*. *Ahasuerus* therefore was one of these three. Answer. *Artaxerxes* is a Name that might perhaps be given to all the Kings of *Persia*, as *Cæsar* to all the Roman Emperors.

(e) The greatest part make *Mordecai* the Author of it.] It seems that *Mordecai* was the Author of this Book, by chap. 9. vers. 20. and 23. and by chap. 12. vers. 4. where it is said, That he wrote down all that happened. In the Septuagint, chap. 9. *Hester* is joined to *Mordecai*, which made *Serrarius*, and some others, believe, that *Hester* and *Mordecai* composed it together. Those that pretend it was done by the Synagogue, draw their Conjecture from hence, because the Original and Ceremonies of the Feast of the Jews, called *Purim*, are there largely described, upon which occasion the Book seems to have been written.

(u) The Author of the Book, that recounts the History of Job, is no less uncertain.] Those that attribute it to *Job* ground their Opinion chiefly upon this, that he twice wishes in the 19th and 31st Chapters, that his Words were written down: But 'tis easie to observe, that he does not here speak of an ordinary Book, and that 'tis only a Figure, to shew how well he was satisfied of the Truth of them. Quis mihi tribuat ut scribantur Sermones mei: Quis mihi det ut exarentur in libro Stylo ferreo, et plumbi lamina, vel certe sculpantur in silice? Those that make *Moses* the Translator of it, as particularly the Author of one of the Commentaries upon *Job*, commonly ascribed to *Origen*, does say, That he Translated it out of the Arabick or Syriack. The Talmudists and Rabbins make *Moses* the Author of it; and this is likewise the Opinion of the Author of the second Commentary upon *Job*, attributed to *Origen*, of *Methodius* in *Photius*, of *Polychronius*, of *Julianus Halicarnassensis* in the *Catena*, and of *Nicetas* upon *Job*. St. *Jerome* also seems to be of the same Judgment. The only Reason they alledge to support this Opinion, is the resemblance of the Style, but for my part, I profess I cannot find it out. The Style of the Book of *Job* is Figurative, Poetical, Obscure, and full of Sentences. One finds there an infinite number of Arabick or Syriack Terms, and 'tis extremely different from the Style of the *Pentateuch*. *Origen* rejects this Opinion, Tom. 5. in *Johannem*, where he formally denies that *Moses* wrote any other Books besides the *Pentateuch*. St. *Gregory*, who attributes it to *Salomon*, brings nothing to prove this conjecture of his. Those that ascribe it to *Jeremiah*, justify themselves by the Conformity of the Style, and the Syriack Words that occur so frequently there. *Cadurcus* makes an *Edomitish* Prophet Author of it, but upon very frivolous idle Surmises. Some attribute it to the Captive Jews in *Babylon*, without any Foundation, so that we can say nothing of the Author of this Book, but that he is altogether unknown.

(x) Who say that the History of Job is wholly feigned.] This is the Opinion of the Talmudists, of *Maimonides*, and several Rabbins; but *Ezekiel*, ch. 14. v. 14. *Tobit*, ch. 2. v. 12. and St. *James* in his Epistle, speaks of him as a Man that really was. The proper Names of *Job*, of his Friends, of his Country, of the Number of his Children, serve to shew that it is a true History. St. *Cyprian* in his Treatise of *Patience*, St. *Jerome* in his Ep. 103. St. *Basil*, Homily the 4th, St. *Austin* in his Sermon 103. and all the Fathers, speak of him after this manner. 'Tis alledged against this Opinion, that the proper Names of this Book have mystick Significations; That *Job* signifies a Man in Grief; *Uz*, Counsel; *Zophar*, one that is watchful; *Eliphaz*, the Law of God; *Elihu*, God himself. To this it is answered, that most *Hebrew* Names have such sort of Significations. All the other Objections only prove, that this History is delivered Poetically. This is really true in this History, that there was a certain great Person named *Job*, who was reduced to the extremity of Misery, by the loss of his Goods, and his Children, heighen'd by a very severe fit of Sickness; that he supported himself under all these Afflictions with incredible Patience; and at last was restored to a prosperous Condition. Upon the occasion of this remarkable Event, some one or other composed the Book of *Job*, the Discourses of his Friends, the Answers of *Job*, &c.

(y z) Some persons make Job to have descended from Nabor the Brother of Abraham.] This is the Opinion of *Bellarmino*, who makes him the Grandson of *Nabor*, and older than *Moses*. He concludes, that 'tis probable he lived long, and that he lived not in *Moses's* time, but he produces no Authorities to back this Opinion. Amongst the Grand-Children of *Esau* there is one called *Jobab*, which Name is easily formed into that of *Job*. Hence it is, that some People believe he was one of the Descendants of *Esau*, and an *Edomite*. This is particularly observed in the Greek Addition, which is without question very ancient, since *Theodotion* has acknowledged it. *Grotius* believes, that in chap. 26. vers. 12. there is mention made of the drowning of the *Egyptians* in the Red Sea, but that is not certain. *Castellio* assures us, that in chap. 28. vers. 28. there is a passage taken out of *Deut.* chap. 4. vers. 56. but these two passages are different. The first is, Ecce timor Domini ipsa est Sapientia: The second is, Hac est enim vera Sapientia et Intellectus. *Grotius* adds, That this Book was written after *David* and *Salomon*, but before *Ezekiel*, pretending, that as it is quoted by that Prophet, so there are several passages in it drawn out of the *Psalms*,  
G and



and the Books of Salomon; but this is not evident, and it should rather seem, that David and Salomon borrowed some of their thoughts out of Job, although it is not necessary either to say one or the other.

(aa) 'Tis certain, as St. Jerome has observed, that all the Psalms were not written by David. [St. Jerome, Epist. ad Cypr. Scimus errare eos qui Psalmos omnes David arbitrantur, & non eorum, quorum nominibus inscripti sunt. Epist. ad Sophron. Psalmos eorum testatur Auctorum, qui ponuntur in titulis; scilicet Asaph, Idithum, filiorum Chore, Emon Esraita, Mosi, Salomonis, & reliquorum quos Esdras uno volumine comprehendit.] This is also the Opinion of Origen, of St. Hilary, and the Author of the Abridgment attributed to St. Athanasius. St. Augustine in his Exposition of the second Psalm seems to be of that Opinion: But in his Book of Heresies, Heresie the 26th, he takes the other Opinion to be the more probable of the two. Theodore also is doubtful in the matter, as he testifies in his Preface upon the Psalms. Some others of the Fathers seem to have been persuaded, that they were all composed by David, as St. Chrysostome, Euthymius, Cassiodorus, and particularly Philastrius, who in Heresie the 126th reckons all those for Hereticks that doubt the truth of it. Nevertheless it is very certain, that they were not all written by David, for in the first place, there are some of them that bear other names; and secondly, some passages are to be found there, which happened after David's death, as in Psalm the 137th, where mention is made of the Captivity of the Jews in Babylon. One may observe the same thing in Psalm 64th and 124th.

(bb) It is difficult to name the Authors of them. [St. Jerome pretends, that these Psalms belong to those whose names they carry; but this is not certain. 'Tis believed,

[I believe it should be; instead of so, because the 146th Psalm has this Title in the LXX, of Haggai and Zechariah.]

that the fifty next immediately after that that carries for its Title the return of Haggai and Zechariah, were written by those Prophets. The Author of the Abridgment, commonly attributed to St. Athanasius, believes, that all the Psalms entitled to David, *ipsi David*, are nevertheless done by some other hand. Our Blessed Saviour cites the hundred and tenth *Dixit Dominus*, which is found to have that Title, under the name of David, Matt. 22. v. 42. The hundred and thirty seventh Psalm carries the name of David and Jeremiah, *David et Jeremias*, which makes it apparently thus to be understood. A Psalm of Jeremiah composed in imitation of David. The 64th Psalm, in the vulgar Translation, bears the name of Isaac and of Ezekiel; the 70th that of the Sons of Jonadab, and the chief Captives. The Jews make Salomon the Author of the 92d, and of several others. Origen says, that the 90th was composed by Moses, whose name it bears; and the Jews tell us, he made it upon the occasion of a Sedition that happened amongst the Children of Israel, upon the return of those that were sent to discover the Land of Promise. St. Jerome is of the same opinion. The ten following Psalms are also attributed to Moses, not only by the Jews, but even by St. Hilary and Jerome. This cannot possibly hold true of the 99th, where mention is made of Samuel. Some of the Rabbies attribute the 92d to Adam, as the Talmudists do some to several of the ancient Patriarchs. There is a Greek Psalm, which is not of the number of the 150 attributed to David, but written by some Hellenist who has borrowed it out of David, *Isaiah*, and Ezekiel.

(cc) They have been cited as Books inspired by God both in the Old and New Testament. [The 105th, the 96th, and the 136th Psalms are to be found in the 16th Chapter of the First Book of Chronicles, and in the 7th of the Second Book it is said, that the Priests did sing the Psalms which David had composed for the Lord, singing, *For his mercy endureth for ever*. This is the 136th Psalm, which is yet to be found quoted in Chapters 5, and 20, of the same Book, in the 3d of Ezra, in the 13th of Judith, in the 33d of Jeremiah, and the 3d of Daniel, [according to their Computation, who esteem the Song of the Three Children to be part of the Canonical Scripture.] In Ecclesiasticus, ch. 47. v. 9. it is said, that David praised God with all his heart, and set Singers before the Altar, *In quorum sono dulces fecit modos*. I have not leisure to speak of those many passages in the Prophets which allude to several places in the Psalms. In the second of Maccabees, ch. 2. v. 13. there is mention made of the Psalms of David; St. Matthew, ch. 13. v. 35. and 27. v. 35. recites the Prophecies about our Blessed Saviour, contained in the Psalms. Jesus Christ himself cites the Psalm *Dixit Dominus*, &c. under the name of David; and in St. Luke, ch. 24. it is said, that all things must be fulfilled which were written in the Law of Moses, and in the Prophets, and in the Psalms concerning him: The Acts and the Epistles of the Apostles, are full of Citations out of the Psalms.

(dd) Grotius has pretended upon slight conjectures it was composed by Zorobabel. [This Opinion is not supported by any solid Reason. He says, that the Shepherd mentioned towards the end of the last Chapter is Zorobabel, and his Son Abiud, but he brings no Proofs to recommend this Opinion. They commonly object, when they would prove that this Book was not written by Salomon, that there are abundance of Chaldee words to be found in it, that are only to be met in Daniel, Ezra, &c. but perhaps these words might be in fashion amongst the Jews towards the end of Salomon's Reign, or it may be they

were added since. One might also object this passage of ch. 2. v. 8. *Os regis observa*, which makes it credible that it is not a King that speaks; but we ought to read *observa*, as it is in the Septuagint. [It looks also a little strange that Salomon should so often say, that he did so or so, above all that were before him in Jerusalem (Eccles. 1. 16. 2. 7, 9.) since his Father David was the first that ever reigned in Jerusalem.]

(ee) This Book of Wisdom is commonly attributed to Salomon. [This is St. Cyprian's opinion in his Book of Morality, of St. Augustine in his second Book of the Christian Doctrine, ch. 8. The ancient Versions, the Rabbins, Origen, St. Chrysostome, St. Clement of Alexandria, St. Cyprian, have likewise attributed it to Salomon. The most ancient Fathers call the Proverbs, the Wisdom of Salomon.]

(ff) St. Jerome says, he saw in his time an Hebrew Copy. [Munster and Fagius still make mention of an Hebrew Copy of this Book: Buxtorf tells us, he saw one that was Printed at Constantinople, but 'tis probable, that that Text was made up on the Greek.]

(gg) Some of the Ancients have attributed this Work to Salomon. [St. Cyprian and St. Ambrose have cited it under his name. St. Hilary testifies, that several Persons in his time attributed it to him. This opinion is impossible to be maintained, not only because we know who is the Author, but also because in ch. 47. there is mention made of the Prophets that lived after Salomon. Eusebius, St. Jerome, the Author of the Abridgment attributed to Athanasius, St. Epiphanius, St. Chrysostome, St. Austin, Casarius of Arles, and many others, have acknowledged the true Author of it, who was Jesus the Son of Syrach. St. Jerome says, he lived under the High-Priest Simon the Son of Onias the second, and that he wrote this Book after the Version of the Septuagint, or at least, that he lived in their time: And first he proves it by the Preface of his Grandson, who says he collected these Books of his Grandfather in the time of Ptolomy Evergetes, who immediately succeeded Ptolomy Philadelphus. Secondly, because he commends the High-Priest Simon the Just, Son of Onias the First, ch. 50. and afterwards the Translator praises Jesus the Son of Syrach, as one that lived in the time of that High-Priest. Thirdly, because, ch. 2. he seems to speak of the Persecution, which the Jews suffered under Ptolomy the Son of Lagus, and in the first year of Ptolomy Philadelphus. Huetius believes, that Joseph the Son of Syrach is the same with a certain Jew named Ben Sira, who has written the Proverbs in Hebrew, but this opinion does not appear to be well grounded.]

(hh) The son of one Amos, whom we must not confound with the Prophet that bears this name. [The name of the Prophet is Amos, and that of the Father of Isaiah, is Amos. The first was a Shepherd, the second was of Royal Extraction. The first lived in the time of Uzziab King of Judah, the latter is more ancient. St. Jerome in cap. 1. Isaie, St. Austin in the 18th Book de Civitate Dei, ch. 27. St. Cyril in his Preface upon Amos, and others, have distinguished between these two. Clemens Alexandrinus, l. 1. Strom. the Author of the Life and Death of the Prophets, attributed to St. Epiphanius, and the Rabbins, have confounded them. St. Jerome tells us, that the Father of Isaiah was Father in Law to Manasses.]

(ii) By whose command, they say, he was cruelly put to death, and sawn asunder with a Wooden saw. [This is a common Tradition amongst the Jews, and is confirmed by the Testimonies of Tertullian, St. Jerome, and St. Basil.]

(kk) The conjectures they bring to prove it are very frivolous. [They say, that the Prophecy of Isaiah does not begin before the 6th Chapter, when, after he has said that he held his Tongue, he says, *I heard a voice of the Lord, saying, whom shall I send?* In the second place they pretended, that what he says in the first Chapter concerning the desolation of Judah, does not at all agree with the Reign of Uzziab, and therefore 'tis not the beginning of his Prophecy. Thirdly, we don't find, say they, in this Book the Life and Actions of Uzziab that were written by Isaiah, as we are informed in the Chronicles. Fourthly, Isaiah prophesied also under Manasses, but there are no Prophecies under his Name, that have any relation to the Reign of that King. Fifthly, the order of things frequently reversed as well in Isaiah, as in the other Prophets. Answer. To the first Objection we return this answer, that the Prophet does not say, he had as yet wrote nothing, but only that he tarried a long time without writing, and at last God commanded him to write. 'Tis believed, he wrote this in the last year of King Uzziab. To the second we reply, that he might foretel a future desolation, even at a time before it happened. 'Tis an easie matter to answer the third by saying, that the Book of the Actions of Uzziab mentioned in the Chronicles, is different from that of his Prophecies. In order to answer the fourth, it sufficeth to observe, that it is no where said, that Isaiah wrote those things which he prophesied under Manasses. Lastly, as for the fifth, we say, that we ought not to expect a continued Historical style from the Prophets. On the contrary, their Prophecies are generally written without connexion and order. There was formerly another Prophecy of Jeremiah mentioned by Origen, where these words were to be found, *Appenderunt mercedem meam*, &c. The Nazarens made use of it, as St. Jerome testifies in cap. Matth. 27.]



(ll) *We don't certainly know at what time.*] Some are of opinion, that *Baruch* went not to *Babylon* till after the death of his Master *Jeremiah*, to whom he was too far engaged ever to quit him, and they confirm this opinion by the 2d Verse, where mention is made of the burning of *Jerusalem*. Others say, he wrote his Book before the destruction of *Jerusalem*, because he there speaks of Sacrifices and consecrated Vessels, which makes them believe, that he was one of those that were deputed in the fourth Year of *Zedekiah*, of whom *Saraiab* the Brother of *Baruch* was chief. They affirm therefore, that having carried the Book of *Isaiah* thither, he composed his Prophecy the year following to comfort the Captives, and that the fifth year after the taking of *Jerusalem*, which is mentioned in the second Verse, ought to be computed from the Captivity of *Jechoniah*.

(mm) *Which seems to be confirmed by a certain passage in his Book.*] In the first Chapter, verse, 3. *Et ait rex Asphenes praposito Eunuchorum... fuerunt ergo inter eos Daniel, &c.* *Origen* and *St. Jerome* are of this opinion. The Author of the *Life and Death of the Prophets* attributed to *St. Epiphanius*, and the false *Dorotheus*, are of the contrary opinion.

(nn) *The truth and antiquity of the two last Chapters, that contain the History of Susanna and of Bel, are mightily doubted.*] *Africanus*, *Eusebius*, and *Apollinarius*, reject both these Stories as fabulous, and maintain, they were not written by *Daniel*, but that they make a part of the Prophecy of *Habakkuk*. *St. Jerome* seems to be of this opinion in his Preface upon *Daniel*. *Origen* has defended the truth of this History, without being willing to affirm that it was Canonical. The Author of the Book of *the Wonderful things in Scripture* attributed to *St. Austin*, Tom. 3. lib. 2. chap. 32. does not mention the History of *Susanna*, and rejects that of *Bel*. *Theodoret* in his Comments upon *Daniel* speaks not a word of these Histories. *Nicephorus* places the History of *Susanna* amongst the Apocryphal Books. The Action of *Susanna* is related and commended by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, l. 4. Strom. by *Tertullian*, lib. de Corona, c. 4. by *St. Cyprian*, Ep. 4. by *St. Austin* in his 118th Sermon, and in several other places; by *St. Basil*, lib. 3. de Spir. sancto. cap. 7. by *St. Ambrose*, lib. 2. de Spir. sancto; by *St. Chrysostome* in an Homily which is in Tom. 5. by *Gregory Nazianzene* in his 29th Oration; by *Avitus* in his Epistle to his Sister; by *St. Fulgentius* in his Answers to *Ferrandus*; and by *Bede*. The Author of the *Abridgment* attributed to *St. Athanasius*, and *Ruffinus*, seem to own it for a Canonical Book, as well as *St. Ambrose*, and *Sulpitius Severus*. The Objections that are urged against this History are these. In the first place they tell us, that the History of *Susanna* could not happen when *Daniel* was a youth, as he is called in that Story. For in the 13th Chapter, verse 65. it is observed, that *Astyages* was dead, and *Cyrus* reigned in his place. Now *Daniel* was then well in years. Answer. This History happened a long time before, and as for the above mentioned passage it is put out of its place. For in the ancient Versions it is placed at the beginning of the Book of *Daniel*, and 'tis therefore set at the end of it in the Vulgar Edition, because it is not to be found in the Hebrew Text. Wherefore these words of the 13th Chapter, verse 65. *And King Astyages was gathered to his Fathers*, do not at all concern the History of *Susanna*, but that of *Bel*, which immediately follows, and accordingly in the Edition of *Sixtus Quintus* it is joyned to it.

*Africanus* objects, that it is not credible, that *Joachim* the Husband of *Susanna* was so rich and powerful in the Captivity, as he is said to be in that Book; nor that the Captive *Jesus* had authority to condemn their own Criminals. To this *Origen* answers, That the *Jews* that were carried away Captives into *Babylon* were not plundered, but that they were both rich and powerful, and that there is a great deal of reason to believe they had authority to judge and condemn their Malefactors by their own Laws, as they had afterwards, when they were conquered by the *Romans*. In the second place, *Africanus* raises an Objection about an allusion that is to be found in this History, where *Daniel* is introduced discoursing to the Elders in certain words, that allude to the Greek names of the Trees, under which they found *Susanna* committing wickedness. For the first of them having said, that it was under a Mastick Tree, in Greek *κισσός*, he answered him, that an Angel should cut him in two, because the word *κισσός* signifies in Greek to cut asunder; and the other having said, that it was under a Holm-Oak *ελαιών*, he makes use of the word *κισσός*, which allusions, says *Africanus*, make it appear, that it was a Greek that wrote these things. On the other hand *Origen* answers, that *Daniel* never made use of these terms, or names of Trees, but of some other Hebrew or Chaldee word, to which the Verb that signifies to cut asunder, answered, and that the Greek Interpreter endeavoured to render this sense by finding out some names of Trees, which alluded to those Greek Verbs that signify to cut asunder: And thus in *Genesis*, when it is said in the Hebrew, that a Woman is called *Isha*, the feminine of the word *Ish* that signifies a Man, the Latin Translation has rendered it *hæc vocabitur virgo*, and in the Greek, *Symmachus* has translated it *ἡ δὲ λέγεται*, which is a better word than *ἡ* that the Septuagint have used.

'Tis commonly objected against the History of *Bel*, that the ancient Title in the Septuagint attributes it to *Habakkuk*, and

that the *Daniel* mentioned in that History was a Priest; 'tis therefore another *Daniel* to whom all this happened. Answer. *St. Jerome* observes, that the Greek Interpreter of *Daniel*, whose Version goes under the name of the Septuagint, has allowed himself a great deal of liberty. Secondly, 'tis said, that *Habakkuk*, who lived in the time of *Manasses*, was dead about that time. Likewise 'tis replied by way of answer, that we ought to distinguish between the two *Habakkuks*, one that was a Prophet and lived in the time of *Manasses*, and the other who is spoken of in this place of *Daniel*, the last was of the Tribe of *Levi*, the former of *Simeon*. Lastly they tell us, that in the History of *Bel* and the Dragon it is said, that *Daniel* was six days in the Lions Den, whereas in the sixth Chapter, v. 19. we are told that he continued there but one night. But to this they answer, that *Daniel* was twice cast into the Lions Den, under *Darius*, because he prayed to his God contrary to the express command of that King, and under *Cyrus* upon occasion of the Dragon. The Prophecy of *Daniel* is quoted by *Ezekiel*, chap. 14. v. 14. in the Book of the *Maccabees*, chap. 2. v. 59. and 60. *Matth.* 24. v. 15.

(oo) *Hosca the Son of Becri is the first.*] 'Tis believed, that he is the most ancient not only of the twelve Minor, but also of all the Prophets. The false *Epiphanius*, and false *Dorotheus* report, that he was of the Tribe of *Issachar*, and the City of *Bezenor*, but these two are not very credible Authors.

(pp) *The Prophet Joel follows Hosca.*] This order is observed in the Hebrew Text, but the Greeks place *Amos* and *Micah* between them.

(qq) *'Tis not certainly known at what time Joel prophesied.*] *Huetius* pretends, that he prophesied after the Captivity of the ten Tribes, because it is said, chap. 3. v. 2. *that they have scattered the People of Israel amongst the Nations*. But why might not he speak of a future thing, as if it were already done? He likewise says, that there is not a word spoken of the Kingdom of *Israel* in the whole Prophecy, but this is not certain. Those persons that say he prophesied before *Amos* ground themselves principally upon his prediction of a Famine towards the end of the first Chapter, whereof *Amos* speaks as of a thing already past in the 4th Chapter of his Prophecy. But *Huetius* thinks, that these are two several Famines, that the Famine mentioned in *Amos* happened naturally, whereas the other, which *Joel* foretold, was to be occasioned by the incursions of Enemies.

(rr) *The time of Obadiah is uncertain.*] 'Tis not probable, that this Prophet was he, of whom mention is made in the Book of Kings, for he is only called there *one that feared God*. 'Tis more probable, that he lived in the time of *Ahaz*, when the *Edomites*, in conjunction with the *Israelites*, made War upon the Tribe of *Judah*, because he perpetually declaims against the *Edomites*.

(ss) *Jonah the Son of the Prophet Amittai.*] The Hebrews say, he was the Widows Son of *Sarepta*, but this is only a groundless fancy.

(tr) *He that was the Son of Hiftaspes.*] This is the opinion of *Josephus*, and *Clemens Alexandrinus*, of *St. Jerome* and *Theodoret*. *Scaliger* thinks, that it was *Darius Nothus*, because there is mention made here of *Ahasuerus* and *Artaxerxes* his Predecessors, whom he takes to be *Xerxes* and *Longimanus*; but it is an easy matter to answer him, by saying, that these names are given in Scripture, without any discrimination, to all the Kings of *Persia*; and that by them we may understand *Cyrus* and *Cambyfes* the Predecessors of *Darius* the Son of *Hiftaspes*, or *Cambyfes* and *Smerdis*, or, if we please *Cambyfes* himself, to whom the Scripture gives two Names. *Scaliger's* other Argument is stronger; he says that *Zechariah* and *Haggai* Prophesied at the same time. And *Zechariah* in the first chapter, vers. 12. and in the 7th. vers. 5. testifies, That when he wrote, the People of *Israel* had been Threescore and ten Years in Affliction, and that God was Angry with them. Now the second Year of *Darius*, the Son of *Hiftaspes*, is not the 70th year of the Captivity. To this it is answered, that the Prophet *Zechariah* does not say, that it was 70 Years since the Children of *Israel* were in Captivity; neither that they were then in Captivity, but he only says in general Terms, that they had been in Affliction, and that God had poured down his Indignation upon them for the space of threescore and ten Years, which ought to be understood of the 70 Years of the Captivity, although it was already past. The Hebrew and Greek Phrase in this passage no more denotes the present time, than the past. One undeniable Argument to prove, that *Haggai* wrote in the time of *Darius*, the Son of *Hiftaspes*, is this, that speaking of the second Temple, in ch. 2. vers. 3. he says, *Who is left amongst you that saw this House in her first Glory? Quis in vobis est derelictus, qui vidit Domum istam in Gloria sua Prima?* Now if this had been Written under *Darius Nothus*, these Persons ought to have been 176 Years old, or thereabout; and it would follow, that *Ezrah* was 100 years old, *Zorobabel* and *Josuah* 140, for so great a space of time there is from the first year of *Cyrus* down to the time of *Darius Nothus*.

(uu) *Grandson of Iddo.*] He is called in *Ezrah* the Son of *Iddo*; in the Septuagint, and in *St. Jerome's* Version, the Son of *Barachiah*, the Son of *Iddo*. *St. Jerome* is of Opinion, that he was the Natural Son of *Barachiah*, and the Son of *Iddo* by Imitation; Others say he was the Son of the latter, according to the Law, but 'tis far more probable that he was his



Grandson, as it is observed in our vulgar Translation. St. Jerome is mistaken in confounding this Iddo with him, that was sent to Jerusalem in the time of Jeroboam, since there were 240 years from Jeroboam to Darius, a time too long to allow between Grandfather and Grandson.

(xx) *He is different from Zechariah, mentioned by Isaiah.*] By Chronology it appears, that this was not the Prophet, no more than he who is mentioned in the *Chronicles*, and died in the time of Joash. The first was the Son of Barachiah, the second of Jehoiadah. That which has occasion'd this difficulty, is the saying of our Saviour, in St. Matthew, chap. 23. *That Zechariah the Son of Barachiah was slain between the Temple and the Altar*; which agrees with what is related in the *Chronicles*, with Zechariah the Son of Jehoiada; and this introduced St. Jerome to believe that our Blessed Saviour spoke of him, and that we ought to Read, as we find in the Gospel of the Nazarens, the Son of Jehoiada, and not of Barachiah. Origen on the contrary, and several others, understand this place of the Prophet, who, they say, was slain after the same manner. They have this Text of the Gospel on their side; and besides, our Saviour speaks of a Prophet, which cannot be understood of the Son of Jehoiada.

(yy) *Malachi, whose Name in the Hebrew, signifies, My Angel.*] And this has made Origen and Tertullian believe, that he was an Angel Incarnate. He is called an Angel by the greatest part of the Fathers, and in the Version of the Septuagint, but he was Angel by Office and not by Nature, as he himself calls the Priests Angels. Some Persons, as Jonathan the Chaldee Paraphrast. St. Jerome, and several Jews believed, that it was an Appellative Name which Ezra assumed, and that he was Author of this Book, but this Opinion is established upon very weak Conjectures; and besides, Ezra is no where in Scripture called a Prophet. St. Jerome proves his Opinion in the first place, because Malachi and Ezra lived at the same time; Secondly, Because what is in Malachi is very like what we find in Ezra; And lastly,

Because in chap. 2. vers. 7. he seems to point at Ezra by these Words, *Verba Sacerdotis custodiunt Scientiam, &c.* But these Conjectures are light and frivolous. For the first only proves that Malachi and Ezra lived at the same time, not that they were one and the same: The second is not true, and if it were, it would prove just nothing. The Words quoted in the third ought to be understood of Levi, and all the Priests of the Law. He adds, that in *Ecclesiasticus*, chap. 49. where mention is made of all the Prophets, the Name of Malachi is not to be found. To this is answered, that we ought not to be surprized, because he is not Named there, since in the same place there is no mention made of Daniel, and several others.

(zz) *The difference of the Style, of the Chronology, and of the History make it appear.*] The first Book of Maccabees was written by an Hebrew, the second by a Greek; the second begins the History a great deal higher than the first. One follows the Jewish Account, the other that of Alexandria, which begins Six Months after. Some Persons attribute the first to Josephus, others to Philo, others to the Synagogue, and others to the Maccabees. The Phrase of the first is Jewish; and St. Jerome tells us, he had the Hebrew Copy of it. It was intitled, *The Scepter of the Rebels against the Lord*, or rather, *The Scepter of the Prince of the Children of God*. The second was Written by Jason, as it is observed in the Preface. Huetius believes, that the third and fourth Chapters, as well as the two last, don't belong to Jason, because it is said in chap. 2. vers. 20. that he wrote down all that passed under Antiochus and Eupator, but then the remainder, which is the end and the beginning of that History, ought to be understood.

(aaa) *From a Sentence in Exodus.*] This Sentence is in Hebrew, *Mi Camacha Be Elim Jehovah: Who is like to the Lord amongst the Powers?* Now taking the first Letters of each Word we make Maccabee: Others give a different Etymology of this Name, but this is the most probable.

## S E C T. II.

### *The Canon of the Books of the Old Testament, of Books Doubtful, Apocryphal, and Lost, that belonged to the Old Testament.*

WE call the Books of the Bible Canonical Books, because they are received into the Canon, or the Catalogue of Books, that we look upon as Sacred (a). Opposite to these are those Books, we usually call Apocryphal (b), which are not acknowledged as Divine, but rejected as spurious. The first Canon or Catalogue of the Holy Books was made by the Jews; 'tis certain they had one, but 'tis not so certainly known who it was that made it. Some Persons reckon upon three of them, made at different times by the Sanhedrim, or the great Synagogue of the Jews (c); But 'tis a great deal more probable, that they never had more than one Canon (d), or one Collection of the Holy Books of the Old Testament, that was made by Ezra after the rebuilding of Jerusalem, and was afterwards approved and received by the whole Nation of the Jews, as containing all the Holy Books. Josephus, speaking of this business, in his first Book against Apion, says; 'There is nothing in the World that can boast of a higher degree of certainty, than the Writings Authorized amongst us, for they are not subject to the least Contrariety, because we only receive and approve of those Prophets, who wrote them many Years ago, according to the pure Truth, by the Inspiration of the Spirit of God. We are not therefore allowed to see great numbers of Books that contradict one another. We have only Twenty two that comprehend every thing of moment that has happen'd to our Nation, from the beginning of the World till now, and those we are obliged firmly to believe. Five of them are Written by Moses, that give a faithful Relation of all Events, even to his own Death, for about the space of Three Thousand Years; and contain the Genealogy of the Descendants of Adam. The Prophets, that succeeded this admirable Legislator, in Thirteen other Books have Written all the memorable Passages that fell out, from his Death until the Reign of Artaxerxes, the Son of Xerxes, King of the Persians. The other Four Books contain Hymns, and Songs, composed in the Praise of God, with abundance of Precepts, and Moral Instructions, for the regulating of our Manners. We have also every thing Recorded that has happen'd since Artaxerxes down to our own Times; but because we have not had, as heretofore, a Succession of Prophets,

therefore we don't receive them with the same Belief as we do the Sacred Books, concerning which I have discoursed already: and for which we preserve so great a Veneration, that no One ever had the boldness to take away, or add, or change the most inconsiderable thing in them. We consider them as sacred Books, and so we call them; we make solemn Profession invariably to observe what they Command us, and to Die with Joy if there be occasion, thereby to preserve them. Origen, St. Jerome, the Author of the Abridgment attributed to St. Athanasius, St. Epiphanius, and several other Christian Writers do testify, That the Jews received but Twenty two Books into the Canon of their Holy Volumes. The Division that St. Jerome has made of them, who distributes them into three Classes, is as follows. The first comprehends the Five Books of Moses, which is called the Law; The second contains those Books that he calls the Books of the Prophets, which are nine in number; namely, the Book of Joshua, the Book of Judges, to which, says St. Jerome, they use to joyn the Book of Ruth; the Book of Samuel, which we call the first and second Book of Kings; the Book of Kings, which contains the two last. These Books are followed by three great Prophets, viz. Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, which are three different Books, and by the twelve minor Prophets, which make up but one Book. The third Class comprehends those Books, that are usually called, the Hagiographa, or Holy Scriptures; the first of which is the Book of Job; the second the Psalms of David; the three following are the Books of Solomon, which are, the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Canticles; the sixth is Daniel, the seventh the Chronicles, the eighth Ezra, which is divided into two Books by the Greeks and Latins, and the last is the Book of Esther. Thus says St. Jerome, all the Books of the Old Testament, amongst the Jews, just make up the number of Twenty two, five whereof were Written by Moses, eight by the Prophets, and nine are the Hagiographa. Some Persons make them Twenty four in number by separating Ruth, and the Lamentations of the Prophet Jeremy, and placing them amongst the Hagiographa. This Prologue to the Bible, continues he, may serve as a Preface to all those Books, that we have Translated out of the Hebrew; and we ought to understand,



derstand, that whatsoever Book, is not to be found in this number is Apocryphal. From hence it follows, that the Book of *Wisdom*, commonly attributed to *Salomon*, the *Ecclesiasticus* of *Jesus the Son of Syrach*, *Judith*, *Tobit*, and the *Pastor*, don't belong to the Canon no more than the two Books of *Maccabees* do; one of which was originally Written in Hebrew, and the other in Greek, as the style sufficiently shews. Thus we see how *St. Jerome* has clearly explained the Canon of the Scriptures, as they are received by the Jews; yet we have reason to doubt, whether he has been very exact in this Catalogue, since in some particulars it does not agree with *Josephus*. For although they are agreed about the number of the Books, yet they notoriously differ in the manner of distributing them. *Josephus* places all the Historical Books, to the number of Thirteen, amongst the Prophets, adding to *St. Jerome's* nine, *Daniel*, the *Chronicles*, *Ezrah*, and *Job*. And consequently he sets only those in the third rank that are purely Moral Treatises, as the *Psalms* of *David*, and the three Books of *Salomon*. But besides this difference, we may probably suppose, that *Josephus* has not reckoned the Book of *Esther* in the number of the Canonical Books. For he is of opinion, that they were all written before the Reign of *Artaxerxes*, but as for the History of *Esther*, he believed it fell under the Reign of that King, as we may see in his *Antiquities*. 'Tis therefore very likely, that he never considered that Book as Canonical, but that to make up the number of the 13 Books of the Prophets, he reckoned the Book of *Ruth* separately from that of the *Kings*. 'Tis in pursuance of this Canon, that *Melito*, and the Author of the *Abridgment of the Scriptures*, attributed to *St. Athanasius*, reject the Book of *Esther*, and separate the Book of *Ruth* from that of the *Kings*. Some Persons pretend, that he has not owned the Book of *Job*, because he makes no mention of that History, but we ought not to wonder, that he passes it by, since it has no relation to the Nation of the Jews, and he only designed to speak of them in his *Antiquities*. Others imagine, that he acknowledged *Ecclesiasticus* for a Canonical Book, because he has cited a passage out of it in his second Book against *Appion*. But it is visible, as *Pithæus* has remarked, that this Citation, which is not to be found in the ancient Version of *Ruffinus*, has been since inserted into the Text of *Josephus* (e).

The ancient Christians have followed the Jewish Canon in the Books of the Old Testament. There are none quoted in the New Testament (f), but those that were received into the Canon of the Jews, and the greatest part of these (g) are frequently cited there. The first Catalogues of the Canonical Books made by the Ecclesiastick Greek and Latin Authors, comprehend no more, but at the same time we ought to affirm, that even those Books, that have been since added to the Canon, have been often quoted by the Ancients, and indeed sometimes under the name of Scripture.

The first Catalogue, we find of the Books of Scripture amongst the Christians, is that of *Melito* Bishop of *Sardis*, set down by *Eusebius* in the 4th Book of his History, chap. 26. It is entirely conformable to that of the Jews, and contains but twenty two Books, in which number *Esther* is not reckon'd, and the Book of *Ruth* is distinguished from that of the *Judges*. *Origen* also in a certain passage drawn out of the Exposition of the first *Psalms*, and produced by *Eusebius* in his 6th Book, chap. 25. reckons twenty two Books of the Old Testament, but he places the Book of *Esther* in this number, and joins the Book of *Ruth* with that of *Judges*. The Council of *Laodicea*, which was the first Synod that determined the number of the Canonical Books, *St. Cyril* of *Jerusalem* in his fourth Catechetick Lecture, *St. Hilary* in his Preface to the *Psalms*, the last Canon falsely ascribed to the Apostles, *Amphilochius* cited by *Balsamon*, *Anastasius Sinaita* upon the *Hexameron*, lib. 7. *St. John Damascene* in his fourth Book of *Orthodox Faith*, the Author of the *Abridgment of Scripture*, and of the *Festival Letter*, attributed to *St. Athanasius*, the Author of the Book of the *Hierarchy*, attributed to *St. Dionysius*, and the *Nicephori*, follow the Catalogue of *Melito*. *Gregory Nazianzen* is of the same opinion in his thirty third Poem, where he distributes the Books of Scripture into the three Classes, viz. Historical, Poetical, and Prophetical (h). He reckons up twelve Historical Books, namely, the five Books of *Moses*, *Joshuah*, *Judges*, *Ruth*, the two Books of *Kings*, the *Chronicles*, and *Ezrah*; The five Poetical Books are *Job*, *David*, and the three Books of *Salomon*; and there are likewise five Prophetical Books, viz. the four Great, and the twelve Minor Prophets. *Leontius* in his Book of Sects follows this Catalogue and distribution, only he reckons the Book of *Psalms* by it self. *St. Epiphanius*, in his *Eighth Heresie*, counts twenty seven Canonical Books of the Old Testament; nevertheless, he adds no-

thing to *Origen's* Canon, but he separates the Book of *Ruth* from that of *Judges*, and divides into two the Book of *Kings*, the *Chronicles*, and the Book of *Ezrah*. Several of the Latins reckon twenty four Books; whether it be that they add *Judith* and *Tobit*, as *St. Hilary* has observed of some in his time, or whether they separate *Ruth*, and the *Lamentations* of *Jeremiah*, as *St. Jerome* has observed. *Victorinus* upon the *Apocalypse*, *St. Ambrose* upon the same Book, *Primasius* the Author of the Poem against *Marcion*, *Bede*, and the Author of the Sermons upon the same Book, attributed to *St. Austin*, and several others, reckon twenty four Books of the Old Testament, and say, they are represented by the twenty four Elders in the *Revelations*. The first Catalogue of the Books of the Holy Scriptures, where they added some Books to the Jewish Canon, is that of the third Council of *Carthage* held Anno Dom. 397. when the Books of *Judith*, *Tobit*, the *Wisdom* of *Salomon*, *Ecclesiasticus*, and the two Books of the *Maccabees* were reckoned in the number of Canonical Books. There is at the end of this Canon a Postil that is very remarkable: *Let the Church beyond the Sea be consulted (to confirm, or) before this Canon is confirmed. De confirmando isto Canone Ecclesia Transmarina Consulatur*. This Catalogue of Canonical Books is confirmed by the Authority of Pope *Innocent* the First, in an Epistle to *Exuperius*, and by that of a Roman Council held under *Gelasius*, A. D. 494 (i), and is followed in the Decree of *Eugenius* to the *Armenians*, and by the holy Council of *Trent*. All these Catalogues serve to acquaint us in general, what were the Books that were always believed to be certainly Canonical, and which they are, whose Authority have been questioned by Antiquity. But nevertheless we ought to speak of them particularly, for although they were not received in the first Ages by all Churches, nor reckoned by all Authors in the Canon of the Books of the Bible, yet they were frequently cited by the Ancients, and sometimes too as Books of Scripture, and for this reason were afterwards admitted into the Canon along with the first.

The Book of *Esther*, according to some, was in the Jewish Canon, but others say, it was not reckoned at all. It is placed in the Canon, as we have already observed, by *Origen*, by the Council of *Laodicea*, by *St. Jerome*, by *St. Epiphanius*, by *St. Hilary*, by *St. Cyril*, not to mention the Council of *Carthage*, or the Decisions of Pope *Innocent* and *Gelasius*. *Josephus*, *Melito*, *St. Athanasius*, and the Author of the *Abridgment of the Scripture*, *Gregory Nazianzen*, *Leontius*, the Author of the Book of the *Hierarchy*, and *Nicephorus*, reject it. The Action of *Esther* is commended by *Clemens Romanus* in his Epistle to the *Corinthians*, and by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, lib. 1. *Pædag.* and l. 5. *Strom.* which makes it appear, that this Book was known and esteemed by the first Christians. The six last Chapters of this Book are not to be found in the Hebrew. *Origen* is of opinion, that it was formerly extant in that Language, and has been since lost. But it is very evident, that they are taken out of several places, and that they contain some Pieces that were probably collected by the *Hellenist Jews*. And for this reason *Dionysius*, *Carthusianus*, *Nicolaus de Lira*, *Hugo Cardinalis*, and afterwards *Sixtus Senensis*, and several of the Moderns, turn them out of the Canon of the Holy Books.

The Book of *Baruch* is not to be found by name in the Jewish Canon, but perhaps it was joined together with *Jeremiah*. *Melito*, *Origen*, *St. Hilary*, *Gregory Nazianzen*, and *St. Epiphanius*, don't make any mention of it, confounding it perhaps with *Jeremiah*, but *St. Jerome* expressly rejects it out of the Canon in his Preface to *Jeremiah*. On the contrary, the Council of *Laodicea*, *St. Cyril* of *Jerusalem*, *St. Athanasius* in his *Festival Letter*, and the Author of the *Abridgment*, annex it to *Jeremiah*, along with the *Lamentations* of that Prophet. It is cited under the name of *Jeremiah*, and as a Book of Scripture by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, lib. 1. *pædag.* chap. 2. by *St. Cyprian* in the Fourth Book of his Testimonies to *Quirinus*, chap. 6. by *Eusebius* in his Books of *Demonstration*; by *St. Basil* in his Fourth Book against *Eunomius*; by *St. Ambrose* in his First Book of Penitence, as also in his First Book of *Orthodox Faith*, chap. 2. by *St. Austin*, lib. 18. *de Civ. Dei*; by *St. Chrysostome* in his Homily of the *Trinity*, and by many other Church-Writers that are more modern. It is not necessary to take notice, that it was received by the Council of *Carthage*, by Pope *Innocent*, by the Roman Council under *Gelasius*, by the Decree of *Eugenius*, and by the Canon of the Council of *Trent*.

The Book of *Tobit* is rejected in all the ancient Catalogues of the Books of the Bible, and not received into the number of the Canonical Books. *Origen* in his 27th Homily upon the *Numbers* says, it is one of those Books that were read to the *Catechumens*, but that it is not Canonical (k). *St. Jerome*, who frequently rejects it as an Apocryphal Book, that was neither to be found in the



Jewish or Christian Canon, yet gave himself the trouble to Translate it, speaks of it very advantageously in his Preface, and calls it a sacred Volume in his Hundred and fortieth Epistle. *Ruffinus* in his Exposition of the Creed expressly rejects it as an Apocryphal Book. But besides that it is received by the Council of *Carthage*, and by Pope *Innocent* and *Gelasius*, it appears, that in *Irenæus's* time it was reckoned amongst the Books of the Prophets, because this Author, l. 1. ch. 34. has observed, that the *Gnosticks*, who distributed the Prophets into several Classes, and attributed them to their pretended Divinities, assign the Prophets *Haggai* and *Tobit* to *Eloi*. This Book is often cited by St. *Cyprian*, who likewise calls it Holy Scripture in his Book of *Alms and Good Works*. It is also cited by St. *Hilary* upon the 129th *Psalms*, where he makes use of the Authority of this Book to prove the Intercession of Angels. The same Father making a Catalogue of the Canonical Books, observes, that several Persons made the number of them twenty four, by adding the Books of *Tobit* and *Judith*. St. *Ambrose* explained it throughout as a Book of Scripture, and cited it in his *Hexameron*, and so has St. *Chrysostome* in his 13th Homily to the People of *Antioch*, and the Author of the *Apostolick Constitutions* in the 8th Book, chap. 45.

The Book of *Judith* is not only rejected in all the ancient Catalogues of the Canonical Books, but it is also scarcely mentioned by the Ancients, though *Clemens Romanus* in his Epistle to the *Corinthians*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, l. 4. *Strom.* *Tertullian* in his Book of *Monogamy*, and in his first Book against *Marcion*, commend the Heroick Action of *Judith*, which makes it evident, that they had all of them an esteem for that Book. St. *Jerome*, after having several times rejected it as an Apocryphal Book, and observed in his Preface before it, that we ought not to prove any contested Doctrines out of it, adds, that we read, that the Council of *Nice*, reckoned it in the number of the Holy Scriptures; *Sed quia hunc librum Synodus Nicæna in numero Sanctarum Scripturarum legitur computasse.* We ought to believe, that St. *Jerome* reported this passage upon the Faith of another, there being not the least appearance of its truth. For besides, that we find nothing like it in the Creed, in the Canons, and Letters of the Council of *Nice*, and that it is highly probable, that there are no other Acts of that Assembly, is it to be imagined, that if they had made a Canon concerning the Sacred Books, not so much as one Man, that assisted in that affair, would make mention of it? Is it to be thought, that St. *Athanasius*, St. *Epiphanius*, St. *Cyril*, who could not be ignorant of the Decisions of the Council of *Nice*, would have rejected the Book of *Judith* as Apocryphal, if it had been reckoned amongst the Canonical Volumes by the Authority of a Council they so highly revered? In short, would St. *Hilary* have contented himself with saying, that some Persons added this Book to the Canon, and not rather have openly declared, when he was speaking of the Canonical Books, that the Church received it? St. *Jerome* himself, if he had been assured of this business, would he have rejected this Book so often, and not alledged this Catalogue of the Council of *Nice*, which ought to have been the infallible rule for him to follow? We must therefore say, that this Father received this Information from another. But if the Council of *Nice* reckoned not this Book of *Judith* in the number of Canonical Books, yet the Latin Church has since done it by the Council of *Carthage*, by the Mouth of *Innocent* the First, by the Roman Council under *Gelasius*, and by the Council of *Trent*, which followed the Decree of *Eugenius*.

The Book of *Wisdom* and *Ecclesiasticus* (1), in the ancient Catalogues are placed in the number of those Books that are very profitable, but not Canonical; Nevertheless, these Books are cited by St. *Barnabas*, by *Clemens Romanus*, by *Tertullian* in his third Book against *Marcion*, and in his Book of *Prescriptions*, by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, by St. *Cyprian* in several places; likewise frequently by *Origen*, by St. *Hilary* upon the 140th *Psalms*; and according to some by St. *Basil*, by St. *Ambrose*, by St. *Jerome*, and St. *Austin*; but it does not follow, that all these acknowledged them for Canonical. On the contrary, *Origen*, St. *Jerome*, and St. *Hilary*, ranked them amongst the Apocryphal Books; And St. (n) *Basil* plainly says, in the Preface to his Commentary upon the *Proverbs*, That there are but three Books of *Salomon*; and he sufficiently shews in several other places, that he did not own the Books of *Wisdom* and *Ecclesiasticus* for Canonical Books. *Philastrius* and *Ruffinus* reject them as well as St. *Hilary*, who has written a Letter about them to St. *Austin*. *Theodoret* is of the same Opinion in his Preface to the *Canticles*. One cannot say that of St. *Cyprian*, St. *Ambrose*, and St. *Austin*, who seem to own them for Canonical, as it has been determined by the Council of *Carthage*, by *Innocent* the First, by the Ro-

man Council under *Gelasius*, by the Decree of *Eugenius*, and by the Council of *Trent*.

To conclude the two Books of *Maccabees* are not entred into the Canon of the Books of the Holy Scripture in the Catalogues of *Melito*, of *Origen*, of the Council of *Laodicea*, of St. *Cyril*, of St. *Hilary*, of St. *Athanasius*, of St. *Jerome*, and others whom we have Named. In *Eusebius's Chronicon*, they are opposed to the Canonical Books, in these words, *That which we have hitherto reported of the Annals of the Jews, is drawn out of the Holy Scriptures; that which follows is taken out of the Books of the Maccabees, Josephus, and Africanus.* *Tertullian* in his Book against the Jews, relates the History of the *Maccabees*, but yet he does not cite the Books of the *Maccabees* as Books of Scripture. St. *Cyprian* quotes them very often under that Character, and so does St. *Ambrose*, and St. *Chrysostome*. St. *Jerome* himself, who rejects them in several places, cites them sometimes as Books of Scripture. St. *Austin* quotes them in his Book of the concern which we ought to have for the Dead, to prove that we may offer Sacrifice for the Deceased; and he assures us, l. 18. *de Civit. Dei*, that although these Books were never received as Canonical by the Jews, yet they were acknowledged for such by the Church. But in his first Book against *Gaudentius*, taking occasion to speak of the action of *Razias*, who killed himself, he thus delivers his Thoughts about the Books of the *Maccabees*; *The Jews don't receive these Books of the Maccabees as they do the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms; but the Church receives them, and they are not unprofitable, provided one Reads and Understands them with some sort of Moderation, and they deserve esteem particularly for the History of the Seven Maccabees.* In the last Canon attributed to the Apostles, we find the three Books of *Maccabees* reckoned amongst the Canonical Books, but there is reason to believe, that this passage has been added, because they are not acknowledged for Canonical Books by *Nicephorus*, *Johannes Damascenus*, and several others, who have owned the Authority of the Apostolick Canons. They are received by the third Council of *Carthage*, and by *Innocent* the First. There is but one of them approved by the Roman Council under *Gelasius*. It is a very surprizing thing, that after all these Authorities, St. *Gregory* the Great should thus Speak of them in the Nineteenth Book of his *Morals*; *We don't without Reason, says he, produce Testimonies drawn out of those Books that are not Canonical, since they have been Published for the Edification of the Church.* We ought to make the same Reflection upon all the rest of the Greek and Latin Ecclesiastical Writers, whom we have cited, and who since the Decisions of the Councils of *Carthage* and *Rome*, and the Declaration of *Innocent* the First, reckon but Twenty two or Twenty four Canonical Books of the Old Testament. Which makes it evident, that these Definitions have not been followed by all Authors, and all Churches, till at last it was intirely determined by the Council of *Trent*.

I shall not speak of the Histories of *Susanna* and *Bel*, that are in *Daniel*, and have been rejected as false, or as Apocryphal, by several of the Ancients, since I have already discoursed largely about them.

Besides these Books, that were at last received into the Canon of the Books of the Old Testament, there are many others, that either were not admitted into the Jewish Canon, although they were more ancient, or that having been composed since, have been esteem'd and cited by some Christian Authors, but never found any place in the Canon, or those lastly that were suppositiously obtruded upon the World by Hereticks, and by consequence were always rejected.

In the first place there are several Books cited in the Old Testament, that have been totally lost long since, and are not named in the Jewish Canon. The first of these Books, as they commonly pretend, is the Book of the *Battels of the Lord*, that is cited in the 21st Chapter of *Numbers*, verse 24. But it is not certain, as we have elsewhere observed, that there is any mention made of a Book in this place: we ought to pass the same Judgment upon the Book of the Covenant, that is mentioned, as they assert, in *Exodus*, chap. 24. but is in reality nothing else, but the body of the Laws, which *Moses* received from God, and delivered to the People. Neither is there any greater certainty, that the Book of *Jasher*, cited by *Joshuah*, chap. 10. verse 13. and in the second Book of *Samuel*, chap. 11. verse 18. was an Historical Book, although I confess there is some reason to believe it was. But one can hardly doubt, that the Books of *Nathan*, of *Gad*, of *Shemaiah*, of *Iddo*, of *Ahijah* and *Jehu*, cited frequently in the Books of the *Chronicles*, were Memoirs composed in all probability by these Prophets. We must say the same thing of the Book of the Sayings and Acts of the Kings of *Israel*, oftentimes cited in the *Kings*, which



is different from the *Chronicles*, as we have already observed. To these must be added the Book of *Samuel*, cited in the first Book of *Chronicles*, and the last Chapter. The Discourses of *Hosai*, [or of the *Seers*] that are mentioned in the second Book of *Chronicles*, chap. 33. verse 19. The History of *Uzziah*, written by the Prophet *Isaiah*, and cited in the second Book of *Chronicles*, chap. 26. verse 22. The Three Thousand Parables written by *Salomon*, as it is said in the first of *Kings*, chap. 4. verse 32. The Five Thousand, or rather the Thousand and Five Songs, with the several Volumes concerning all manner of Plants and Animals, that were likewise composed by *Salomon*, as we are informed in the same place. The Descriptions of *Jeremiah*, that are mentioned in the second Book of *Maccabees*, chap. 2. verse 1. The Prophecy of *Jonas* that is lost. The Memoirs of *Johannes Hircanus*, [mentioned 1. *Maccab.* 16. 23, 24.] and the Books of *Jafon*, that are mentioned in the second Book of *Maccabees*.

'Tis usually ask'd, Whether these Books cited in the Old Testament were Canonical or no? This Question in my Opinion is asked to no purpose, since we have not any remainders of them at present; but however, certain it is, that they are not Canonical in the same Sense as we usually take the Word; that is to say, they were never received into the Canon, either of the Jewish or Christian Church; and no body knows whether they ought to have been admitted there, in case they had been still preserved. Neither can we positively tell, whether they were written by the Inspiration of God, or were the mere works of Men, only the latter Opinion seems to be more probable. In the first place, because the greater part of them having been composed before *Ezrah*, he had without question reckoned them in the Jewish Canon, if he had looked upon them to be divine Books. Secondly, because we must otherwise be obliged to say, that the Church has lost a great part of the Book of God. Thirdly, because the Apostles never cited any other Books than what we now have, as Books of Scripture. Fourthly, because the Fathers are all agreed, that these Books were Apocryphal, and place the Book of *Enoch*, cited by St. *Jude*, in the same rank. This is the Opinion of *Origen*, of St. *Jerome*, St. *Austin*, and indeed of all the Fathers except *Tertullian*. For although *Theodoret*, and some other Greek Fathers, give the Title of Prophets to the Authors of these Books that are cited in Scripture; yet it does not follow from thence, that they composed these ancient Memoirs by the Inspiration of God. It is not necessary, that all the Writings and Discourses of a Prophet should be inspired by Heaven. Upon this account, St. *Austin* has very judiciously observed, *cap. 38. l. 28. de Civit. Dei*, that although these Books, cited in the Holy Scriptures, were written by Prophets that were inspired by the Holy Ghost, yet it is not necessary to say, that they were divinely inspired: For, says he, these Prophets might one while write like particular Men, with an Historical Fidelity, and another while like Prophets that followed the Inspiration of Heaven: *Alia sicut homines Historicâ diligentia, alia sicut Prophetas Inspiratione Divinâ scribere potuisse.*

Let us now go on to the Books that are not in the Canon of the Old Testament, and which we have at present. The Catalogue of them is as follows. The Prayer of King *Manasses*, who was captive in *Babylon*, cited in the second Book of *Chronicles*, where it is said, that this Prayer was written amongst the Sayings of *Hosai*, who has Translated into Greek the Discourses of the Seers, or Prophets. It is to be found at the end of the ordinary Bibles, there is nothing lofty in it, but it is full of pious Thoughts. The Latin Fathers have often quoted it: It is neither in Greek nor Hebrew, but only in Latin.

The third and fourth Books of *Ezrah* are also in Latin in the common Bibles, after the Prayer of *Manasses*. The third, which is to be found in the Greek, is nothing but a Repetition of what we find in the two former; it is cited by St. *Athanasius*, St. *Austin*, and St. *Ambrose*; St. *Cyprian* likewise seems to have known it. The fourth, that is only to be had in the Latin, is full of Visions and Dreams, and some Mistakes. 'Tis written by a different Author from that of the third; for besides the great difference of Style, one of them reckons nineteen Generations from *Aaron* down to him, and the other but fifteen.

The third Book of *Maccabees* contains a miraculous deliverance of the Jews, whom *Phiscon* had exposed in the Amphitheatre at *Alexandria*, to the fury of Elephants. *Josephus* relates this History in his second Book against *Appion*. This Book of the *Maccabees* is to be found in all the Greek Editions. It is reckoned in the number of Canonical Books, in the last Canon attributed to the Apostles, but perhaps that has been added since; 'tis also mentioned in the Chronicle of *Eusebius*, and in the Author of the *Abridgment of Scripture*, attributed to St. *Athanasius*. This History, if it be true, happened about fif-

ty years before the passages that are related in the other two Books, and therefore ought to be the first; It is without any reason called the Book of *Maccabees*, since it does not speak of them in the least.

The fourth, containing the History of *Hircanus*, is rejected as Apocryphal by the Author of the *Abridgment of Scripture*, attributed to St. *Athanasius*. It is mentioned by scarce any of the Ancients. Perhaps it was taken out of the Book of the Actions of *Johannes Hircanus*, mentioned towards the end of the first of *Maccabees*. *Sixtus Senensis* assures us, that this account very much resembles *Josephus's*, but that he has abundance of his Hebrew Idiotisms there.

There is towards the end of *Job* in the Greek Edition, a Genealogy of *Job*, that makes him the fifth from *Abraham*, with the Names of the Edomitish Kings, and of the Kingdoms of his Friends. This Addition is neither in the Latin nor in the Hebrew. There is likewise in the Greek a discourse of *Job's* Wife, that is not in the Hebrew, rejected by *Africanus* and St. *Jerome*. Towards the end of the *Psalms* in the Greek Editions, we find a Psalm that is not of the number of the Hundred and Fifty, made in the Person of *David*, when he was yet a Youth, after he had slain the Giant *Goliath*. The Author of the *Abridgment of Scripture*, attributed to St. *Athanasius*, cites it, and places it also in the number of the Canonical Psalms. To conclude, at the end of *Wisdom* there is a discourse of *Salomon* drawn from the eighth Chapter of the first Book of *Kings*.

We have not the Book of *Enoch*, so celebrated by Antiquity, and cited by St. *Irenæus*, by St. *Clement of Alexandria*, by *Tertullian*, by *Origen*, by *Athenagoras*, by St. *Jerome*, and several other Fathers: But we learn from those passages of it which the Fathers have quoted, and which still remain in the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, and in the Chronography of *Syncellus*, that it principally treated of the Stars, and their Virtues, of the Descent of Angels to the Earth to entertain a Commerce with the Daughters of Men, of the Original of Giants occasioned by this Correspondence, of things that were to befall the Jews, of our Saviour, of the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, of the Dispersion of the Jews, of the last Judgment. It contains a World of Fictions upon these Subjects; For which reason all the Fathers, except *Tertullian*, have look'd upon it as an Apocryphal Book, that does not belong to the Patriarch *Enoch*. That which has caused all the difficulty, is that this Book seems to have been cited under *Enoch's* Name by St. *Jude*, in his Canonical Epistle, verse 14. And of this, says he, *Enoch the seventh from Adam prophesied, saying, Behold the Lord cometh, &c.* from whence one may conclude, That we ought either to reject the Epistle of St. *Jude*, or believe that the Book of *Enoch*, truly belonged to that Patriarch. St. *Austin* avoids this difficulty, by saying, That the true Book of *Enoch*, cited by St. *Jude*, is lost, and that a spurious one has been since father'd upon him. But it is not probable, that the Book of *Enoch*, cited by St. *Jude*, is different from that which was known to St. *Irenæus*, to St. *Justin*, and the other Fathers that lived in the first Ages of the Church; and therefore St. *Jerome*, after *Origen*, answers, That St. *Jude* might cite an Apocryphal Book if he pleased, and that this hindered not his Epistle from being Canonical, that even in the other Books of the New Testament, we find some passages that are drawn out of Apocryphal Books, which ought not to diminish the Authority of the Canonical Books, or give any new Power to the Apocryphal ones. Some of the Modern Criticks have pretended to unravel this difficulty with greater ease, by maintaining, that St. *Jude* does not here speak of the Book of *Enoch*, but only of a Prophecy of that Patriarch, which he had learnt by Tradition, as St. *Paul* reports the Names of *Jannes* and *Jambres*, the Egyptian Magicians of *Pharaoh*, from the common Tradition of the Jews; but this Opinion being contrary to the determination of all the Ancients, is in my Judgment very improbable and ill-grounded, and we had much better rely upon St. *Jerome's* Solution.

The Book of the Assumption of *Moses*, from whence, as they pretend, St. *Jude* took the Relation of *Michael* the Archangel's disputing with Satan about the Body of *Moses*, is not so famous in Antiquity; nevertheless it is cited by *Origen*, l. 3. *Princ.* and by St. *Clement*, l. 3. *Strom.* who there gives us an account of a Vision of *Josuah* and *Caleb*, that was taken out of this Book. *Oecumenius* in his Commentary upon the Epistle of St. *Jude* recites these Words of the Archangel to the Devil, *the Lord rebuke thee Satan; Increpet te Deus, O Diabole*; as quoted from hence. St. *Jerome* tells us, it is an hard matter to say, from whence St. *Jude* took this passage; only he observes, that there is something like it to be found in the Prophecy of *Zechariah*, chap. 3. verse 2.



*Origen* likewise cites a Book, Entituled, *The Assumption, the Apocalypse, or the Secrets of Elias*. *Synellus* after him, pretends, that out of this Apocryphal Book, *St. Paul* has taken this Sentence in his Epistle to the *Corinthians*; *The Eye hath not seen, nor the Ear heard the good Things that God hath prepared for them that love him*: As also that in the Epistle to the *Galatians*; *Circumcision availeth nothing*, &c. Moreover he is of Opinion, that this Sentence in the *Ephesians*, *Awake thou that sleepest*, is taken out of the Apocryphal Book of *Jeremiah*. But it may so happen sometimes, that like Sentences may be found in two different Books, and yet it is not necessary to say, that one Author borrowed them from the other.

Some Jews have forged and counterfeited those Books, that are by some attributed to the Patriarchs; as for Example, the Books Entituled, *The Generations, and the Creation*, ascribed to *Adam*, *The Revelation of the same*, cited by *St. Epiphanius*. 'Tis also commonly believed, that he composed a Book about the Philosopher's Stone; and that there was a Book of Magick extant, said to have been written by *Cham*, as we find in *Cassian's* eighth Conference, chap. 21. The *Abridgment of Scripture*, that goes under the Name of *St. Athanasius*, makes mention of the Book of the *Assumption of Abraham*. The Author of the Homilies upon *St. Luke*, attributed to *Origen*, in the 15th Homily, and some others quote the Book of the Twelve Patriarchs. The same Author in the 35th Homily, cites an Apocryphal Book, where Angels and Devils dispute about the Salvation of *Abraham*. The Author of the above-mentioned *Abridgment of Scripture*, speaks of two Apocryphal Books, one of which is the Prophecy of *Habakkuk*, from whence as they pretend, the History *Bel*, that is in *Daniel*, was taken; and an Apocryphal Book, that carries the Name of *Ezekiel*. *Hermas*, one of the most ancient Christian Writers, in his *Pastor*, ch. 2. cites the Prophecies of *Eldad*, and *Medad*, that are mentioned in chap. 11. of *Numbers*. *Origen* and *St. Ambrose* cite a Book of *Jannes* and *Jambres*, the Magicians of *Pharaoh*, that is rejected by *Gelasius*, as an Apocryphal Book. There is also a Book of King *Og* placed in the number of Apocryphal Books by *Gelasius*.

The Ebionites have imposed a Book upon the World, Entituled, *Jacob's Ladder*, as *Epiphanius* testifies. *Manes* composed a Genealogy of the Sons and Daughters of *Adam*, as we are informed by *St. Austin*, and Pope *Gelasius*. In short, there were abundance of such kind of Books formerly to be found, composed either by Jews, who had an admirable Talent at Fiction, or else by the Hereticks, who made use of them to give the greater Reputation to their Errors, so that it would be an unprofitable, as well as a tedious thing, to make an exact Catalogue. But I

ought not to omit two passages cited in the New Testament, as if they were in the Prophets, which upon strict search are not to be found there, and which have given occasion to some persons to imagine they were taken from other Books; The first is in *St. Matthew*, ch. 2. v. 23. *Jesus*, says he, *dwelt in a City called Nazareth, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the Prophet, He shall be called a Nazarene*. Now these Words, *He shall be called a Nazarene*, are not to be found in any of the Prophets that we now have, which has induced *St. Chrysostome* to imagine, that they are taken out of some other Prophet that is lost. Others pretend, that they are cited out of the 11th Chapter of *Isaiah*, vers. 1. where it is foretold, *That a Branch shall grow out*, which they call in Hebrew *Netzer*. *Huetius* thinks, that this passage is taken from the 13th Chapter of the Book of *Judges*, vers. 5. where it is said, *that he shall be a Nazarite from the Womb*. But the most probable Opinion is that of *St. Jerome*, who supposes, that *St. Matthew* does not cite any Prophet in particular, but only all the Prophets, who have predicted, that our Blessed Saviour should be Holy, and Consecrated to God, as the Nazarites were.

The second passage is cited in the same Gospel, chap. 27. vers. 9. *Then*, says he, *was fulfilled that which was spoken in Jeremy the Prophet, saying, And they took the Thirty Pieces of Silver, the price of him that was valued, whom they of the Children of Israel did value, and gave them for the Potters Field, as the Lord appointed me*. This Prophecy is not to be found in *Jeremiah*, but there is something that seems to resemble it in *Zechariah*, ch. 11. v. 13. *Origen* in his 35th Treatise upon *St. Matthew*, pretends, that it ought to be said, that this passage is taken out of an Apocryphal Book, called, the *Secrets of Jeremiah*, or else that we must affirm, that in this Gospel the Name of one Prophet is used for that of another. Some other Authors say, that this Prophecy has been struck out of the Book of *Jeremiah*. Others run to Tradition, which, as they give out, preserved this Prophecy of *Jeremiah* down to the time of *St. Matthew*. It is very probable, say some others, that this Prophecy being composed of the Words of *Jeremiah*, and the Thought of *Zechariah*, has been cited only under the Name of *Jeremiah*, as in another place a Prophecy of *Malachi* being joined to one of *Isaiah*, is attributed to the latter: But yet 'tis a great deal more probable, that *St. Matthew* having only wrote, *as it was spoken in the Prophet*, without naming any one, they added in the Text of the Gospel, the Name of *Jeremiah*, that Evangelist not being accustomed to name the Prophets, whom he cites. This is *St. Jerome's* Solution of the matter, which seems to be by far the solidest.

## N O T E S.

(a) *WE call the Books of the Bible Canonical, &c.*] Some Persons say, that they are thus called, because they are the Rule of Faith; but the other Opinion is far more probable.

(b) *Books that are called Apocryphal.*] We don't know well why they were so called. This word comes Originally from the Greek, where it signifies to *hide* or *conceal*. *St. Austin*, l. 15. de *Civit. Dei*, ch. 23. says, they are so called, because the Original of them is not known. Others, as *St. Jerome* and *Gelasius*, believe they had this Name given them, because they contained the hidden Mysteries of the Hereticks. *St. Epiphanius* imagines this distinguishing Appellation was set upon them, because they were not kept in the Ark. The signification also of this word is doubtful, one while they give this Name to all Books that are not in the Canon, another while only to erroneous or ill Books. Some of the Fathers make three Distinctions of Books, viz. The Canonical, the Doubtful, and the Suppositious. Consult *Origen* upon the 4th Chap. of *St. John*. *St. Athanasius* in his Festival Letter, *St. Gregory* in the Poem to *Seleucus*. *Eusebius*, and the other Fathers, divide them but into two sorts, Canonical and Apocryphal: But then they distinguish the Canonical into two Classes. Indeed generally speaking, they are ranged into three Classes, the Canonical of the first Rank, the Canonical of the second Rank, and the Apocryphal.

(c) *Some persons distinguish three Canons made at several times by the Sanedrim, or the great Synagogue of the Jews.*] *Serrarius* makes only two: The first made by *Ezrah*, and the Synagogue in his time: The second, either when they sent the LXX Elders to translate the Bible, or when the Dispute about the Resurrection was so warmly discussed between the *Sadducees* and *Pharisees*: *Genebrard* supposes there were three; The first, composed by *Ezrah*, and approved of by the Synagogue; The second, appointed by a Grand Assembly of the Synagogue,

when they sent the LXX, at which time, as he pretends, *Tobit*, *Judith*, *Ecclesiasticus*, and the Book of *Wisdom*, were added to the Canon; The third, at the time of the famous Controversie between the *Sadducees* and *Pharisees*, when the Books of the *Maccabees*, according to him, were solemnly approved and received.

(d) *But 'tis a great deal more probable, that they never had but one Canon.*] It is unquestionably true, that *Ezrah* received, and collected the Sacred Volumes, and consequently that he was the Author of the Canon amongst the Jews. Neither they, nor the ancient Christians acknowledged any other. As for the Books, which as they pretend, were inserted into the other Canons, 'tis certain they were never owned by the Jews; and what they talk about the two great Assemblies of the Synagogues, that were convened upon that Occasion, is all a Chimera and Fiction. The Ancients themselves never make the least mention of the Approbation of the Synagogue or Sanedrim of the Jews, which our Moderns boast of so mightily. Some are of Opinion, that *Nehemiah* added the two Books of *Ezrah* to the Canon, and found their Notion upon what is said in the 2d. Book of *Maccabees*, ch. 2. v. 13. that he gathered together the Books of *David*, and the Prophets, and the Books of the *Kings*, &c. But this only proves, that he erected a Library, as it is intimated in that place, and not made a Collection of the Sacred Books. Others say, that we ought to attribute this Canon to *Judas Maccabeus*, because it is said in the first of *Maccabees*, ch. 1. v. 56. that *Antiochus* and his Ministers burnt and tore to pieces the Books of the Law; and in the second Book ch. 2. v. 13, 14. the Jews of *Jerusalem* acquaint their Brethren that were in *Egypt*, that *Judas Maccabeus* had gathered together all those things that were lost by reason of the War. This does not prove that *Ezrah's* Canon was entirely lost, and that *Judas* composed another, but only that he got other Copies of those Sacred Books that were



were burnt and torn under *Antiochus*, and made a Collection of several pieces relating to the History of their Wars, which was never received into the Jewish Canon. Our Opinion is invincibly proved by the concurring Testimonies of *Josephus* and *St. Jerome*.

(e) But it is visible, that this Citation has been since inserted into the true Text of *Josephus*.] The passage which, as they pretend, is cited by *Josephus*, is in ch. 42. of *Ecclesiasticus*, v. 14. Better is the Churlishness of a Man, than a courteous Woman. 'Tis beyond dispute, that it was afterwards added, for *Josephus* proposes in that place to cite the Laws of *Moses*, and this passage makes nothing at all to the purpose. In the ancient Version of *Ruffinus* this Quotation is not to be found, which makes it evident, that it has been added since.

(f) There are no others cited in the New Testament, but those that were received into the Canon of the Jews.] Some Persons say, that the Book of *Wisdom* is cited by *St. Paul*, *Rom.* 11. in these words, Who hath known the mind of the Lord? Or who hath been his Counsellor? Which they say are the very same in effect with those in *Wisdom*, ch. 9. For what Man can know the Counsel of God? But this passage cited by the Apostle is to be found word for word in *Isaiah*, ch. 40. v. 13. where the Greek terms are the same that are used by *St. Paul*. *St. Basil*, l. de Spir. Sancto, ch. 5. *Tertullian* in his fifth book against *Marcion*, ch. 14. *St. Ambrose*, or rather the Author of the Commentaries upon *St. Paul*, that are falsely attributed to him, *Peter Lombard*, and several others observe, that it is taken out of *Isaiah*. 'Tis also pretended, that the passage in his Epistle to the *Hebrews*, where it is said, that *Enoch* was translated, that he might not taste of death, is taken out of that Book. But it is in *Genesis*, ch. 5. v. 25. It is likewise said, that there are several Allusions in the Gospel and the Epistles of the Apostles to some places in *Ecclesiasticus*, the Book of *Wisdom*, *Judith* and *Tobit*. Every one abounds in his own sense, and can find out what Resemblances or Allusions he pleases; but it is not necessary that two Persons that have happen'd upon the same thought, should take it one from the other. *St. Justin*, and the Ancients, don't accuse the Jews for not acknowledging all the Books of Holy Scripture for Canonical. *Theophilus* says, that *Zechariah* is the last of the Prophets, and concludes the Holy Scripture with *Ezrah*.

(g) A great part of these are quoted there.] These are all Books that are cited there; *Genesis*, *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, *Numbers*, *Deuteronomy*, *Josuah*, the second Book of *Samuel*, the first of *Kings*, *Job*, the *Psalms*, the *Proverbs*, *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, *Ezekiel*, *Daniel*, *Hosea*, *Joel*, *Amos*, *Jonah*, *Micah*, *Haggai*, *Habakkuk*, *Nahum*, *Zechariah*, *Malachi*.

(h) Gregory Nazianzen distributes the Books of Scripture into Historical, Poetical, and Prophetical.] This Distribution in my Opinion, seems to be the justest, and most natural.

(i) By that of the Roman Council held under *Gelasius*, Anno Dom. 494.] There is mention made in this Catalogue but of one Book of *Ezrah*, and one Book of *Maccabees*, although the number of Books is not exactly distinguished in all the rest. For Example: *Regnorum libri quatuor*. - - - - - *Esdras liber unus*, *Maccabaeorum liber unus*. In some Manuscripts *Job* is not mentioned there, and they read *Maccabaeorum libri duo*.

(k) *St. Jerome*, who frequently rejects it as Apocryphal, and puts it out of the Canon, not only of the Jews, but the Christians also.] Every time that *St. Jerome* treats expressly about the Canonical Books in his Prologues to the *Kings*, to the Books of *Salomon*, *Ezrah*, and *Esther*, in his Epistles 7 and 103 to *Paulinus*, in his commentary upon *Ezekiel* in l. 17. ch. 43. he always rejects those Books that are not to be found in the Canon of the *Hebrews* as Apocryphal, and only fit to be considered as such. But when he speaks without making any manner of reflection, he frequently cites these very Books as parts of the Holy Scripture, and attributes the same Character to the Book of the *Wisdom of Salomon*, although it is certain, that he believed the contrary. In his Prefaces before *Judith* and *Tobit*, as if he had a mind to restore the Reputation of these Books, he speaks very advantageously of them.

(l) The Books of *Wisdom* and *Ecclesiasticus*.] Besides several Allusions to the Scripture, which might be produced, but

don't prove, that they were cited from thence, *St. Barnabas* cites a passage drawn out of the Book of *Wisdom*, ch. 2. v. 12; and another out of *Ecclesiasticus*, ch. 4. v. 36. *Clement Romanus*, in his Epistle to the *Corinthians*, has quoted the Book of *Wisdom*, ch. 11. v. 22. *Tertullian* likewise has quoted the same Author in his Book against *Marcion*, towards the end, and in his Prescriptions. *Clement Alexandrinus* has also quoted him frequently. *St. Cyprian* very often quotes these two Books, and ascribes them to *Salomon*. *Origen* mentions the Book of *Wisdom* under the Name of Scripture in *Epist. ad Heb.* in his third Book against *Celsus*, and in his eighth Homily upon *Exodus*, as he also cites *Ecclesiasticus*, *Tom.* 2. — upon *St. Matthew*, Treatise the 24th: And *Eusebius*, l. 6. of his History, ch. 13. says, That although *St. Clement* cites these Books, yet they are for the most part rejected. *St. Hilary* cites them upon the *Psalms* 104. *St. Basil* also cites them sometimes, and particularly in his fifth Book against *Eunomius*. So does *St. Jerome* frequently, in his Commentary upon *Psalms* 73. in his 16th Book upon *Isaiah*, and in his 33d Book upon *Ezekiel*, and in his second Book upon *Isaiah*. *St. Austin* does the same in abundance of places. They are likewise cited by the Author of the Book of *Divine Names*, and of the *Hierarchy*, in the last Book, Chap. 2. in the first, Chap. 4. In the Letter of the Council of *Sardica*, set down by *Theodoret*, Hist. l. 2. ch. 8. By *Anastasius Sinaita*, lib. 9. In *Ex-am.* Orat. 2. De incircumscripto, and Quest. 8, and 10. By *Johannes Damascenus*, l. 4. Of the Orthodox Faith, ch. 16. In his third Oration of the Nativity, and in his Sermon of the Dead. But to cite a Book, as *Gretzer* observes, is not to declare it to be Canonical. These Books are thrown out of the Canon, by those very Persons that cite them under the Name of Scripture, and they that attribute them to *Salomon*; when they cite them, at other times formally deny it. Some seem to think, that the Book of *Ecclesiasticus* is cited by those who produce this Sentence as from the Scripture, Do nothing without advice. Such as *St. Basil* in his short Rules, Quest. 104. *Eusebius de Prep. Evang.* Lib. 12. *Cassian*, Conference, 2. *Boniface*, Epist. 98. The Council of *Ephesus*, in the Epistle to the Synod of *Pamphylia*. But the same sentence is in substance in the 13th Chapter of the *Proverbs*, Verse 16. and is word for word in the 24th Chapter, Verse 13. of the Septuagint Version, from whence these Fathers quoted it; as well as *Isidore Pelusiotas*, who frequently uses it. The *Proverbs* likewise are very often cited by the Ancients under the Name of *Wisdom*, by *Melito* in his Catalogue, *Proverbia quæ & Sapientia*, for so it ought to be translated, and not *Proverbia & Sapientia*; by *Origen*, Homil. 17. upon *Genesis*, upon *Exodus*, and *Numbers*; by the Author who has written under the Name of *Dionysius of Alexandria* against *Paulus Samosatensis*; by the Author of the *Constitutions*, frequently by *St. Basil*, *Const. Monast.* C. 3. and 16; by *Gregory Nazianzen*, Orat. 1. and 26. And by *Gregory Nyssene* in his Book of *The Life of Moses*, and in his 7th Book against *Eunomius*. By the Council in *Trullo*, Chap. 64. By the second Council of *Nice*, Act. 6. The *Proverbs* are also called by *St. Clement of Alexandria*, *Stromata*. By *Hegeippus*, and the Ancients, Παροιμίαι.

(m) *St. Basil* sufficiently observes, that he did not own the Books of *Wisdom* and *Ecclesiasticus* for Canonical.] In his Epist. 406. to *Amphilochius*, he tells us, that *Philo* speaking of the Manna, has said according to the Tradition of the Jews, that it had a different Taste according to the difference of Palats or Appetites. Now this is expressly said in the Book of *Wisdom*. *St. Basil* therefore believed it was written by *Philo*, if this is the Book whereof he speaks, or at least that it was no Book of Scripture, for otherwise he would not barely have called an Opinion, that is so clearly established there in the 16th Chapter, by the Name of a Jewish Tradition. The same *St. Basil*, Lib. 2. contr. *Eunom.* says, that this passage, *Dominus creavit me initium viarum suarum*, is only to be found once in Scripture. *Socrates* says the same thing, Lib. 4. Chap. 7. If they had acknowledged the Book of *Wisdom* to be Canonical, they ought to have said that this Sentence is twice to be found in the Bible, because we read it in the Book of *Wisdom*, as well as in the *Proverbs*.

## SECT. III.

### The History of the Hebrew Text. Of the Version of the Septuagint, and other Greek Versions of the Old Testament.

THE Books of *Moses*, and (a) almost all the rest of the Books of the Old Testament, were written in Hebrew. The ancient (b) Characters, which *Moses* and the other Authors, that wrote before the Captivity, made use of, according to the common Opinion, were the Samaritan. For after the Division of the Ten Tribes under *Rehoboam* the Son of *Salomon*, the

*Israelites* preserved the *Pentateuch* in the same form they received it from *Moses*, and (c) gave it afterwards to the Men of *Cuth*; who came to settle in their place at *Samarina*, from whence they were called *Samaritans*. The Tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin* also preserved the same Characters till the *Babylonish* Captivity. But being once carried away into *Babylon*, they insensibly used themselves



to write and speak after the manner of the *Chaldeans*. Therefore it was, that (d) *Ezrah*, having reviewed, and gathered together the Books of the Bible, used the new *Chaldee* Characters, as being better known to the *Jews* than the Ancient, which they have used almost always ever since. But the *Jews* not only borrowed their Characters from the *Chaldeans*, but they borrowed their Language also, which was the same with that of the *Syrians* or *Affyrians*, and came very near the *Hebrew* (e). It is very certain, that at first this Language was not common to all the *Jews*, that they all understood *Hebrew*, and that there were likewise some Persons that spoke it still; so that the *Chaldee* and *Hebrew* Tongue were at the same time common in *Judaea* (f). But by little and little they were confounded together, and the Vulgar Language of the *Jews* became the *Syriack*, but mixed with several *Hebrew* Terms, which was afterwards commonly called *Hebrew*. Nevertheless, the Sacred Books still continued written in *Hebrew*, and the *Jews* read them in that Language in their Synagogues; but the ancient *Hebrew* Language being no longer common, and beginning to be less intelligible to all the *Jews*, they explained the Original *Hebrew* in their Synagogues, and this perhaps might give the first occasion to the (g) *Chaldee* Paraphrases, though those we now have seem to be of a later date. The *Hebrew* Text continued in this state without Points, till about the Year of our Lord 500, at which time the (h) *Jews* of *Tiberias* invented the Points, to limit and restrain the Reading and Pronunciation of the *Hebrew* Tongue.

I will not lose any time in endeavouring to prove all these things by any large Explications, since any Man may see them more amply handled by those Persons, who have wrote Volumes of purpose upon these Subjects; Neither will I discourse of the Oriental Versions of the Old Testament, that are all new, and besides of a very inconsiderable authority. But I cannot forbear to spend some time about the *Greek* Version of the Bible made by the *LXX*, whom we commonly rank in the number of Ecclesiastical Authors.

It has been long disputed, whether there was not a *Greek* Version of the Books of the Bible more ancient than the *Septuagint*. St. *Clement* of *Alexandria*, *Eusebius*, and some other ancient Writers, who pretend, that *Plato*, and several other Pagan Philosophers, have borrowed many passages out of the Books of the Bible, were of opinion, that they were Translated into *Greek* before the Seventy undertook that business. They that follow this opinion, support it principally by the Testimony of *Aristobulus* related by *Eusebius*, who says, that before the time of the Seventy, some Persons had explained, all that concerned the Laws of the *Jews*, their departure out of *Egypt*, and whatever happened to them after the taking of their Country; words that seem to intimate, that the *Pentateuch* had been Translated before the Version of the *Septuagint*. St. *Augustin*, l. 18. *De Civit. Dei*, ch. 11. and *Baronius* after him deny it, and assure us, that the first Version of the Bible was the *Septuagint*. *Huetius* endeavours to reconcile these two Opinions, by saying, that there were only some few fragments of the Old Testament translated before the *Septuagint*, but that these *LXX* Elders were the first, that made an entire Version of all the Sacred Volumes. He grounds his Opinion upon the above-cited passage of *Aristobulus*, which ought to be only understood, says he, of some parts, as the Circumlocution he uses makes it appear, as well as what he adds, that the Law was first entirely translated under *Ptolomy Philadelphus*. But in case this Book of *Aristobulus* should only be the work of an Hellenist *Jew*, as it is exceeding probable, this Opinion would become very uncertain. Let us go on now to the Version of the *Septuagint*.

All the Ancient Fathers have believed after *Josephus* and *Philo*, that the Version of the Bible, commonly called the *Septuagint*, was composed by Seventy or Seventy two *Jews* sent to *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, who desired to have the Jewish Books in *Greek*, that he might place them in the Magnificent Library which he had lately erected at *Alexandria* by the care and industry of *Demetrius Phalereus* an *Athenian*. This has gone a long time for constant matter of fact, nor was it ever questioned but in our Age, in which some Criticks have been found, that have looked upon this History to be fabulous. We shall examine the conjectures they generally bring to prove it.

In the first place they say, that this Story is wholly founded upon the Authority of *Aristeas* and *Aristobulus*, from whom *Josephus* and *Philo* have taken all that they say in this matter, and that if these two Authors should prove spurious, as the greatest part of the Criticks agree they are, then there would be no other credible Witness of the truth of this business, the Fathers having talked of them only upon the relation of these Authors. Secondly, these Criticks pretend, that this History does not in any manner agree with the Chronology of those times,

and they demonstrate it thus: All those Authors, say they, who speak of this subject, suppose, that it was *Demetrius Phalereus*, who had been formerly a great Man at *Athens*, that took the pains to make the *Jews* come to translate the Books of the Bible, and in the mean time they pretend that this Version was composed under the Reign of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*. Now *Demetrius* could not be in reputation under *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, nor could he be alive at that time, when they suppose that this Version was made. For it is certain, that *Demetrius* lived in *Egypt* under the Reign of *Ptolomy* the Son of *Lagus*, and that having counselled this Prince to name for his Successors the Children which he had by *Euridice*, he incurred the disgrace of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, who banished him the Court immediately after the death of his Father, and ordered him to be kept close in a certain Province, where he died soon after, as *Hermippus*, cited by *Diogenes Laertius*, testifies. All which makes it evident, that in the first place *Demetrius* was never in any credit with *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, and consequently, that he was not Supervisor of his Library, nor ordered to bring the *Jews* to translate the Bible: secondly, that the Version of the *Septuagint* being made, as we are obliged to suppose, some years after the beginning of *Philadelphus*'s Reign, *Demetrius* could not be employed in that affair, since he was dead before. 'Tis commonly answered, that *Ptolomy Philadelphus* reigned some time along with his Father, as 'tis observ'd in *Eusebius*'s *Chronicon*, and that in this time he took care of the Library, and got the Version of the Bible to be made. 'Tis likewise urged, that this is the reason why some Authors place this Translation in the time of *Ptolomy* the Son of *Lagus*, and others in the time of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*. But in my Opinion this answer does not clearly remove the difficulty, since *Aristeas* and *Josephus* tell us in express words, that it happen'd under the Reign of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, and that he was the King who took so much care to compleat his Library, without making the least mention of his Father. 'Twas to him alone that *Demetrius* address'd himself, to procure his Letters to the *Jews*, he was the only Man that wrote them; In a word, all Authors who say this matter happen'd under his Reign, speak not one word of *Ptolomy* the Son of *Lagus*, and those that affirm, that it happen'd under the first *Ptolomy*, don't mention a syllable of *Philadelphus*. *Vitruvius* in the preface to his 7th Book tells us, that *Ptolomy Philadelphus* made a Library in imitation of the Kings of *Pergamus*, and that *Aristophanes*, an *Athenian* Grammarian, was his Library Keeper, from whence it follows, that *Demetrius* never managed that Office, and that the Library was not begun till after his death. For that King of *Pergamus*, in imitation of whom *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, erected his Library, was *Eumenes*, who could not possibly do it till after the death of *Demetrius*; and therefore *Suidas* says, the Version of the *Septuagint* was not made till the 33d year of the Reign of *Philadelphus*, and he observes, that *Zenodorus* was his Library-Keeper. This still discovers another contradiction in *Chronology*, that is to be found in *Aristeas* and *Josephus*'s Narration; for they say, that the Seventy came into *Egypt* when *Ptolomy* made a solemn Festival, occasioned by a Naval Victory which he obtained over *Antigonus*. This Sea-Fight ought to be the same, which *Diodorus* mentions in his 20th Book, and happen'd in the third year of the 118th *Olympiad*. Now at that time *Demetrius* was not come to *Egypt*, where he came not till after the death of *Cassander*, which happen'd in the second year of the 120th *Olympiad*, according to the Testimony of *Hermippus*. And though one should still maintain, that he came thither at that time, yet it is certain, that *Eleazer* was not then the High Priest, since according to *Eusebius*, he did not begin to be so till the 123d *Olympiad*. They observe also another Solecism in *Chronology*, and that is in the Epistle attributed to *Demetrius* by *Aristeas*: For *Hecataeus* of *Abdera* that was *Demetrius*'s Contemporary, is there cited as a Man that had been dead a long while ago. Thirdly, 'tis urged against the truth of this Story, that it is notoriously full of the fictions and inventions of the Hellenist *Jews*. It is supposed there, that *Eleazer* chose Seventy two Men, by taking six out of every Tribe. Now all the World knows, that at this time some of the Tribes were not to be found there, as having been carried away out of *Judaea*, by *Shalmanezzer* after the taking of *Samaria*. To this it may perhaps be replied, that there were still remaining amongst the *Jews* some Persons descended from all those Tribes, that were concealed in the Tribe of *Judah*, but that *Eleazer* should find just Six and no more in every Tribe, who were able to do such a business, seems, as they say, to look a little too fabulous. 'It is certain, says a modern Critick, that if we reflect a little upon the History of *Aristeas*, and read it with never so little Application, we shall be convinc-



ed, that an Hellenist *Jew* wrote this Book under the name of *Aristeas* in favour of his own Nation. The Miracles that are related there, and the very manner in which it is written, give us a true Idea of a Jewish Genius, which always, and especially at that time, delighted to publish Forgeries, that contained scarce any thing but extraordinary things. He tells us, that some Persons having formed a design to Translate these Sacred Volumes, were deterred from their bold resolution by a signal punishment from Heaven, that *Theopompus* having determined to insert some part of their Law into the body of his History, became mad; That the same *Theopompus* having pray'd to God, during the intermission of his Distemper, to discover to him the cause of this unfortunate accident, God answered him in a Dream, that it happened to him for his great presumption in endeavouring to make common those sacred things that ought to be kept private, and that he was restored to his former health, after having desisted from this Enterprize. We read in the same place, that *Theodectus*, a Tragick Poet, lost his sight, for having presumptuously attempted to insert a passage of the Bible into his Works, but that he recovered his sight upon acknowledgment of his fault, and begging pardon of God. After all, the Authors of the Books attributed to *Aristeas* and *Aristobulus* say nothing but what is great and pompous, and extraordinary. *Aristeas* for example does not content himself with saying, that the Seventy carried a Copy of the Law, but he adds, that they brought one written in Characters of Gold. He makes *Demetrius* give the King a Petition, that they might have the Books of the *Jews*. He describes the Table, and the other Presents, which King *Ptolomy* offer'd to the Temple at *Jerusalem*, very fabulously. In a word, there is scarce one single Circumstance in the whole Narration, that does not look very like a fable.

These reasons, and many others which may yet be brought, have made several Criticks reject these Books that are attributed to *Aristeas* and *Aristobulus*; and what is yet more material, there are some Persons that doubt, whether there were ever any Version composed by the 70 *Jews* that were sent to *Ptolomy Philadelphus*. As for my self, although I am heartily persuaded, that these Books of *Aristeas* and *Aristobulus* are spurious, yet nevertheless (i) I am of opinion, that we cannot absolutely deny, that there was a Greek Translation of the Bible made in the time of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*: But I dare by no means affirm, that this business was done perfectly after the same manner, as we find it related in the Book attributed to *Aristeas*.

Now as the *Jews* are fruitful in Fictions, so they are not content with retailing those, that are to be found in this Author, but they have likewise added abundance of more extraordinary passages, in supposing, that these 72 Persons were shut up severally, each Man in a particular Cell, and that they all of 'em translated the Scripture in the same manner, insomuch that all their translations were found conformable to each other, not only in the same Sense, but even in the same Words and Expressions. Upon this foundation they pretend, that they were inspired by God, and that their Version ought to be considered, as wholly Divine. Some of the Fathers, that were extremely inclined to value the Authority of this Translation, readily believed this Fiction of the *Jews* (k), but St. *Jerome*, who had examined these things more exactly, and who preferred the Hebrew Text to the Translation of the *Septuagint*, laughed at this Story with reason, since neither *Aristeas*, nor *Philo*, nor *Josephus*, who were the first Persons that gave us the History of this Version, spoke a word concerning these little Cells; but on the contrary *Aristeas*, or the Author of the Book that bears his name, tells us, that the Seventy, when they made this Version, concerted matters among themselves, and conferr'd together. 'Tis upon the Testimony of the same Author, that St. *Jerome* assures us, that the Seventy only translated the five Books of *Moses*. *Aristeas*, *Aristobulus*, and *Philo*, tell us, that they translated no more than the Law, a word which ordinarily signifies the *Pentateuch* only. And though we might understand it of all the Books of the Old Testament, which is not true, yet *Josephus* utterly excludes this Explication, by telling us, that this Law was that of the Legislator of the *Jews*, which passage can only agree to *Moses* and his Books.

The *Talmudists* are of the same Opinion. On the other side St. *Justin*, and the greatest part of the ancient Fathers, believed, that the Seventy translated all the Bible, because in their time the Greek Version of the Books of Scripture, that are joyned to the five Books of *Moses*, went under the name of the *Septuagint*: But it is far more probable to believe, that the Seventy only translated the five Books of *Moses*, and that the following Books were from time to time translated by other Authors, as the difference of the style, that is to be observed between the several Ver-

sions, sufficiently shews, since we have not the positive Testimonies of the Seventy to the contrary. But though the Greek Version of the other Books of the Bible, joyned to that of the LXX, was not performed by them, yet we must acknowledge, that it is very ancient; and that the *Jews* had no other before our Saviour was born.

But after the Christian Religion was settled, as the Christians supported themselves by the Authority of the Version of the LXX; so some of the *Jews* resolved to make a new Translation of the Books of the Bible, which as they pretend, should be more conformable to the Hebrew Text, and less favourable to the Christians (l). *Aquila* the *Jew*, who lived in the time of *Adrian*, was the first Man that thought of this design; and after put it into execution, by translating the Hebrew Text into Greek word for word. Afterwards *Theodotion* (m), a Disciple of *Tatian*, who after turned *Marcionite*, and at last a *Jew*, and flourished in the time of the Emperor *Commodus*, made another Greek Version of the whole Bible, in which, as he does not confine himself so closely to the Letter, as *Aquila* did, so neither does he depart so far from it as *Symmachus* (n); the Author of the third Version, who lived in the time of the Emperor *Severus*. He had formerly been a *Jew*; and at last went over to the Sect of the *Ebionites*, which comes up very near to *Judaism*. His Version is much freer, and he only concerns himself to render the sense, without sticking at the words (o). In the time of the Emperor *Caracalla* there was another Version of the Books of the Bible found, or at least of one part thereof, and likewise a sixth under *Alexander* the Son of *Mammea*, which is called the *Nicopolitan*. Lastly, *Origen* added a Seventh Version; but that reached the Psalms only. The Hexapla, and Tetrapla of *Origen* were composed of these Versions: In the Hexapla they were joyned to the Hebrew Text written two ways, that is to say, in Greek Characters, and in Hebrew Characters, and this composed the two first Columns of the Work: In the third Column stood *Aquila's* Translation, which was joyned to the Hebrew Text, as following the letter more religiously than any of the rest. The Version of the *Septuagint* was placed between that of *Symmachus* and *Theodotion*, and so these three Versions composed three Columns: the two other Versions were ranked in the two last Columns, and the Seventh, which was of the Book of Psalms, in the ninth Column. I think that this Work ought rather to be called *Octapla* than *Hexapla*, being composed of eight Columns; and therefore some have believed, that the *Hexapla*, did not contain the fifth and sixth Version, but only the other four; and that these two Versions having been added since *Origen*, they then made *Octapla* of them. But *Eusebius*, and (p) St. *Jerome*, with several of the ancient Writers, make no distinction at all between the *Octapla* and *Hexapla*, but only between the *Tetrapla* and the *Hexapla*, and plainly affirm, that both the fifth and sixth Version were in the *Hexapla* of *Origen*, and even the seventh of the Book of Psalms. Therefore we must either say, that they counted not the two Columns of the Hebrew Text, or else, that the fifth and sixth Versions were only of some particular Books of the Bible; and that thus the same Work of *Origen* had six Columns in some places, in others eight, and even nine in the Psalms, but that they were called *Hexapla*, either because there were generally but six Columns, or because the fifth and sixth Columns were afterwards added. And this appears to be the opinion of St. *Epiphanius*, which the Learned *Huetius* has so excellently explained. In the *Tetrapla*, that were made after the *Hexapla*, *Origen* has retrenched the fifth and sixth Versions, as also the two Columns of the Hebrew Text, so that they are only composed of the Versions of *Aquila*, *Symmachus*, the *Septuagint*, and *Theodotion*. We must still observe, that the Version of the *Septuagint*, that was in the *Hexapla*, and *Tetrapla*, was corrected and augmented in several places yet without being changed. For *Origen* added there some passages taken from *Theodotion*, which he marked with an Asterisk, and as for those places, that as he supposed ought to be cut off, and retrenched, he inclosed them between two Hooks. Since that there have been three Versions of the *Septuagint* used in the Church. The first is the ancient or vulgar, and was received by *Lucian*, it was used at *Constantinople*, and in the East. The second was that of *Hesychius*, which they used in *Alexandria*, and all over *Egypt*. Lastly the third, which was used in *Palestine*, was the same with that, which was in the *Hexapla* of *Origen*, and which *Eusebius* and *Pamphilus* transcribed, and published separately. Here, says St. *Jerome*, are the three different Versions of Scripture, that divide the whole Earth. *Totiusque orbis hac inter se trifaria varietate compugnat*. I shall not say any thing about the Authority of the Version of the *Septuagint*, compared with the Hebrew Text, because it is a great and famous Question that does not in the least concern that design I have proposed to my self.



## N O T E S.

(a) *WERE almost all written in Hebrew.*] We must except *Judith*, *Tobit*, some Chapters of *Daniel*, and some of the first Book of *Ezrah*, which are written in *Chaldee*, and some other Chapters of the same Prophet *Daniel*, with the Books of the *Maccabees* that are written in *Greek*.

(b) *The Characters which Moses made use of, &c. were the Samaritan.*] This opinion was taken for granted in *St. Jerome's* time, as he himself observes in his Preface to the *Kings*, and it is confirmed by ancient Medals, where we find this Inscription, *Holy Jerusalem*, written in *Hebrew* in the *Samaritan* Characters; and this could not be written after the division of the Tribes, for at that time the *Samaritans* did not consider *Jerusalem* as an Holy City.

(c) *Gave it to the Men of Cuth.*] 'Tis far more probable, that the Men of *Cuth* had the Books of the Law rather from the *Israelites* than the *Jews*. In the first place, because they preserved them written in the ancient Character, which makes it evident, that they did not receive them after the Captivity, since the *Jews* at that time wrote in *Syriack* Characters. Secondly, because the Collection of the Sacred Books amongst the *Samaritans* only contained the *Pentateuch*, and consequently they received them of the *Israelites*, who acknowledged no other Books but these to be sacred, and not of the *Jews*, who admitted the rest.

(d) *Ezrah having reviewed and gathered together the Books of the Bible.*] I have followed the common opinion of the *Jews* and Holy Fathers, who ascribe the collecting and revising of the Sacred Volumes of the Old Testament to *Ezrah*: Others are of opinion, that it was *Nehemiah* that took this care, but let the matter be how it will, certain it is, that the *Jews* at their return from the *Babylonian* Captivity, took care to search after, and gather their Books together. The Author of the fourth Book of *Esdra*, which is a Book full of fables and fictions, supposeth, that all the Copies of the Sacred Books being burnt or lost, *Ezrah* dictated them all anew by a Divine Inspiration. We have this fable at length in the 14th Chapter of this Book, where it is tack'd to several other foolish Whimsies. *St. Clement of Alexandria*, *Theodoret*, and *St. Basil* have followed this opinion, without reflecting upon it; but others who have used more precaution in this matter, are content to say with us, that *Ezrah* collected, review'd, digested, and put in order the Books of Holy Scripture, when there were many Copies of it as yet remaining. This is the opinion of *St. Irenaeus*, *Tertullian*, *St. Jerome*, *St. Chrysostome*, the Author of the *Abridgment of the Bible*, commonly attributed to *St. Athanasius*, and of several others. The first opinion is not only extremely prejudicial to Religion, but impossible to be maintain'd. For, first, What probability is there, that the *Jews* during the Captivity, should lose all the Copies of that Book, for which they always preserved so profound a veneration, and which was the foundation of their Religion? Why should we think, that not one single Man amongst them kept it by him? Is it credible, that *Ezekiel*, *Daniel*, and *Jeremiah*, were deprived of reading the Books of the Law? Can one conceive, that *Ezrah* had no other knowledge of them than by Inspiration? He, I say, that was so learned a Doctor of the Law of *Moses* at the time when he was in *Babylon*, as it appears, *ch. 7. v. 6.* of the first Book of *Ezrah*. 2. We ought to make the same reflection upon the *Israelites* of the ten Tribes. Now it is not probable, that they did not carry the Holy Books along with them. The Book of *Tobit* informs us, that *Tobit* read the Prophecy of *Amos*, *Tob. ch. 2. v. 6. 3.* And 3dly, is it not past dispute, that the Men of *Cuth* preserved the *Pentateuch*, which the *Israelites* of the ten Tribes gave them? 4. It appears by the 9th Chapter of *Daniel*, that the *Jews* had the Books of *Moses*, and read them during the Captivity. *All Israel*, says this Prophet, *have transgressed thy Law, even by departing, that they might not obey thy voice, and therefore the curse is poured upon us, and the oath that is written in the Law of Moses, because we have sinned against him.* And a little lower, *All this evil is come upon us, as it is written in the Law of Moses.* 5. It is said in the sixth Chapter of the Book of *Ezrah*, that the building of the Temple was finished in the sixth year of *Darius*, and that the Priests and Levites were established in their Ministerial Functions, as it is written in the Law of *Moses*, *Sicut scriptum est in lege Moysis.* Now *Ezrah* was not yet come up to *Jerusalem*, for it is related in the following Chapter, that he arrived in *Judaea* in the seventh year of King *Artaxerxes*. 6. In the second Book of *Ezrah*, *ch. 8.* the People being desirous to be instructed in the Law of *Moses*, did not request him to dictate it to them anew, but only to bring the Book of the Law of *Moses*, which the Lord had given to the People of *Israel*. *Et dixerunt Esdra scriba, ut afferret librum legis Moysis quam praeceperat Deus Israeli.* And it is said immediately after, that *Ezrah* brought the Book of the Law, and read it before all the People. It will be said perhaps, that I

have borrowed these Reasons out of another Man's Book, I own it, but I thought they were suitable to the present occasion.

(e) *It is very certain, that at first this Language was not common to all the Jews.*] This is abundantly proved against the common opinion, by what is said in the Book of *Nehemiah*, *ch. 13. v. 24.* that the Children of the *Jews* who had Married strange Women, spoke *Astice* and not *Judaice*. In the *Hebrew* the words are *Ashdodith*, and *Jehudith*, and this last word in the second Book of *Kings*, *ch. 18. v. 26.* is opposed to *Aramith*, which signifies in *Syriack*, *Precamur loquaris nobis Syriace & non Judaice*; in the first Book of *Ezrah*, *ch. 4. v. 7.* and in the Prophet *Daniel*, *ch. 2. v. 4.* *Aramith* has still the same signification. On the contrary *Jehudith* signifies the *Hebrew* Tongue in opposition to the *Syriack*, as we may see in the second Book of *Chron.* *ch. 32. v. 18.* 2 *Kings*, *18. 26.* and in *Isaiah*, *ch. 36. v. 11.* There were several *Jews* therefore in the time of *Ezrah* that still spoke *Hebrew*. And this is evidently proved by the Books of *Ezrah* that were made since the Captivity, and yet were written in *Hebrew*, and not in *Chaldee*, except some Chapters of the first Book of *Ezrah*, where he tells us of the opposition, that the Officers of the King of *Persia*, who spoke *Chaldee*, gave to the *Jews*. From whence it follows, that the *Jews* both understood and spoke *Hebrew*. For otherwise why should *Ezrah*, if he designed to have his Books intelligible by all the *Jews*, write them in a Language, which was not natural to them. The same consideration will hold good as to the Books of the latter Prophets, who wrote in *Hebrew* after the Captivity, and yet addressed their Prophecies to all the People. But lastly, that which admits of no reply, is a remarkable passage in the Book of *Nehemiah*, *ch. 8. and 9.* Where we find, that the Law was read in *Hebrew* before the People, and all the People hearkened to it, and understood it; These Remarks have been lately made by a very Ingenious and Learned Person. Mr *Simon* indeed brags that he has invincible Reasons to overthrow them; When he has honoured the World with a Sight of them, we shall see whether they are powerful enough to make us retract this opinion, as he would willingly persuade us they are; but in the mean time he ought not to take it amiss, if till then, we continue in the same mind.

(f) *The Syriack Tongue mix'd with Hebrew Words became the vulgar Language of the Jews, which was afterwards called the Hebrew Tongue.*] The truth of this appears by the *Hebrew* Words that we find in the New Testament, which are all, as *St. Jerome* observes, *Syriack* Words, and what our blessed Saviour says, 'That not one Iota of the Law of God shall pass away, &c.' makes it evident, that the *Jews* at that time used the present *Hebrew* Alphabet, and not the ancient, and it is demonstrated from hence, that the *Jews* was a little Letter, which is true of the *Syriack* [and *Hebrew*] *Jod*, and not of the *Samaritan*, which has three Feet.

(g) *The Chaldee Paraphrases which we have seen to be of a later date.*] The *Chaldee* Paraphrase is divided into three Parts: The first, that contains the *Pentateuch*, is attributed to *Onkelos*; the second, that contains the Prophets, to *Jonathan*; the third, to one *Josephus* the blind. There is likewise another Paraphrase of the *Pentateuch*, called that of *Jerusalem*, and another of the *Canticles*; but all these Paraphrases are imperfect, as well as new. Since that time the *Jews* having committed to writing abundance of Traditions in a Book which they call *Misna*, they afterwards composed Commentaries upon it, whereof the most celebrated is called the *Gemera*. But all these Books are full of ridiculous foolish Fictions, and have nothing common with the Scripture; The *Masora*, that is, a sort of a Critical Performance upon the Bible, is of more use and advantage. The Follies and Whimsies of the *Cabala* are impertinent and impious.

(h) *About the year of our Lord 500, the Jews of Tiberias invented the Points.*] These Points were not used in *St. Jerome's* time, as may be easily proved from several Passages of this Father drawn out of his 22th Question upon *Jeremiah*, and out of his Commentary upon *Habakkuk*, in Chap. 3. Vers. 20. which abundantly shew, that in his time the Pronunciation of the *Hebrew* Words was not determined by the Points, as it has been since.

(i) *I am of opinion, that one cannot absolutely deny, that there was a Greek Version of the Books of the Bible made in the time of Ptolomy Philadelphus.*] It is not credible, that the Authors of the Books attributed to *Aristeas* and *Aristobulus* entirely invented the whole History, and that there is no part of it true. 'Tis far more probable, that they only added several Circumstances to the Matter of Fact, which was assuredly certain. Mr. *Simon* imagines, that this Version was called the *Septuagint*, because it was approved by the *Sanedrim*, but this is a Conjecture without any Foundation.

(k) *Some*



(k) *Some of the Fathers have believed this Fiction of the Talmudists.*] The Author of the Discourse against the Greeks, attributed to St. Justin, St. Irenaeus, and St. Clement, believed it, St. Austin questioned and doubted the truth of it, St. Jerome laughs at it.

(l) *Aquila the Jew.*] A certain Syriack Author, cited by Monsieur Le Jai [the Publisher of the French Polyglot,] tells us, that he was descended from Adrian, and adds many other Passages that are extremely improbable. St. Jerome assures us, that he was a Jew, in his Commentary upon the third Chapter of Habakkuk, upon the third of Isaiah, and in his Epistle to Marcellus.

(m) *Theodotion the Disciple of Tatian.*] St. Jerome's Testimony confirms what we have said here, St. Irenaeus names him in his Book against Heresy, from whence it follows, that he lived when Elutherius was Pope.

(n) *Symmachus, &c.*] What we say concerning this Man, is taken out of St. Jerome, in his Preface upon Job; Eusebius also says, l. 6. c. 7. that he was an Ebionite; and this is the reason why Hilary the Deacon Author of the Commentary of St. Paul, attributed to St. Ambrose, calls the Ebionites Symmachians.

(o) *We yet find another Version of the Bible in the time of the Emperor Caracalla.*] St. Epiphanius is of opinion, that this fifth Version was found at Jericho, the Author of *The Abridgment* attributed to St. Athanasius is of the same opinion: But Eusebius following the Testimony of Origen, tells us, that the sixth was found at Nicopolis; that we don't know where Origen found the fifth; and that the seventh, which was only a Version of the Psalms, was found at Jericho. Consult Euseb. l. 6. c. 16. St. Jerome assures us, that all these Translations were made by Jews.

(p) Eusebius, St. Jerome, and several other Ancients, make no distinction between the Octapla from the Hexapla.] They place the fifth, sixth, and seventh Version, in what they call the Hexapla. St. Epiphanius, in his Book of Weights and Measures, speaks of the Octapla, but as of a Work which was not distinguished from the Hexapla; for after he has described the Hexapla, he adds, *And if we find there the fifth and sixth Version added, it follows that we ought to call them Octapla.* These Columns were unquestionably written upon different Rolls, that were fasten'd one to the side of another:

## SECTION IV.

*Of some Authors, whose Works have a Relation to the Old Testament, viz. Philo, T. Flavius, Josephus, Justus, Aristeeas, Aristobulus, Josephus Bengorion, Berofus, the false Dorotheus, Zoroaster, &c.*

There are several Authors, whose Works, whether Genuine or Spurious, have a Relation to the History of the Old Testament, whom we think our selves obliged to take some short notice of.

*Philo, a Jew of Alexandria,* lived in the time of *Caius Caligula*, and was the chief Person of an Embassy, that the Jews sent to the Emperor. He composed several Works upon the Old Testament, a Catalogue of which may be seen in Eusebius's History, l. 2. ch. 8. and St. Jerome's Book of Ecclesiastical Writers, as well as at the beginning of the Greek and Latin Impression of his own Writings, printed at Paris, 1640. This Author is a Platonist, and so well imitates Plato's Style, that he has been called by some the Jewish Plato: He explained the whole Bible by way of Allegory, he is very Eloquent and Diffusive, his Works are full of Moral Thoughts, and continual Allegories upon all the Histories of the Bible; he approaches very near the Notions of the Christians in his Morals. His Works were published in Greek by Turnebus, and printed at Paris 1552. and at Francfort 1587. Translated into Latin by Gelenius, and printed at Basil, 1554, and 1561. at Lyons 1555, in Greek at Geneva 1603. and in Greek and Latin at Paris 1640.

*Josephus* was descended of the Sacerdotal Race of the *Asmonaeans*, as we are told in his Life, which he wrote himself, where all his Employments and Actions are exactly related. He was born Anno Dom. 37. and died 93. He was surnamed *Flavius*, by reason of *Vespasian*. He composed the History of the Jews, which he took for the most part out of the Books of the Bible, and continued it down to the time of the Wars of the Jews, under the Name of the Jewish Antiquities. He also wrote the History of the War against the Romans, and the taking of Jerusalem. He has likewise written, besides his own Life, two excellent Books against *Appion* to answer the Objections, which that Heathen had mustured up against the Antiquity of the Jewish Nation, the Purity of the Law, and the Conduct of Moses; and he has written a Treatise concerning the Martyrdom of the Maccabees, which is called by Erasmus, and not without Reason, an exquisite Master-piece of Eloquence. This Author wrote very politely, and the turn which he gives things, is very agreeable. His History is beautified with admirable Descriptions, very eloquent Harangues, and very sublime Thoughts; his Style is clear and faithful, he not only diverts his Readers, but he also brings them over to what side he pleases; in one word, he excites and calms the Passions as himself thinks fit. We may say, he is a perfect Historian, and we may justly call him the Livy of the Greeks. The Treatise of the Maccabees sufficiently

shews the Beauty of his Genius, and the Height of his Eloquence; and his Books against *Appion* demonstrate his profound Learning, and the exactness of his Judgment. The Works of this Author have been printed several times in Latin, of the Translation partly of Ruffinus, partly of Gelenius, and partly of Erasmus; and at Geneva in Greek and Latin, Anno Dom. 1611. It were to be wished that we had a new Edition of it, in a better Letter, and better Paper.

*Justus of Tiberias* wrote also an History of the Jews, and some Commentaries upon the Bible, but *Josephus* accuses him of Falsity and Lying. We had not placed him in the number of the Ecclesiastical Authors, if St. Jerome had not done it before us.

The Books of *Aristeeas* and *Aristobulus* concerning the Version of the Septuagint, are manifest Forgeries, and imposed upon the World by some Hellenist Jew, as we have already shewn when we were discoursing of that Version.

*The History of the War of the Jews* by *Josephus Bengorion*, was written by an Author that lived since St. Jerome's time. He speaks of the Goths as being in Spain, and of the Franks in Gaul. Now these People were not settled in Spain and in France till about the fifth Century, and so by consequence this is a spurious Writer, who having stolen several things out of the true *Josephus*, has mingled them after his manner with Fictions and Fables.

*The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*, which is extant in the first Volume of the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, is a Book wholly filled with Trifles and Impertinencies, and deserves nothing but contempt. Neither should one have a better opinion for the Abridgment of the Lives of the Prophets, the Apostles, and the other Disciples, attributed to *Dorotheus of Tyre*, who suffered Martyrdom in the time of *Dioclesian*. It is a Book altogether unknown to the Ancients, full of gross Faults and Mistakes in History, and made up of Fables and Tales to divert the Reader.

There are some Books that go under the Name of *Berosus the Chaldean*, of *Manetho the Egyptian*, and of *Metasthenes*; but they are altogether unworthy of those great Men, whose Names they carry, and the Forgery is plain and manifest. All those Passages out of the true *Berosus*, cited by *Josephus* in his Book against *Appion*, are not to be found in this Book that is ascribed to him, but we find there several Things that are clean contrary. He speaks of the City of Lyons, which had not that Name till after Caesar's time. In short, the History of *Berosus* went no farther than the time of *Nabuchadonosor*, and *Nabopolassar*, and this descends much lower.



The Book of (a) *Zoroaster*, of the sacred History of the *Persians*, a Fragment whereof is cited by *Eusebius* in his first Book *De præpar. Evangel.* is a supposititious Work, as well as the other Writings attributed to that fabulous Author. In fine, the History of the *Phœnicians*, which

is supposed to be written by (b) *Sanchoniathon*, and translated into Greek by *Philo Biblius* (c), who lived in the time of *Adrian*, is a Romance, wherein there are several Passages taken out of the History of the Bible and many Circumstances of the Fables of the *Greeks*.

## N O T E S.

(a) *Zoroaster*.] There were many of this Name, but 'tis generally held, that the first and most celebrated of them lived in the time of *Nimrod*, that he was King of the *Bactrians*, and that he was overcome by *Ninus*. They speak wonderful Things of his Knowledge, his Wisdom, and of the Prodigies which he wrote. They make him the first Author of the *Persian* Philosophy, which they called Magick. *Plato* speaks of *Zoroaster* as Inventor of that Science amongst the *Persians*, and observes that he was the Son of *Oromazes*. *Eubulus*, cited by *Porphyry*, attributes the Institution of the Mysteries of the Goddess *Mithra* to him. *Eudoxius* and *Hermippus*, cited by *Pliny*, tell us, that he lived Six thousand Years before *Plato*. But *Ctesias*, who has written the History of *Zoroaster*, testifies, that he lived in the time of *Cyrus*. This is the reason why *Arnobius* distinguished the two *Zoroasters*. *Eusebius* also makes *Zoroaster* as old as *Ninus*, and *St. Epiphanius* says, that he lived in the time of *Nimrod*. He is called *Zarades* by the *Persians*, and by the *Greeks* *Zoroaster*. There are several Explications given of his Name: Some pretend, that it signifies a Living Star; others say, that he was the Son of *Aster*; and lastly, others tell us, that it signifies a Contemplator of the Stars. All that is related of the ancient *Zoroaster* is fabulous. *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that the King of *Bactria*, that fought against *Ninus*, was named *Oxiartus*, and not *Zoroaster*. Nevertheless there is a great deal of reason to believe, that there was a Man of this Name amongst the *Persians*, who taught them Magick. *Hermippus* tells us, that he made an infinite number of Verses. The Fragment, which *Eusebius* cites in the 7th Chapter of his first Book *De præparatione Evangelicâ*, taken out of the History of the *Persians* attributed to this Author, has so plainly explained all the Attributes of God, that it is visible, it was composed by an Author who was no Stranger to the Christian Religion.

*Synefius* cites the Oracles of *Zoroaster*, upon the Dreams that are taken out of the Works of the later *Platonists*. These Oracles have been publish'd by *Opsopaus*, and printed at *Paris* 1599. with the Notes of *Psellus* and *Plato*. 'Tis no difficult matter to discover, that these Writings have been forged by the *Platonists*, that lived since our Blessed Saviour.

(b) *Sanchoniathon*.] This Author was unknown to all the Ancients. *Porphyry* is the first Man that cited this History, which is full of Fables and ridiculous Fictions. Whatever we there find concerning the Origine of the World; and the first Men, is taken out of *Genesis*. From thence he has borrowed the Word *Bohu* to signify Night, and that of *Colpia*, which is given to the Wind; as for what he says of the *Æora*, and of the *Firstborn*, it looks very like the Dreams of the *Valentinians*. Lastly, he takes several things out of the Fables of the *Greeks*, which evidently shew, that the Author of this Book could not live in the time of *Semiramis*. [Mr. Doudwell has writ an *English* Discourse, to prove that this Book could not be older than *Philo Byblius*, who is said to Translate it out of the *Phœnician* Language.]

(c) *Philo Byblius*.] This Man was a *Grammarian*, of whom mention is made in *Suidas*, who lived after *Nero's* time, for 'tis observed, that he was 78 Years old, when *Serius* and *Herennius* were Consuls, which was *A. D.* 137. that is almost an hundred Years after the Death of *Nero*. According to the Testimony of the same *Suidas*, he wrote twelve Books, Περὶ κλημάτων, ἢ ἐκλογῆς βιβλίων, and thirty Books, Περὶ ποιημάτων, Et de *Claris viris*; and one Treatise about *Adrian's* Empire, under which he lived. *Suidas* does not speak of this Translation of the History of *Phœnicia*, *Eusebius* and *Theodoret* cite it after *Porphyry*. This *Philo* is probably the Man, of whom *St. Clement* of *Alexandria* speaks, lib. 1. *Strom.* and whom he calls *Philo* the *Pythagorean*.

## S E C T. V.

### Concerning the Authors of the Books of the New Testament.

THE Gospel in the Greek Language signifies (a) *Happy Tydings*, but now this Word, in the common acceptation of the Church, is taken for the History of the Life of *Jesus Christ*; and the Name (b) of *Evangelist*, that was heretofore given to all those Persons that preached the Word of God, is at present only given to the four Saints that wrote the four Gospels, which the Church has always owned for Canonical. We there find two Apostles, that were Eye-witnesses of the Life and Actions of *Jesus Christ*; and two Disciples of the Apostles, who wrote their Gospel upon the relation of others.

The first of the four Evangelists is *St. Matthew*, who of a Publican became an Apostle of our blessed Saviour: He wrote his Gospel in *Jerusalem* soon after the Death of *Jesus Christ* (c), in favour of the *Jews* that embraced the Christian Faith, as *St. Jerome* has observed. (d) For this reason he wrote in Hebrew, or rather in Syriack, according to the Testimony of *Papias*, *St. Irenæus*, *Eusebius*, *St. Jerome*, *St. Chrysostome*, *St. Epiphanius*, and indeed of almost all the Ancients, whose positive Determinations we ought not to reject, unless we have convincing Proofs to the contrary.

Therefore the Opinion of *Cajetan* and some others, who pretend, that the Original of *St. Matthew's* Gospel was written in Greek, is rejected with reason by all the learned Criticks, as being established upon very weak Foundations. *St. Jerome* assures us, that in his own time he saw an Hebrew copy of this Gospel in the Library at *Cæsarea*, and that the *Nazarenes* likewise had a copy of it in the City of *Berea*, which they gave him the liberty to transcribe; and that it was remarkable, that all the passages out of the Old Testament, cited in this Gospel, were exactly according to the Hebrew, and not according to the

Septuagint. *Eusebius* also tells us, that *Pantænus* found a copy of it amongst the *Indians*, but it is not certain, whether that was not a copy of the Gospel of the *Nazarenes*, which was different from that of *St. Matthew*. However it be, 'tis past dispute, that the Original Hebrew of *St. Matthew's* Gospel is lost at present; and it is equally certain, that the Hebrew Texts, that have been published in our time, are not the Original of *St. Matthew* (e), no more than the Syriack Version published by *Widmanstadius*: The Greek Version, which we have, is very ancient, and was extant even in the time of the Apostles, as *St. Jerome* and *St. Austin* have observed. We cannot tell who is the Author of it: Some Persons, as for instance, *St. Athanasius* in his Book Entitled, *The Abridgment of Scripture*, attribute it to *St. James* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, *Theophylact* to *St. John*; *Papias* says, that they translated into Greek, as well as they could, without naming in particular any Author of that Version.

(f) The Evangelist *St. Mark*, the Disciple and Interpreter of *St. Peter*, and Founder of the Church of *Alexandria*, seems to be different from that *Mark*, who is so often mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, and in the Epistles of *St. Paul*. (g) He composed his Gospel at *Rome* with *St. Peter*, at the intreaty of the Christians residing in that City, setting down in Writing those things which he had learned from that Apostle, who also approved of his Gospel after it was composed. (h) Some late Authors imagine, that it was written in Latin, but this Opinion is contrary to *St. Jerome's* and *St. Austin's* Opinion, and indeed has no tolerable pretences to support it, for we can no more doubt that *St. Mark* wrote it in Greek, than that *St. Luke* or *St. John* did theirs. He follows *St. Matthew* in abundance of things, and sometimes



sometimes abridges him, nevertheless there are some Historical Passages which he relates more copiously, and with the addition of several Circumstances. 'Tis commonly believed, that this Gospel was written in the Forty third Year after our Saviour's Birth, and, according to the common Computation, ten years after his Death, but this is not certain. St. Jerome observes, that the last Chapter of this Gospel is to be found but in very few Copies, and that almost all the Greeks reject it. *Wherefore, says he, one may reject it, particularly because it seems to relate some things contrary to the account we have of them in the other Evangelists.* And in his second Book against the Pelagians, he cites a Passage that was inserted into this Chapter, and contained the Error of the Manichees: It plainly proceeds from this addition, that in most of the Copies of St. Mark, this Chapter was entirely left out; for as for the rest, it is cited by St. Irenaeus, and several others, and contains nothing that cannot be reconciled with ease to the Accounts given by the other Evangelists.

St. Luke was of Antioch, the Metropolitcal City of Syria. (i) He was a Physician by Profession, and very well skilled in the Greek Tongue; (k) he was not an Apostle or Disciple of Jesus Christ, but was a Disciple or Follower of St. Paul, whom he accompanied in his Voyages. He himself tells us, says Eusebius, in the beginning of his Gospel, the reason of his writing, for many Persons having rashly undertaken to write the Evangelick History, he thought himself obliged to rescue it out of ill Hands, after he had been exactly informed of all the Occurrences by those that were Eye-witnesses and Ministers of the Word, that is to say, by the Apostles, and particularly by St. Paul. 'Tis imagined, that the Apostle speaks of this Gospel, when he says, *according to my Gospel*, and that he meant St. Luke when he wrote this passage. *The Brother whose praise is in the Gospel in all Churches, Cujus laus est in Evangelio per omnes Ecclesias.* St. Jerome observes, that he wrote his Gospel travelling along with St. Paul, when he was in Achaia and Bœotia, towards the second year of Nero, and the fifty sixth of Jesus Christ. The same Father assures us, that he always continued unmarried, and that he lived Fourscore and four years. He is also the Author of the *Acts of the Apostles*, which Book contains the History of the Church from the Ascension of our Blessed Saviour to the fourth year of Nero, during the space of 29 or 30 years.

St. John the Evangelist of the City of Bethsaida in Galilee, was the Son of Zebedee, and was called to the Apostleship when he was very young. St. Jerome and Tertullian affirm, that he continued in the state of Celibacy all his Life-time. He was the dearly beloved Disciple of Jesus Christ, and 'tis supposed, that he speaks of himself, when he says, *the Disciple whom Jesus loved*: But though this were not to be thus understood, yet the tenderness which Jesus Christ had for him, sufficiently appeared in the last Supper, when he placed him in his Bosom, and in his last words to his Mother, *Woman, behold thy Son.* After the descent of the Holy Ghost, he went and preached the Gospel in Asia, where he founded and governed the Churches for a long time, being Bishop of Ephesus, the Metropolis of that Province. He was condemned at Rome by the Emperor Domitian to be thrown into a Vessel of burning Oyl, but he came out, says Tertullian, more vigorous and strong, than when he entered in at first. He was banished afterwards into the Isle of Patmos, where, as 'tis generally supposed, he wrote his *Revelation*. After the death of Domitian he came back to Ephesus, and there wrote his Gospel, about an hundred years after the Birth of our Blessed Saviour. St. Jerome reports, that he was engaged in this Work by the other Bishops and Christians of Asia, who obliged him to write his Gospel, to confound the Errors of Cerinthus and Ebion, who said, that Jesus Christ was a mere Man, and that He had no Being before He was born of the Virgin Mary. The same Father adds, that he had yet another reason to write his Gospel after others, for having read the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, he observed, that they only concerned themselves to write the History of one year of our Blessed Saviour's Life, namely, from the imprisonment of St. John, down to the Death of our Saviour, which made him resolve to give an account of the most considerable things that occurred in the preceding years. He has likewise written three Epistles. The first, of which no Man ever doubted, is directed to the Faithful, and particularly to the Parthians, if we may believe St. Austin, and some other ancient Writers, that is to say, to all the Faithful dispersed in Persia, which at that time was under the Domination of the Parthians. We don't certainly know the time or place where it was written. The two others were directed to particular Persons, one to a Lady called *Eleeta*, the other to *Gaius*. They only carry the Name of an Elder or Priest; which

has made some People of opinion, that they were written by another St. John, as Eusebius and St. Jerome observe. But the Style, the Spirit, and Thoughts of these Epistles, together with the concurring authority of most of the Fathers, make it evident, that they belong to this Evangelist. There is a greater difficulty about the *Apocalypse*, the stile of which Book appears to be different from the rest, and which several of the Ancients rejected, or attributed to another St. John: but the most received opinion is, that it was written by the Evangelist. The Style of St. John is simple, and has little eloquence in it, but his Thoughts are very lofty. He lived till the time of Trajan, not dying 'till the 68th year after the Passion of our Blessed Saviour.

St. Paul descended of the Tribe of Benjamin, and born in the City of Tarsus, came up to Jerusalem, and there became the Disciple of Gamaliel, a famous Pharisee. He was converted to the faith of Jesus Christ in that miraculous manner which is set down in the *Acts of the Apostles*; he afterwards changed his Name of Saul into that of Paul, after he had openly converted and baptized the Proconsul Sergius Paulus. The History of his Travels and Preaching, down to his first imprisonment at Rome, is written by St. Luke in the *Acts*. We don't certainly know, what he did after his enlargement; some of the Ancients were of opinion, that he went into Spain, but this is very uncertain, and the contrary seems to be more probable. Be that as it will, 'tis certain, that he was beheaded afterwards at Rome for his Religion, by Nero's Command, towards the 64th year of the common computation. He has written 14 Epistles, all which, Antiquity has own'd to be Genuine and Canonical, excepting the Epistle to the Hebrews, concerning which, there has been formerly some doubt; and some Persons have supposed, that it was written in Hebrew. They are not ranked in the *New Testament* according to the order of time, which nevertheless is very necessary to be known.

The Epistle to the Romans was written from Corinth, as Origen proves by several reasons; for first of all it was sent by Phæbe Servant of the Church at Cenchrea from Corinth. Secondly, St. Paul calls Caius his Host, with whom he tarried at Corinth, as we may see in the *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, chap. 14. Thirdly, in the Salutations, that are to be found towards the end of this Epistle, we find the Names of those who departed from Corinth to go to Jerusalem, as it is said in the 20th ch. of the *Acts*. It was therefore written at the time, when St. Paul, having gathered the Contributions of Macedonia, and Achaia, went to visit Jerusalem in the 57th year of Jesus Christ. From whence St. Chrysostome concludes, that it was written after both the Epistles to the Corinthians, in which he exhorts the Faithful to this charitable Contribution.

Nevertheless they were not written much before: For the first was written from Ephesus, as it appears, ch. 16. v. 8. (and not from Philippi, as some Greek Inscriptions observe) in the absence of Timothy. The second was written from Macedonia after his return. In some Copies it is said, that it was written from Philippi, in others from Nicopolis.

That to the Galatians is yet older than the two Epistles to the Corinthians. It was written from Ephesus, at the time when St. Paul taught in the School of one firnamed Tyrannus in the beginning of the year 56. It is observed in some Greek Copies, that it was written from Rome, but this is not probable, because he does not there speak concerning his Chains, as he does in his Epistle to the Ephesians, where he mentions them in three several places.

This Epistle therefore was written towards the 62d year of our Lord, as well as that to the Philippians, and that other which is directed to the Christians of Colosse, a City of Phrygia near Hierapolis and Laodicea.

The two Epistles to the Thessalonians seem to be the earliest, if we follow the Chronological order. It is probable, that the first was written towards the year 52; for after St. Paul had converted many Christians at Thessalonica, as it is observed in the *Acts*, ch. 9. v. 7. he sent Timothy thither, who being come to find him at Corinth, informed him of their Affairs, as it is observed in the third Chapter of this Epistle, which was consequently written in the year 52. The second Epistle to the Thessalonians was written soon after, and from the same place.

The first Epistle to Timothy was written after he was ordained Bishop, when St. Paul was freed from his Chains in the sixty third year of our Blessed Saviour. The second Epistle was written from Rome, when St. Paul was twice imprisoned there, a little before his Martyrdom. The Epistle to Titus was written about the same time with the first Epistle to Timothy. That to Philemon was written at the time of his first imprisonment at Rome.



And to conclude, the Epistle to the *Hebrews* was written likewise about this time, since it is there observed, *ch.* 13. *v.* 23. that *Timothy* was delivered. Some of the Fathers, as *Caius*, and *Hippolytus*, and the ancient Church of *Rome*, have rejected this Epistle. Others attribute it to *St. Barnabas*, some to *St. Clement*, and some to *St. Luke*; but however (*p*) the most prevailing opinion is, that it was written by *St. Paul*. *St. Jerome* seems to accommodate these differences, by saying, that the thoughts belong to *St. Paul*, but that the words and composition are either *St. Barnabas's* or *St. Luke's*, or rather *St. Clement's*, who diligently collected whatever he learn'd from his Master. Those ancient Writers that attribute it to *St. Paul*, say, that it was written in *Hebrew*, that is to say, in *Syriack* (*q*), being written by an *Hebrew*, to the *Hebrews*. Some of the Moderns pretend it was written in *Greek*, but to this Authority of the Ancients, they oppose nothing but frivolous weak Conjectures, which are too weak to bias any Man.

The Epistles that follow those of *St. Paul*, are called *General*, because, if we except the two last of *St. John*, they are not directed to the Faithful of one City, as those of *St. Paul* are, but to Christians dispersed in several Countries.

The Epistle of *St. James* was not written by *James* the Son of *Zebedee* the Brother of *John*, but by *St. James* the Brother of *St. Jude* the Apostle, and (*r*) Cousin of our blessed Saviour *Jesus Christ*, and Bishop of *Jerusalem*. For it cannot belong to the other *St. James*, since it is directed to Christians out of *Judea*, whereas he suffer'd Martyrdom, before the Gospel was preached in any other place than *Judea*.

*St. Peter* the chief of the Apostles has written two Epistles; the first that has been received as Canonical by all the Ancients (*s*) was written from *Babylon*. Some

of the Ancients were of opinion, that the City of *Rome* was meant by this name, but the Sense is not natural. We cannot precisely assign the time when it was written, but certain it is, that it was sent, after the Disciples of *Jesus Christ* were called Christians at *Antioch*; that is to say, at least nine years after the Death of our Blessed Saviour; for the name of Christians is to be found there in the fourth Chapter. Now if thou art called a Christian. *Si autem Christianus cognominaris*. It is also probable, that it was written after *St. Peter's* being delivered out of Prison, *A. D.* 44. for until that time he continued for the most part in *Judea*. Some believe, that it was written towards the end of his Life, because it does not seem to have been written long before the second Epistle, but this is not certain: One may say, that it was written at *Babylon* in the 45th year of *Jesus Christ*.

The second was probably written towards the end of his Life, because he there testifies, that he expected Death very suddenly, *ch.* 1. *v.* 14. Some of the Fathers have doubted, whether this Letter was written by *St. Peter*, because the stile of it is so extremely different from that of the former, as *St. Jerome* observes; but *St. Peter*, discovers himself so plainly and openly there, that we cannot with the least colour or pretence attribute it to any body else.

*St. Jude* the Apostle the Brother of *James* and *Simon* the Son of *Alpheus*, surnamed *Thaddæus* and *Lebbeus*, wrote the Epistle, that carries his Name, after the Death of most of the Apostles, as he testifies when he exhorts the Christians to contend earnestly for the Faith, which was once delivered to them by the Apostles. He imitates and follows the thoughts and design of the second Epistle of *St. Peter*, and even inserts some of his words into his own.

## N O T E S.

(a) THE Gospel signifies in Greek happy tidings.] *Εὐαγγέλιον* is derived from the Particle *eu* that signifies well, and the Verb *εὐαγγελίζω* that signifies to tell. 'Tis to be found in *Homer* and *Xenophon*, but in another sense, viz. 'tis taken for the recompence which is given a Man for carrying good news. *Tully* has used this term in this sense in one of his Epistles to *Atticus*.

(b) The word Evangelist, that was heretofore given to all those that preached the Word of God.] *Act.* 21. *v.* 18. *Philip* is called an Evangelist. *St. Paul* in his 2d Epistle to *Timothy*, *ch.* 4. *v.* 5. beseeches that Bishop to do the work of an Evangelist. *Opus fac Evangelista*.

(c) Soon after the death of our Blessed Saviour.] This is the opinion of *St. Jerome*, and *St. Epiphanius*, who say, that he composed his Gospel, before he went to preach to the Gentiles. *St. Irenæus*, l. 3. c. 1. seems to say the contrary, when he assures us, that *St. Matthew* wrote his Gospel for the Jews, and in the Language of the Jews, at the time when *St. Peter* and *St. Paul* founded the Church of *Rome*: But these words are not to be understood in the literal sense.

(d) For this reason he wrote it in Hebrew, or rather in Syriack.] *Papias* cited by *Eusebius*, l. 3. of his History, Chapter the last. *St. Irenæus*, l. 3. c. 1. *St. Jerome* in his Preface to the Evangelists, in his Book of the Ecclesiastical Writers, and in several other places. *Eusebius*, l. 3. c. 18. the Author of the Work upon *St. Matthew* attributed to *St. Chrysostome*. *St. Epiphanius*, *Hæres.* 29. & 57. The Author of the Abridgment of Scripture, attributed to *St. Athanasius*, *St. Cyril*, *Catech.* 14. *St. Austin*, l. 1. de *Consensu Evangel.* cap. 2. testify, that the Gospel of *St. Matthew* was written in Hebrew, that is to say, in Syriack. *St. Irenæus* and *St. Jerome* say that it was written in the Language of the Country, which was the Chaldee or Syriack Tongue mixt with Hebrew words, which is commonly called the Hebrew Tongue in the New Testament. *St. Jerome* tells us plainly, that the Gospel of *St. Matthew* was written in this Tongue, for in his Commentary upon the 12th Chapter of this Gospel, he says, that some Persons were of opinion, that the Gospel of the Nazarenes was the Original Hebrew of *St. Matthew*; and in his second Dialogue against the *Pelagians*, he says, that the Gospel of the Nazarenes was written in Chaldee or Syriack with Hebrew Characters. Those that are of the contrary opinion, who maintain, that *St. Matthew* wrote it originally in Greek, as *Grotius* well observes, reject the unanimous Consent of the Ancients without any appearance of Reason. Let us for once examine the Conjectures of a certain Author, that is of this opinion: He says, that the words *Emanuel*, *Eli*, *Lamma Sabachthani*, *Aceldama*, and other Syriack Terms are explained there; but this does not at all prove, that this Gospel was not written in Syriack, for otherwise we ought to say, that several Books of the Old Testament were not written in Hebrew, because even in those Books we have the Hebrew Terms explained after the same manner; for example, *Gen.*

31. *v.* 49. *Galaad*, id est *tumulus testis*, 35. *v.* 18. *Benoni*, id est, *filius doloris mei*; *Exod.* 12. *v.* 11. *Pesach*, id est, *transitus Domini*; and 16. *v.* 15. *Manhu*, quod significat quid est hoc. These Explications are not to be found in the Hebrew, but have been added by the Interpreters; and we ought to make the same judgment of these passages in *St. Matthew*. They pretend still, that these Fathers never saw the Original of *St. Matthew*, that they said it was Hebrew, only because the Gospel of the Nazarenes was in Hebrew, which is extremely different from that of *St. Matthew*. To this it is answered, 1. That we cannot say this of the most ancient Fathers, as *Papias*, *St. Irenæus*, &c. 2. That although the Gospel of the Nazarenes was different from that of *St. Matthew*, yet it might very well be taken from the Original of *St. Matthew*, in which the Hereticks had inserted, and altered abundance of things.

(e) No more than the Syriack Version.] It is an easie matter to shew this, because the Hebrew or Syriack words that are cited in the Greek of *St. Matthew's* Gospel are different from those of the Syriack, in the 27th Chapter in stead of *Haceldama*, he has *Agurascadema*; in stead of *Cephos*, he has *Cepho*; for *Eli*, *Il*; for *Golgotha*, *Golgoutho*; for *Jaacob*, *Jaacoub*; for *Joseph*, *Jooseph*. We likewise find there abundance of Greek words terminated after the Syriack manner, which makes it evident, that it was a Grecian that Translated the Greek of *St. Matthew* into Syriack, and not the Original it self of *St. Matthew*.

(f) The Evangelist *St. Mark* seems to be a different person from that Mark, who is so often mentioned in the Acts, &c.] He, of whom mention is made in the *Acts*, *ch.* 12. *v.* 12. and in *ch.* 15. *v.* 37, and 39, was surnamed *John* the Son of *Mary*. There is likewise mention made of one *Mark* the Cousin of *Barnabas*, *Coloss.* 4. *v.* 10. 'Tis very probable he is the same with the former, but the Evangelist in all appearance is a different Person: for besides that he was not surnamed *John*, he was the Disciple of *St. Peter*, and attending upon him, at the same time that the other was with *St. Paul*: he was likewise at *Alexandria* at the time when the other was with *St. Paul* at *Rome*. Some think, that *St. Mark* the Evangelist was one of the Seventy two Disciples, but this is not certain enough to be relied upon; It is more probable, that he was converted to the Faith by *St. Peter*, who calls him his Son, and whose Disciple and Interpreter he was.

(g) He composed his Gospel when he was at Rome.] This is the opinion of all the Ancients. *Papias* in *Eusebius*, l. 2. c. 15. *St. Irenæus*, l. 3. c. 1. *St. Clement* cited by *St. Jerome*, *Tertullian*, l. 4. *Contra Marcionem*, *Eusebius*, *St. Jerome*, &c. *St. Irenæus* tells us, that it was written after the death of *St. Peter*, others on the contrary unanimously affirm, that it was written whilst he was living, and that he approved of it. Upon this account several Persons have called it the Gospel of *St. Peter*, as *Tertullian* observes.

(h) Some



(b) *Some modern Authors imagine, that it was written in Latin.*] Baronius ad ann. Chr. 45. n. 14. and those that follow him without farther consideration are of this opinion, but after all 'tis a Problem that cannot be maintained. St. Jerome in Epist. 125. to Damasus, expressly tells us, that all the New Testament, except St. Matthew's Gospel, was written in Greek. And St. Austin, lib. de Consensu Evang. c. 2. tells us, that all the four Evangelists, except St. Matthew, wrote in Greek. The Latin St. Mark, which we now have, is certainly a Translation of the Greek.

(i) *St. Luke a Physician by profession.*] St. Paul in his Epistle to the Colossians. Luke the beloved Physician greets you. Nicephorus, l. 2. c. 43. of his History affirms, that he was an excellent Painter, and some People say, that he drew the Picture of the Virgin Mary, but these are fictions.

(k) *He was neither of the number of the Apostles, nor of the Disciples.*] This is certainly true, because he tells us, that what he wrote, he learnt from others. St. Irenaeus, l. 1. c. 2. St. Jerome upon ch. 65. of Isaiah, St. Austin, and several others positively say, that he was not a Disciple of Jesus Christ. They are only some few modern Authors, that are pleased to bestow this Character upon him.

(l) *Cujus laus est in Evangelio per omnes Ecclesias.*] We cannot certainly tell, whether the word *Evangelium* in this place signifies a Book of the Gospel, or whether we are not rather to understand it thus, *The Brother who deserves praise for having preached the Gospel.* That which follows afterwards, and who was ordained to be the Companion of our Travels, made Baronius believe, that it is Silas, of whom we are to understand this passage. But St. Jerome, and St. Ambrose in his Preface upon St. Luke do understand it of this Evangelist.

(m) *He afterwards changed his name of Saul for that of Paul, after having converted and baptized the Proconsul Sergius Paulus.*] The Author of the one and thirtieth Sermon, attributed to St. Ambrose, tells us, that he changed his name at his Baptism, but this is but a groundless fancy, for in his time they gave no name to any body at their Baptism. Others say, that he changed his name, when he changed his profession; and some pretend to affirm, that he had two Names. The most probable opinion is, that he took the name of Paul after the conversion of Sergius Paulus, for till that time he is constantly called Saul in the Acts of the Apostles, and afterwards he is always called by the name of Paul. It was the custom of the Romans to give their own names to others in testimony of friendship; Josephus for example received the name of Flavius from the Emperor Vespasian by way of Honour: [Or rather, because having been once his Prisoner, he set him at Liberty: it being usual for freed Men, to take their Patrons Prænomens.]

(n) *Some Authors pretend, that he went into Spain, but this is very uncertain.*] St. Athanasius in his Epistle to Dracontius, St. Cyril, Cat. 17. St. Epiphanius, Hæres. 27. St. Chrysostome in Ep. ad Hebr. and in Matth. 76. and Homil. de laud. Pauli, Theodoret in Ep. ad Timot. c. ult. Hier. in 11. Is. Greg. moral. l. 3. c. 22. Isidore, Bede, Ado, &c. are of this opinion. All these Authors lived after the third Century, but before that time nothing is written concerning it, and besides they don't speak of it as a certain thing, but only as a probable conjecture. St. Paul in his Epistle to the Romans, c. 15. v. 24. promises, that he would go into Spain, but though it follows from thence, that he had a design of going thither, yet we cannot rationally conclude, that he was ever there. Pope Gelatinus, and Innocent the first tell us, that he did not perform that promise, and it is very certain, that the Gospel was preached somewhat later on this side the Alps.

(o) *In the year 61 according to the vulgar computation.*] All Authors are agreed, that St. Paul was beheaded at Rome, but however they are not agreed about the year. Some of them tell us, that he suffered Martyrdom with St. Peter, others place it a year, and some two years lower; some pretend, that this happened in the last year of Nero's Reign, which was the sixty eighth of our Blessed Saviour; but most Men think, that St. Peter and St. Paul suffered Martyrdom at the time of Nero's Persecution, which began in the fourth year of that Em-

peror, after the burning of Rome, Anno Dom. 63. and therefore according to this account these two Princes of the Apostles suffered Martyrdom in the 64th year of the Vulgar Era.

(p) *The most received opinion is, that it was written by St. Paul.*] This opinion seems to be the most probable. The Epistle to the Hebrews does not belong to St. Barnabas, having a different Title from that of this Apostle. There is no reason to attribute it to St. Luke: The style and the thoughts very much resemble those of St. Clement in his Epistle to the Corinthians: and upon this account I am apt to believe, that we ought to attribute the Composition or Translation of it rather to him than any other, although it is written in the name of St. Paul, and by that Apostle: for it was written at Rome by a Person that enjoyed his liberty, and who had Timothy for his Colleague. These three Characters shew plainly, that it was written by St. Paul, who did not put his name to it for fear of offending the Jews, who were prejudiced against him. Grotius believes, that it was written after the taking of Jerusalem, because it is observed, says he, in the third Chapter, that there were certain Christians, who supposed the Day of Judgment was very near; an Opinion that was not common till after Jerusalem was taken, but this is a bare conjecture upon weak grounds. St. Jerome answers the usual Objection about the diversity of style, that is alledged to prove, that this Epistle was not written by St. Paul, by saying, that it was occasioned either by him that composed it under St. Paul, or else by the Interpreter. [But if Mr. Lowth's Opinion be true, the Controversy must be at an end: For in his Vindication of the Authority of the Holy Scriptures against the five Letters published by the Answerers of Mr. Simon, p. 24. He says, that St. Peter quotes the 37th Verse of the 10th Chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, in the 15th verse of the 2d Chapter of his 2d Epistle, where he says that St. Paul often said those things which the unlearned and unstable wrest as well as the other Scriptures to their own destruction.]

(q) *In Hebrew to the Hebrews.*] St. Clemens Alexandrinus is of another opinion, as also St. Jerome, Theodoret, Oecumenius, and several others. Esius, and some of the moderns believe, that it was written in Greek, 1. because the Scriptures there cited follow the Septuagint, and not the Hebrew; 2. because there is no probability that the Copy should be lost. These reasons are exceeding weak, for suppose the Citations are not to be charged upon the Interpreter, yet, why might not St. Paul, when he was writing in the Syriack Tongue, translate the Septuagint into that Language, rather than cite the Hebrew Text, since the Septuagint was more familiar to him? This may serve by way of answer to the first Reason. The second is yet weaker, for why might not the Hebrew Copy of this Epistle be lost, as well as the Original Hebrew of the Gospel of St. Matthew?

(r) *But of St. James the Brother of the Apostle St. Jude, and Cousin of our Blessed Saviour.*] This James is he, that is called in the Gospel the Son of Alphaeus, for there were but two in all: He is called the Brother of our Lord, either because he was the Son of Joseph by another Wife, or because he was very nearly related to him.

(s) *It was written from Babylon.*] Eusebius, l. 2. c. 5. of his History says, that it is Rome that St. Peter calls Babylon in this place. Some have thought that Papias and St. Clemens, cited by Eusebius, were of this opinion, but he does not cite them upon this Subject. St. Jerome received this opinion from Eusebius, and carried it farther with strong Reasons. Tho' after all this Interpretation is false, and it is more natural to say, that he wrote this Epistle from Babylon.

(t) *St. Peter discovers himself so plainly there, that we cannot with the least colour attribute it to any other Author.*] The Author of this Epistle tells us, that he was with Jesus Christ upon the Mountain, he calls St. Paul his Brother, and makes himself Author of a former Epistle written to the same Persons. Now all this agrees very well to St. Peter, and it is visible, that he, who composed it, was no Impostor. The Character of this Epistle is perfectly Apostolical, and the Style is not sensibly different from that of the first.

## S E C T. VI.

### Of the Canon of the Books of the New Testament, and particularly of those Books that were formerly doubted of.

THE first Canon of the Holy Books of the New Testament was not composed by any Assembly, or by any one Person in particular, but by the Unanimous Consent of all the Churches; that were agreed upon the Authority of certain Books, and considered them as Sacred and Divine. 'Twas this Consent of all the Churches, that in the Primitive Times served for a Rule to distinguish the Canonical Books from those that were Doubtful and Supposititious. 'Tis

in pursuance of this Rule that Eusebius, who is the first Man that made an exact Enquiry into these Matters, distinguishes three sorts of Books that belong in some manner to the New Testament. The first Class comprehends those, that have been always received by the Unanimous Agreement of all Churches, such as the four Gospels, the fourteen Epistles of St. Paul, if we except that of the Hebrews, (which some Authors did not number amongst the rest, because they supposed it was not

L St. Paul's.)



St. Paul's,) and the first Epistles of St. Peter and St. John. The second Class comprehends those, that having not been received by the whole Catholick Church, yet nevertheless were looked upon by some as Canonical Books, and cited as Books of Scripture by Ecclesiastical Authors. But this Class does yet branch it self into two Divisions, for some of these Books have been since received by all the Churches, and acknowledged for Genuine, such as the Epistle of St. James, the Epistle of St. Jude, the second Epistle of St. Peter, the second and third Epistle of St. John: The other on the contrary have been universally rejected, either as Spurious, or unworthy to be placed in the number of Canonical Books, though they might otherwise be useful enough, such as the Book of the Pastor, the Epistle of St. Barnabas, the Gospel according to the Egyptians, another according to the Hebrews, the Acts of St. Paul, the Revelation of St. Peter. In short, the last Class contains those Books that were devised by the Hereticks, and were always disowned by the Church, such as the Gospels of St. Thomas and of St. Peter, &c. As for what concerns the *Apocalypse*, of which we have not as yet discoursed, *Eusebius* observes, that some Persons place it in the first Class, that is to say, in the number of those Books that are unquestionably Canonical, and that others reckon it amongst the Books of the second Class.

This observation of *Eusebius*, which is confirmed by the Testimonies of the Ancients, whom he cites in several places of his History, shews, that the Canon of the Books of the *New Testament* was almost the very same in all Times: For although there were some of the Epistles of the Apostles, that at first were not received by an Unanimous Consent of all Churches, yet they were always considered as Books of great Authority, and soon after they received the same Authority with the rest. This is confirmed by the ancient Catalogues of the Holy Books of the *New Testament*, where the Books, which we receive at present, are comprised: You will find all of them, except the Revelation, in the Canon of the Council of *Laodicea*, which St. Cyril of Jerusalem follows. They are all received by St. Athanasius, St. Jerome, St. Gregory Nazianzen, by *Amphilochius*, the Council of Carthage, the Council at Rome, by Pope Innocent, and all the other Greek and Latin Authors since *Eusebius*. They are all cited as Holy Books by those Authors that lived nearest the time of the Apostles. In short, 'tis beyond Controversie, as we have already demonstrated above, that these Books were written by those Persons, whose Names they bear: The Epistles themselves that were formerly questioned, contain nothing disagreeable to the Faith and Doctrine contained in the other Books; that have been received and acknowledged by all the Churches from the beginning.

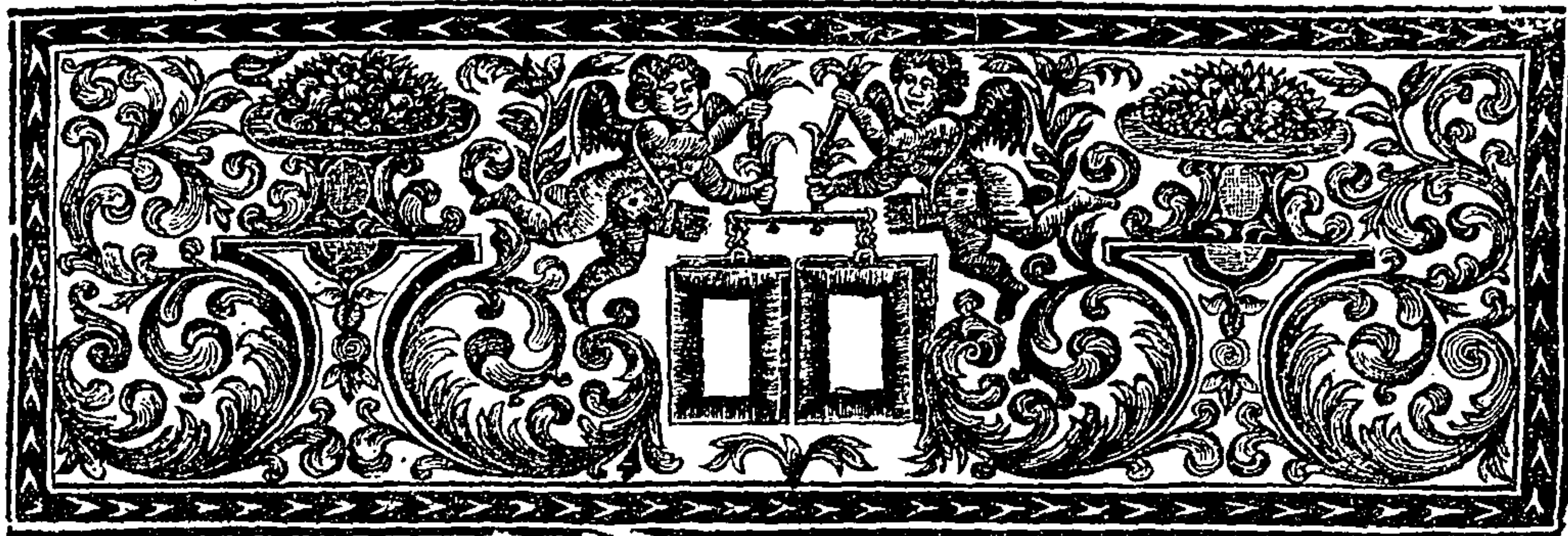
The Epistle to the Hebrews has been received as Canonical, with the Consent of almost all Churches. They were only a few Latins that question'd its Authority, because they did not believe it to be written by St. Paul: But although it was not composed by him, which is not probable, as we have already shewn, yet it ought nevertheless to pass for Canonical, it being a constantly received Tradition, that it was written by one of his Disciples, and that it was owned by almost all the Churches of the World, as soon as it appeared in publick. It is cited by *Clemens Romanus* in his Epistle to the Corinthians, by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, by *Tertullian* and *Origen*, by St. Cyprian, and all those that came after, as a Writing undoubtedly Canonical. We cannot find out the particular Author, that questioned the Epistle of St. James as doubtful; it is cited by all the Ancients, and placed in the number of Canonical Books in all the Catalogues that we have. The same Observation may be made upon the second Epistle of St. Peter, which was certainly written by that Author, as we have elsewhere shewn.

It is cited by St. Austin, by *Origen*, and by many other ancient Writers. The Epistle of St. Jude was rejected by some, not because they had any lawful Grounds to doubt that St. Jude was the Author of it, but only because there is a Citation out of the Book of *Enoch* to be found there: And yet notwithstanding that, it was set down in the ancient Catalogues of the Books of the *New Testament*, and it has been cited by *Tertullian*, by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, by *Origen*, by St. Cyprian, by St. Gregory Nazianzen, and by several other Authors. St. Jerome tells us, that although several rejected it, by reason of the Citations out of the Books of *Enoch*; yet it was received in his time, because it was ancient, and approved by the usage of the Church, *Autoritatem vetustate jam, & usu meruit*. The two last Epistles of St. John being very short, and containing nothing that is disagreeable to what we find in the first, cannot occasion any difficulty. They are written without question by the Author of the first, as may plainly be proved by the likeness of Style: The second is cited by St. Irenaeus in his first Book, ch. 12. and in the third Book, chap. 18. by *Tertullian*, by *Origen*, by St. Dionysius of Alexandria, and by many others. In a word, they are both of them reckoned in the number of Canonical Books in all the ancient Catalogues of the Volumes of the *New Testament*.

Nothing more remains for me to discourse of but the *Apocalypse*, which some of the Ancients, according to the Testimony of *Eusebius*, placed in the rank of indubitable Books, others in the number of doubtful Books, or rather spurious. It was rejected by Caius an ancient Priest of Rome, who attributed it to the Heretick Cerinthus, as *Eusebius* testifies in the third Book of his History, chap. 28. On the contrary, St. Justin, St. Irenaeus, *Origen*, St. Cyprian, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Tertullian*, cite it in abundance of places, and attribute it to St. John the Evangelist. St. Dionysius of Alexandria observes, that several Persons before him disowned and confuted the *Apocalypse* as a Book full of Fictions and Falsities, but that many others approved of it; that as for himself he durst not presume to reject it, that he believed it had a hidden meaning, but that he was fully persuaded it was not written by St. John, as he endeavours to prove by several Reasons. St. Jerome tells us in his 120th Epistle, that in his time the greater part of the Greek Churches did not receive this Book, no more than the Latins did the Epistle to the Hebrews, but that he received both the one and the other, not minding the Custom of his own Time, but the Authority of the Ancients. *Amphilochius* also observes, that in his time some received it, but that there were great numbers that rejected it, and indeed it is not to be found, as we have already taken notice in the Catalogue of the Council of *Laodicea*, nor in that of St. Cyril. But it has been since acknowledged by the Greek and Latin Churches, and cited by St. Epiphanius, by St. Chrysostome, by St. Ambrose, by St. Hilary, by St. Jerome, by St. Austin, and by all those that have written since. It was reckoned amongst the Canonical Books by the Council of Carthage, by the Roman Council under *Gelasius*, and by Pope Innocent. The fourth Council of Toledo held in the year 633, in the sixteenth Canon has determined, That it was written by St. John, and that it ought to be placed in the number of the Holy Books. And the Council of Trent, by whose Decisions we ought to be determined, reckons it amongst the Canonical Books of the *New Testament*.

We ought here to discourse a little concerning the Apocryphal Books of the *New Testament*, that were forged either by the Catholicks or Hereticks. But these not being of the number of Canonical Books, ought to be ranged amongst the Books of the Ecclesiastical Writers: Wherefore we will now begin our Library of Ecclesiastical Authors with them.





# BIBLIOTHECA PATRUM:

O R, A

## New Ecclesiastical History

O F T H E

### First three Centuries of Christianity:

C O N T A I N I N G

An Account of the LIVES and WRITINGS of the *Primitive FATHERS*, with Censures upon all their BOOKS, determining which are *Genuine*, and which *Spurious*.

*Of the Letter supposed to be sent by Jesus Christ to King Agbarus, and of that of Agbarus to Jesus Christ.*

The Letters  
of Jesus  
Christ and  
Agbarus.



USEBIUS gives us an Account in the first Book of his History, of a certain King of *Edeffa* (a), named *Agbarus* (b), who having heard the report of the Miracles that were wrought by *Jesus Christ*, sent a Letter to him, the purport whereof was, To intreat him to cure a Distemper with which he was afflicted: And that our Saviour did not then grant his Request, but wrote

a Letter back to him, wherein he promised to send one of his Disciples to heal him: And lastly, that *St. Thomas* the Apostle immediately after the Resurrection of *Jesus Christ*, deputed *Thaddæus* one of the 72 Disciples, who went and performed the promise that had been made by our Saviour to Cure his Disease, and at the same time Converted him, together with his whole Family. *Eusebius* grounds his story upon the Letters of *Jesus Christ*, and *Agbarus*, which were taken out of the Archives of the Church of *Edeffa*, which he likewise produceth Translated out of *Syriack* into *Greek*. Now it is probable, that *Eusebius* credited those Records that were exhibited to him too easily, as also, that these Letters are forged, and that

this whole History is fabulous. For first, how can it be imagined that the King of *Edeffa*, upon the bare rehearsal of the Miracles of *Jesus Christ*, should address himself to him, as one that was convinced of his Divinity, and instructed in the Principles of his Religion: Having heard (says he) of the Miracles which thou hast wrought, I am persuaded that thou art God, or the Son of God. It is evident, that these Words could not be written but by a Person already persuaded and trained up in the Doctrine of Christianity, who makes *Agbarus* speak almost the same Expressions as he himself would have used on the like occasion. The following Words that are likewise attributed to this King, viz. *That being informed, that the Jews laid Snares for Jesus Christ; he designed to molest them, and invited him to come to his City, which, although it were small, might be sufficient for them both*, more clearly demonstrate the falshood of this Letter: For who can believe, that a King should offer the Moiety of his Kingdom at once, to a Man that was altogether unknown to him?

Neither is it more difficult to discover the forging of the other Letter that is attributed to *Jesus Christ*, beginning with these Words; *Thou art happy, Agbarus, for having believed in me, without seeing me; for it is written of me; That they that see me shall not believe in me, to the end, that they that believe on me without seeing me, may*

The Letters  
of Jesus  
Christ and  
Agbarus.

(a) *Edeffa*.] This is a famous City, situated beyond the River *Euphrates*, between *Syria* and *Mesopotamia*.

(b) Named *Agbarus*.] Others read *Abgarus*, and he is so

called in some ancient Medals; but it is written *Agbarus* in the most correct Manuscripts, and it is pronounced so in *Arabic*.



receive *Eternal Life*. To what purpose are these Words written? Is it not apparent, that he that composed this Letter, alludes to the expression of *Jesus Christ* to *St. Thomas*, happy are they that have not seen, and yet have believed? Which Words being not spoken by our Saviour till after his Resurrection, nor written till a long time after, it evidently appears that this Letter is counterfeit.

The History, which is afterwards produced concerning these two Letters, and taken from the same Archives, is no less fabulous. It is reported that *Jude* the Apostle (c), who is also called *Thomas*, sent *Thaddæus* the Apostle, one of the 72 Disciples, to King *Agbarus*: That this Prince, being inform'd, that there was a Man in his City that wrought many miracles, and doubting whether he were not the Disciple whom *Jesus Christ* had promised to send, gave orders to one named *Tobias* to bring him into his Presence: And that he had no sooner seen him, but his Countenance seeming to him to be Divine, he prostrated himself at his Feet to worship him, desiring to know, whether he were that Disciple whom *Jesus Christ* had promised to send to cure his Distemper. *Thaddæus* having answered that he was, and that if he believed in *Jesus Christ*, he should be saved, *Agbarus* replied, *I have believed so firmly in him, that I intended to proclaim War against the Jews who Crucified him, and utterly to destroy that Nation; if the fear of the Roman Empire had not deterred me from this Undertaking*. Certainly the Person (whosoever he be) that caused this petty Prince of *Edessa* to utter these Words, was endued with very little judgment, in inscribing to him a Design so extravagant as this; for is it not an egregious piece of folly to imagine, that a Prince only of one single City should undertake to maintain a War against a Nation so powerful as that of the *Jews*, and should hope to destroy it, to revenge the Death of a Man, whom he knew only by hear-say? What probability is there, that nothing but the fear of the *Romans* was able

to divert him from so rash an Attempt? I shall not proceed to make any Reflection on the other Circumstances of this Relation, which appear to be no less fabulous than those that we have even now recited: I shall only add, that the time wherein it is affirmed that these Occurrences happened, shews this whole History to be Supposititious. They take notice at the end of this Record, that these Things were Translated into the 430th Year of the *Edessenian* Æra, now the 430th Year of the *Edessenians* is the 15th of *Tiberius*, in which the Ancients believed that *Jesus Christ* died and rose again. And we must say according to this *Epocha*, and what we find recorded in the *Acts*, that this happened immediately after our Saviour's Resurrection, and that *Agbarus*, and several other Gentiles of *Edessa*, received the Gospel before *Cornelius*, which is plainly contrary to the *Acts of the Apostles*; and consequently we may be certain that this History is false, and that these Letters are forged. The Authority of *Eusebius* is not to be regarded in this case, since it is evident, that he hath too rashly given credit to the Memorials that were transmitted to him taken from the Archives of the Church of *Edessa*. And none can be ignorant, that this sort of Records ought not too much to be relied on, especially with respect to Histories of such a nature.

But in regard that these Fables are always augmented in process of time, it hath been likewise feigned that *Jesus Christ*, in writing to *Agbarus*, sent him his Picture drawn on an Handkerchief. *Evagrius* is the first that makes mention of this Effigies in *Book IV. Cap. 27.* of his History, relying on the Authority of *Procopius*, who nevertheless takes no notice of this Relation. However since the time of *Evagrius*, the Defenders of Image-Worship have often cited it, and the modern *Greeks* so firmly believed it, that they keep a Festival on the 16th of *August* in Commemoration thereof.

(c) That *Jude* the Apostle who is also called *Thomas*.] *Thomas* the Apostle was not surnamed *Jude*, but *Didymus*, and

*Jude* the Apostle was not called *Thomas*; which is a farther Proof of the Falseness of this History.

## Of some Letters attributed to the Virgin Mary.

Letters of the Virgin Mary.

There are several Letters likewise ascribed to the Virgin Mary, which being not so ancient as those of *Jesus Christ* to *Agbarus*, may more easily be proved to be false; the Letter of the Virgin Mary to *St. Ignatius* is supposititious, as we shall hereafter take an occasion to shew in discoursing concerning the Epistles

of that Saint. That to the *Florentines* published by *Carnifinus*, as also another which the Inhabitants of *Messina* pretended to keep in their possession, have more evident Marks of their Falseness, and are generally rejected; in so much that there is no necessity to prove them to be Apocryphal.

## Of the Counterfeit Gospels.

Counterfeit Gospels.

Nothing more clearly evinceth the truth of this Maxim of Holy Scripture, *That the Father of Lies often changes himself into an Angel of Light*, than the great number of Books, that have been heretofore forg'd in imitation of the Sacred Writings. For as the Holy Ghost hath caused Gospels, Acts, Epistles, and a Revelation to be written, so in like manner the Devil to counterfeit the Truth, hath procured several Gospels, Acts, Revelations, and Epistles, to be devis'd by his Ministers, which have also been attributed to the Apostles. To begin with the Gospels, besides the four that are Canonical and true, there were in the Primitive Ages of the Church several others that were fictitious and substituted in their room as well by the Hereticks as by some Catholics.

Among these last, we may reckon the Gospel according to the *Egyptians*, and that according to the *Hebrews*, which though spurious, yet have been quoted by Catholic Authors as Works compos'd by the Orthodox. The Gospel according to the *Egyptians* is cited by (a) *Clement Alexandrinus*, as also by *Epiphanius* (b), who declares, that the *Sabellians* made use of this Gospel to confirm their Error, because it contain'd divers Mystical Expressions concerning *Jesus Christ*, some whereof might perhaps be applied by them to prove, that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost were but one Person.

The Gospel according to the *Hebrews*, written (as it is reported by *St. Jerome*) in the *Syriack* Tongue with *Hebrew* Characters, is yet more remarkable among the Ancients; It is quoted by *Hegeippus* (c), by *Ignatius* (d), by *Clement Alexandrinus* (e) and by *Origen* in several places,

(a) Quoted by *St. Clement*.] *Stromat. Lib. 3. pag. 452.* *St. Clement* cites an Expression of *Jesus Christ* to *Salome*, taken from this Gospel: *I am come to destroy the Works of the Woman*, and by the *Woman* he understands *Concupiscence*. Moreover, in *pag. 465*, after having produced another passage on the same subject, cited by the Heretick *Cassianus*, he replies, first, that it is not found in the four Gospels that are acknowledged by us, and afterward endeavours to apply a good sense to it.

(b) By *St. Epiphanius*.] *Heref. 26.* The *Valentinians* likewise made use of this Gospel.

(c) By *Hegeippus*.] In *Eusebius, Lib. 4. chap. 22.*

(d) By *St. Ignatius*.] In this Epistle to the Inhabitants of *Smyrna*, where he cites two passages that are observed by *St. Jerome*; the first is, *In carne eum post Resurrectionem vidi, et scio esse; I saw him in the flesh after his resurrection, and I know that he is.* The second is this, *Palpate, quia non sum demonium incorporeale; Handle me, and you shall perceive that I am not a phantom without a body.*

(e) By *St. Clement*.] *Stromat. Lib. 2. pag. 380.* where we read this Sentence, *ὁ θαυμάσιος βασιλεύς, ὁ ὁ βασιλεύς ἀναπαυθεῖσθαι*

particu-



**C**ounterfeit Gospels. particularly in his Eighth Treatise on St. Matthew, where he produced a considerable Fragment out of it (f); St. Jerome (g) translated it into Greek and Latin, as he has often told us, observing likewise in one place, that some were of opinion, that this Gospel was the Original of St. Matthew's, which was reputed to have been written in Hebrew; nevertheless it is certain, that the Gospel according to the Hebrews was different from that of St. Matthew, as well on the account, that all these things which are related by the Ancient Writers concerning this Gospel, and among others, the History of the Woman accused before Jesus Christ (h) are not to be found in St. Matthew's Gospel, as in regard, that they are clearly distinguished by Eusebius and St. Jerome, who had a perfect knowledge of both those Gospels. Add to this, that St. Jerome translated the Gospel according to the Hebrews, whereas the Author of the Version of St. Matthew's Gospel is unknown, and that in the Gospel according to the Hebrews, the Scriptures of the Old Testament are cited according to the Hebrew Text, whereas St. Matthew in his hath followed the Translation of the Septuagint. This Gospel is not different from that which is called by Origen, The Gospel of the Twelve, nor from the Gospel of the Nazarenes, as appears from the Testimony of St. Jerome, by whom they are often confounded: Moreover the Ebionites made use thereof to prove their Doctrine.

Besides these two Gospels so often cited by the ancient Writers that are lost, there is yet extant a Book, Entituled, *Proto-Evangelium Jacobi*, published by Neander,

(f) Where he produced a considerable fragment.] It is a passage that contains the Answer of Jesus Christ to the rich young Man mentioned in St. Mark's Gospel, chap. 10. and in St. Luke chap. 18. expressed in other words. Moreover Origen in his Eleventh Tome upon St. John, cites another passage of this Gospel, wherein the Holy Ghost is call'd the Mother of Christ.

(g) St. Jerome.] St. Jerome quotes it very often in his Catalog. Voce Ignat. & voce Jacobus, Lib. 2. in Matth. chap. 7. and 12. Lib. 3. contra Pelagianos.

(h) The History of the Woman accused before Jesus Christ.] Eusebius, in Hist. Lib. 3. declares, that the History of the Adulterous Woman was recorded in this Gospel. Moreover St. Jerome affirms, that it was related therein, that Jesus Christ appear'd to St. James, who had bound himself with an Oath not to eat, until he had seen our Saviour risen from the dead; and in his Third Book against the Pelagians, he informs us, that it was written in this Gospel, that the Mother of our Lord, and of St. John the Baptist spoke to him thus: John the Baptist baptized for the remission of sins, let us go and be baptized; and that Jesus Christ replied to them, have I sinned, that I should go and be baptized?

(i) This Book is full of idle Tales and frivolous Relations.] Here's a Specimen of the Fables contain'd in the *Protevangelium Jacobi*. JOACHIM was elected among the nations of the Twelve Tribes, RENEEN admonished him, that it was not lawful for him to offer sacrifice, because he had no incense, whereupon he retir'd for grief into the Wilderness, and fasted there 40 days. ANNE mourned, and her Servant JUDITH advis'd her to take a Laurel Tree: therefore she went into a Garden, where she lamented, that she was not like unto a Bird that had

and inserted in the *Orthodoxographia*. This Book is full of idle Tales and frivolous Relations concerning (i) the Counterfeit Gospels. Nativity, Life, and Delivery of the Virgin Mary; The Gospel of Nicodemus likewise, annexed to that of St. James in the same place, is equally full of Fables relating (k) to the Passion and Resurrection of Jesus Christ, as the former is of those that belong to the Life of the Virgin Mary.

However, although these Gospels are unworthy of Credit because they are so foolish, yet they do not contain any gross Errors, as those do that were forg'd by the Hereticks, no part whereof now remains in our possession; such were the Gospels ascrib'd to St. Peter, to St. Thomas, and to St. Matthias, mentioned by Eusebius, Book 3. Chap. 25. as also those of St. Bartholomew, and of the Twelve Apostles, cited by St. Jerome in his Preface to St. Matthew; The Gospel of Philip, which was that of the Gnosticks, (according to the Testimony of Epiphanius, Her. 26.) and was used by the Ebionites, Basilides, and Apelles. The Gospel of Judas substituted by the Gajanites, who honour'd that Traitor, as St. Epiphanius and Theodoret assure us, when they speak of these Hereticks. And lastly, the Gospels of Thaddæus, Barnabas, and Andrew, and those that were counterfeit'd by Hefychius, together with a Book concerning the Infancy of Jesus Christ, and another relating to the Genealogy of the Virgin Mary, attributed to St. Matthew, and reckon'd by Gelasius in the number of Apocryphal Writings that were forg'd by Hereticks.

a Nest in the Laurel Tree. The Angel appear'd unto her, and told her, that she should have a Son; This Angel descended and delivered the same thing to JOACHIM; he beheld himself in the Plate, or in the Ephod of the High-Priest, and saw not that he had sinned. The Virgin was able to go when she was six months old; she was bred up by Angels in the Temple; she was Married to JOSEPH, because a Dove flew out of a little Staff, that was given to him by the High-Priest. St. JOSEPH having perceived that she was with Child, caused her to drink the Water of jealousy according to the Law, &c.

(k) Is equally full of Fables.] Here's another Specimen of the Fables received in the Gospel of Nicodemus. PILATE sent for him by a Messenger, this Messenger worshipped him; all the Soldiers did so in like manner against their wills; and the Ensigns bowed themselves twice before him. The History of the Evangelists is intermix'd with divers fables. Jesus Christ is made to answer Pilate's Question. What is Truth? Nicodemus is represented speaking, as also those whom our Saviour had healed; and the Woman that was cured of the issue of Blood is called Veronica. Moreover the Author of this Gospel describes the Resurrection of Jesus Christ, adding many things concerning him; he introduceth the dead that were raised at his Resurrection, entertaining one another with absurd and impertinent Discourses, declaring, that they made the sign of the Cross, he introduces the Devil reasoning very ridiculously concerning our Saviour's descent into Hell; And lastly, he feigns, that after his Resurrection, Pilate having commanded the Jewish Books to be brought to him, they acknowledged that Jesus Christ was the Messiah, and rehearseth several other Tales of the like nature.

## Of the counterfeit Acts of the Apostles, and of the false Revelations.

**C**ounterfeit Acts of the Apostles, and false Revelations. Inasmuch as the Acts of St. Luke contain only a very small part of the Transactions of some of the Apostles, since he gives no account of the proceedings of all, neither doth he describe at large even all the Actions of those that are mentioned by him; They that applied themselves to the counterfeiting of these Records, were furnished with great variety of matter, wherein they might exercise their deceitful Arts. The first that practised this Artifice, was a certain Priest and a Disciple of St. Paul, who being inflamed with a false Zeal for his Master, forged under the name of St. Luke the Acts of Paul and Thecla, and was convicted of this Imposture by St. John, as we are assured by Tertullian, and after him by St. Jerome. However, the simplicity of this ancient Priest might be more easily excused, in regard that he had no ill design; but we cannot but be seized with horror when we reflect on the enormous practices of the Hereticks, who have presumed to write

the Acts of divers Apostles at their pleasure, wherein they have obtruded their detestable Errors. Such were the Acts of St. Peter and St. Paul devised by the Manichees, and mentioned by Philastrius, in which the Apostles were introduced, affirming, that the Souls of Men and Beasts were of the same nature, and working Miracles to cause Dogs and Sheep to speak: The Acts of St. Andrew, of St. John, and of the Apostles in general, substituted by the same Hereticks, according to the Testimony of St. Epiphanius, Philastrius, and St. Augustin (a): The Acts of the Apostles counterfeited by the Ebionites, and cited by St. Epiphanius in his description of their Heresie: The Doctrine, Preaching, Voyages, and Disputes of St. Peter, falsely attributed to St. Clement, containing the Errors of the Ebionites, and the (b) History of St. Paul's being snatched up into Heaven, being a Work compiled by the Gajanites; whereof the Gnosticks likewise made use, and St. Epiphanius assures us, Heres. 8. The Acts of St.

(a) Philastr. Heres. 48. Epiph. 47. and St. Aug. Lib. de fide contra Manich.

(b) In Greek ἀναβάντων Παύλου: This might admit divers significations, but St. Epiphanius determines it to signify an Ac-

count of St. Paul's being lifted up to Heaven. It contained abstruse Matters, and seemed to be the same with the Secrets or Revelation of St. Paul. St. Augustin quotes this Book in *Joan. Tract. 98.*



Philip, and of St. Thomas received among the *Enkratites* and the *Apostolicks*, as is also observed by the same St. *Epiphanius* in *Heres.* 47, and 61. The Memoirs of the *Apollies* invented by the *Priscillianists*: The Itinerary of the *Apollies*, and the *Apollies* rejected in the second Council of *Nice*, *Act.* 5. to which may be added several false Relations, as that of the Lots of the *Apollies* rejected in the Decretal: The Writings of the *Apollies* compiled by *Dictinius*, and disallowed in the Synod of *Braga*, *chap.* 17. A Book of the *Priesthood* of *Jesus Christ*, cited by *Suidas*, the Author whereof pretended to prove that our Saviour was descended from the Tribe of *Levi*, and that he was reckoned by the *Jews* among the *Priests*: A Tract, Intituled, *Liber Apostolicus*, which was a Rhapsody devised by *Marcion*, and whereof St. *Epiphanius* makes mention: And a Book concerning the Death and Assumption of the Virgin *Mary*, ascribed to St. *John*; as also the Interrogations of the blessed Virgin composed by the *Gnosticks*, together with

another Book, concerning her Genealogy, published by the same Authors.

Lastly, there are several counterfeit *Apocalypses* or Revelations, as the Revelations of the great Apostle forged by *Cerinthus*: The *Apocalypse* of St. *Peter*, which *Eusebius* in *Book* 5. *chap.* 25. of his History reckons in the number of those *apocryphal* Books that are not Heretical, and which (as *Sozomen* affirms) was read every year about the time of *Easter* in the Churches of *Palestine*. And the *Revelation*, or the *Secrets* of St. *Paul*, which was heretofore very much esteemed by the Monks: The *Egyptians* (according to the Testimony of *Sozomen*) boasted that they had it in their possession, and it is inserted in the Catalogue of *Apocryphal* Books by *Gelasius*, together with the Revelations of St. *Thomas* and St. *Stephen*. None of these Books are now extant, neither ought we to be troubled for their loss.

## Of the Epistle to the Laodiceans, and some others attributed to St. Paul.

BESIDES the fourteen Epistles of St. Paul, some of the ancient Writers have likewise cited one directed to the *Laodiceans*, and indeed, we have at present an Epistle mentioned by St. *Anselm*, *Sixtus Senensis*, and *Stapulensis*, which is inserted in some German Bibles (a), and is written in St. Paul's Name to the *Laodiceans*. It is not certain whether this be the same with that which was used when St. *Jerome* lived (b), however it is evident, that that which we now have in our possession, doth not appertain to St. Paul (c), and that that which was extant in St. *Jerome's* time, was generally rejected, as he declares in his Catalogue; *ab omnibus exploditur*. That which gave occasion to the forging of this Letter (as is observed by *Theodore*) is, that St. Paul at the end of his Epistle to the *Colossians*, exhorts them to cause the Epistle that he had sent to them to be read by the *Laodiceans*, and to read among themselves that from *Laodicea*; this hath induced some to believe, that there was an Epistle written to the *Laodiceans* at the same time with that to the *Colossians*; and this also gave *Marcion* the opportunity of altering the Title of the Epistle to the *Ephesians*, and giving it the name of the Epistle to the *Laodiceans*. But this error is founded

on the ignorance of the *Greek* expression; for no mention is made in this place of any Epistle of St. Paul to the *Laodiceans*, but of one written from *Laodicea*. Some are of opinion that this is the Epistle to *Timothy*, which they imagine to have been written from that City. But it may be much more probably affirmed with St. *Chrysostome*, *Theodore*, *Photius*, and *Oecumenius*, that it was an Epistle written to St. Paul from *Laodicea*, by the Christians of that City, and for this Reason it is called in the vulgar Translation the Epistle of the *Laodiceans*.

Moreover, as it hath been concluded from this place in the Epistle to the *Colossians* misinterpreted, that St. Paul wrote a Letter to the *Laodiceans*; so in like manner some have inferred, that he wrote a third Epistle to the Christians of *Corinth*, from a passage taken out of his first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, *ch.* 5. v. 9, 10, and 11. viz. *I wrote unto you an Epistle, not to company with Fornicators, &c.* But (as St. *Chrysostome* observes) this Epistle is the very same that he then wrote, and the sense is, *When I even now wrote unto you this Letter, not to keep company with Fornicators, I do not mean the Fornicators of this World.*

(a) *Inserted in some German Bibles.* It was published in Latin by *Pistorius*, and afterwards annexed to the German Bibles printed at *Ausburg*, *Wormes*, and *Amsterdam*; [Particularly in those Bibles which *Elias Hutterus* set out in *Hebrew*, *Greek*, *Latin*, and *German*, in *Quarto*.]

(b) *Whether this be the same as that which was used when St. Jerome lived.* That which gives occasion to doubt, whether this Epistle be the same with that which was published heretofore, is that *Philastrius* affirms in *ch.* 88. That that

which was extant in his time contained several Errors; and there are none in that which we now have. Moreover, that which is cited by St. *Epiphanius* was composed out of several Sentences of the Epistle to the *Ephesians*.

(c) *That which we now have in our possession, doth not appertain to St. Paul.* It is not conformable to the style of St. Paul; it is extremely concise, even shorter than that to *Philemon*, neither hath it any one particular subject.

## Of the Epistle of St. Barnabas.

JOSEPH, surnamed by the Apostles *Barnabas*, that is to say, the Son of Consolation (a), who was a *Levite*, and a Native of the Isle of *Cyprus* (b), laboured even as much as the Apostles themselves in establishing the Foundation of the Christian Religion. Some of the ancient Writers (c) affirm, that he was one of the 72 Disciples of *Jesus Christ*; but St. *Luke* makes mention of him after such a manner, as induceth us rather to believe, that he was not admitted into the Fellowship of the Apostles until after our Saviour's Death.

However it be, it is evident, that ever since that time he hath been reputed as one of the principal Preachers of the Gospel, and was deservedly reckoned in the number of the Apostles. We have no certain account of his Life, but only what we find set down by St. *Luke* in the *Acts*.

He hath written (says St. *Jerome*) an Epistle, which is full of Edification for the Church, although it be not Canonical: This Epistle is often cited by St. *Clemens Alexandrinus* (d) and *Origen* (e), who do not in the least

(a) *That is to say, the Son of Consolation.* In *Greek* *παρηγορητής*, *The Son of Consolation*, or of *Exhortation*. *Oecumenius* on the *Acts*, *chap.* 36. and *Notkerus* in his Martyrology follow the first Interpretation; but St. *Jerome* seems to embrace the later.

(b) *A Native of the Isle of Cyprus.* This Island of *Cyprus* was full of *Jews*, and a very great number of them were massacred therein under the Reign of the Emperor *Trajan*, according to the Testimony of *Dio*, *Eusebius*, and *Orosius*.

(c) *Some of the ancient Writers.* Those are St. *Clemens Alex.* *Stromat.* lib. 2. *Euseb.* *Hist.* lib. 1. *chap.* 12. and lib. 2. *chap.* 1. St. *Epiphanius*. *Tom.* 1. *contra Heres.* & *Dorotheus*. But *Venerable Bede* rejects their opinion, because St. *Luke* in the 4th Chapter of the *Acts* declares, That *Barnabas* was one of those that

laid the Price of the Lands, and other Possessions that were then sold, at the Apostle's Feet; for though this doth not absolutely hinder, but that he might have been one of the Disciples of *Jesus Christ*; yet St. *Luke* seems thereby to insinuate, that this was the beginning of his Conversion to Christianity.

(d) *By St. Clemens Alexandrinus.* *Stromat.* lib. 2. p. 373, 375, 389, 396, and 410. Lib. 5. p. 571, 572, 577, and 578.

(e) *Origen.* Lib. 1. *con. Celsum*; and Lib. 3. *τὸ πρῶτον*; and *Eusebius*, lib. 3. *Hist.* c. 25. Lib. 6. c. 13. and c. 14. *Tertullian* in his Book *De Pudicitia* tells us, That St. *Barnabas's* Epistle was more generally received by the Catholic Church than the *Pastor*. But he takes St. Paul's Epistle to the *Hebrews* to have been written by St. *Barnabas*.

doubt,



*The Epistle of St. Barnabas.* doubt, but that it belongs to him whose Name it bears. It is true indeed that *Eusebius* and *St. Jerome* place it in the rank of Apocryphal Books (f), nevertheless they do not deny that it was written by *St. Barnabas*; on the contrary they attribute it to him, declaring only, that it ought not to be esteemed of the same Authority as the Canonical Books, because although it really belongs to *St. Barnabas*, yet it is not generally received by the whole Catholick Church.

And it is upon this account that this Epistle is not amongst the Canonical Writings, because to cause a Book to be placed in this rank, it is not only sufficient that it was composed by an Apostle, or a Disciple of the Apostles, but it is likewise requisite that it should be received as Canonical throughout all the Churches of Christ; otherwise the Treatise of *Hermas*, and the Epistle of *St. Clement*, ought also to be inserted in the Catalogue of Canonical Books. Therefore it is a very weak Argument to affirm that the Epistle of *St. Barnabas* doth not appertain to this Apostle, because that if it were certainly his, it would have been reckoned in the number of the Canonical Writings; since before a Book can be owned as Canonical, it is necessary, whosoever is the Author thereof, that it should be acknowledged by the whole Church; because there are Books written by the Apostles, or their Disciples, that were not heretofore, and are not as yet placed in the rank of Canonical Writings; and on the contrary there are others, the Writers whereof are not certainly known, that have been formerly, and are now, inserted in the Canon of Holy Scripture, as in the *New Testament*, the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, and the *Revelation*; and several Books in the *Old*, the true Authors of which cannot be positively shewn. Besides, though it were true, that all Books are Canonical, which we know to have been written by Men who had Authority to make them so, yet who hath assured us, that *St. Barnabas* ought to be included in this number, rather than *St. Clement*, or *Hermas*? The Catholick Church hath a Right to declare it, and since she has not done it, this is a sufficient warrant to reckon his Epistle amongst the Apocryphal Writings, though it be really his.

Furthermore it hath been objected, that this Epistle is unworthy of *St. Barnabas*, and that it is not credible that so great an Apostle who was full of the Holy Ghost, and the Collegue of *St. Paul*, should be the Author of the most part of those things that are therein contained; such are the forced Allegories, the extravagant and incongruous Explications of Holy Scripture, the various Fables concerning Animals, and several other Conceits of the like nature that are comprised in the first Part of this Epistle. To this I answer, that notwithstanding these Defects, *St. Clement*, *Origen*, *Eusebius*, and *St. Jerome*, attributed it unto him; and I am of the opinion, that it is a very great piece of Impudence for any one to imagine himself to be more clear-sighted in this matter, than those exquisite Criticks of Antiquity: they lived much nearer the time of the Apostles than we do: They had a great number of Books composed by their Disciples which are now lost; and consequently, they were more capable than we are of judging of the style and manner of writing of the Apostles, and their Companions and Disciples. If then they have found that the Allegories, Mystical Explications and Fables, that are found in the Epistle of *St. Barnabas* might be his, with what right can we positively assert, that they cannot be his? Certainly they must needs have but a very little knowledge of the Genius of the Jew-

(f) *In the Rank of Apocryphal Books.* *Eusebius* divides the Apocryphal Books into three Ranks, the first contain those that come nearest to the Canonical Writings, that is to say, those that are rejected by some, and received by others as Canonical, ἀντιλεγόμενα ἢ ἐν ὁμοῖς τοῖς πολλοῖς. In the second are comprehended those Books that are not allowed as Canonical by any; but such as were not forged by Hereticks, as those are that belong to the third Rank. The Epistle of *St. Barnabas* ought to be reckoned among the first of these sorts, at least among the second; which, although Apocryphal, may nevertheless belong to those to whom they are attributed, as the Book of the *Pastor*, and others. And although *St. Jerome* declares in his Epistle to *Leta*, that those Books are Apocryphal, that do not belong to the Authors whose Name they bear, yet he too often makes use of this Term in another signification. Now that *Eusebius*, and *St. Jerome* believed that the Epistle of *St. Barnabas* was written by him, appears from hence that they constantly impute it to him; *Euseb. lib. 6. chap. 13. Item ex Barnaba, Clementis, & Jude Epistolis.* It is certain, that he judged that the Epistles of *St. Clement* and *St. Jude* were really composed by those whose Names they bear; and in another place, *Jude Epistolam intelligo, item Barnaba Epistolam, & Revelationem que dicitur Petri.* Where he makes a particular Mark on this last Book, viz. That it is ascribed to *St. Peter*, but he doth not declare the same thing with respect to the Epistle of *St. Barnabas*;

if Nation, and of the primitive Christians that were educated in the Synagogue, who obstinately believe that these sorts of Notions could not proceed from them; on the contrary, this was their Character; They had learned nabas. of the Jews to turn the whole Scripture into Allegory, and to make remarks on the peculiar Properties of those living Creatures that were prohibited to be eaten; therefore it is not to be admired that *St. Barnabas*, being by Nation a Jew, and writing to his own Countrymen, hath allegorically explained divers Passages of the *Old Testament*, in applying them to the *New*, and found out several Moral Reflections upon the Properties of those Creatures that were not permitted to be eaten by the Jews. The Epistle of *St. Clement Romanus*, and the *Stromata* of *St. Clement Alexandrinus*, are full of this kind of Allegories and figurative Expressions. The History of the *Phoenix*, related by *St. Clement* in his Epistle to the *Corinthians*, so much celebrated among the primitive Christians, seems to be more fabulous than that which is alleged by *St. Barnabas* in his Epistle concerning the Properties of certain Animals; and the Allegory of the Blood of Jesus Christ typified by the Scarlet Thread of the Harlot *Rachab*, in the Epistle of *St. Clement Romanus*, is as far fetch'd as the greatest part of those of *St. Barnabas*. But what necessity is there to produce farther Proofs of a Matter of Fact that is so evident, since it is sufficiently known to all Men, that the Writings of the Primitive Christians are generally full of such Fables and Allegories?

Lastly, the Author of this Epistle is accused for representing the Apostles as the most flagitious Persons in the World before their Conversion; but his Words have been taken in too strict and literal a sense; for he intended not to say, that they were the wickedest Men in the World, but only that they were great Sinners (g).

It is not known to whom the Epistle of *St. Barnabas* is directed, because we want the Title; it appears from the Body of this Letter, that it was written to some converted Jews that adhered too much to the Law of *Moses*: It is divided into two Parts, in the first of which he shews the unprofitableness of the Old Law, and the necessity of the Incarnation and Death of Jesus Christ, producing divers passages of Scripture relating to the Ceremonies and Precepts of the Old Law, which he explains Allegorically when he applies them to our Saviour and the New Law: The second Part comprehends particular Moral Instructions, containing several Rules and Directions concerning what ought to be done, and what ought to be avoided.

This Epistle was first published (h) in Greek, together with the ancient Version by *Menardus*, and this Edition was printed at *Paris* by *Pigut* in the Year 1645.

Afterwards the famous *Dr. Isaac Vossius* caused it to be reprinted with the Epistles of *St. Ignatius* revised and corrected from three Manuscripts, Anno Dom. 1646.

Lastly, *Cotelerius* published it, adding a new Translation à *Regione*, together with the old Version, entire, and certain Critical Remarks at the end. It is prefixed at the beginning of his Collection of the Works of the ancient Fathers, printed at *Paris* by *Petit*, Anno 1672.

The Greek Text of the four or five first Chapters is wanting in all these Editions, but they are extant in Latin in the ancient Version, which, although barbarous and defective, hath nevertheless served to correct the Greek Original in some places.

on the contrary, he barely affirms, that it is his, as the Epistle of *St. Jude* belongs to *St. Jude*. *St. Jerome* likewise speaks expressly to the same effect; *Barnabas unam adificationem Ecclesie continentem Epistolam composuit, que inter Apocryphas numeratur.* Which plainly shews, that he did not believe it to be Apocryphal, because of its being falsely attributed to *St. Barnabas*, since on the contrary he himself imputes it to him, in affirming that it is Apocryphal.

(g) *That they were great Sinners.* Thus the following Words ought to be interpreted, *Super omne peccatum peccatores.* Many very devout Persons have often used this Phrase, *I am the greatest Sinner that ever lived in the World*, and other Expressions of the like nature, which are not to be understood Literally.

(h) *Was first published in Greek, &c.* It is said, that there was an older Edition than *Menardus's* printed in *England* by the order of the Learned *Usher*, but that the whole Impression was burnt. We may add to these, another Edition of this Epistle published by *Maderus* in *Germany* at *Helmstadt*. [There have been two other Editions of this Epistle, one at *Oxon* 1685. in *Duodecimo*, wherein, all that is in the old Latin Version that is not in the Greek, as also all that is in the Greek that is not in the old Version, is printed with Red Letters: Lastly, *Mr. Le Moyne* has set it out in his *Varia Sacra* with large Comments at *Leiden*, in *Quarto*, 1685.]



## Of the Liturgies that are falsely attributed to the Apostles.

The Litur-  
gies of the  
Apostles.

WE need only to reflect on what we find Recorded in the Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, concerning the Administration of the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist, and upon the Accounts of St. Justin, and other Primitive Fathers of the Church, to be perswaded that the Apostles and their Successors celebrated the Eucharist with great Simplicity. This hath been observed by all those that have written concerning Liturgies (a), who have unanimously agreed, that the Celebration of the Mass was performed in those Primitive Ages without much Ceremony, and that they used but few Prayers; but by little and little others were added, and several visible Ceremonies were annexed, to render the Service more venerable to the People. In fine, the Churches afterwards regulated, and committed to Writing, the manner of Celebrating it, and this is what they called Liturgies, which being compiled conformably to the various Customs of divers Places, are likewise found to be different. And forasmuch as Men are naturally inclined to make some Alterations in their Exterior Habit, many things from time to time have been successively added to them.

This single Remark is sufficient to shew, that the Liturgies, that bear the Name of the Apostles and Evangelists, were not actually composed by them: But to prove this clearly, and beyond contradiction, we shall only examine them one after another.

The Liturgy, or Greek and Latin Mass, attributed to St. Peter, and published by Lindanus in the year 1589. from a Manuscript of Cardinal Sirlet's, that was not very ancient, and which was afterwards Printed at Paris by Morellus, Anno 1595. cannot be St. Peter's for the following Reasons, since mention is made therein of St. Sixtus Cornelius, and St. Cyprian: The Virgin Mary is called the Mother of God, a Term that was not generally in use, until after the Condemnation of the Nestorian Heresie; The Canon of the Latin Mass, which is reputed by St. Gregory, to have been composed by a Scholastic, that is to say, a Learned Man of the Fifth Century, is entirely inserted therein: Moreover it contains divers Litanies taken from the Sacramentarium of St. Gregory and the Liturgies of St. Basil and St. Chrysostome: There are also Prayers for the Patriarch, a term altogether unknown before the end of the Fourth Age of the Church, and for the most religious Emperors. In short, if St. Peter had been the Author of this Liturgy, it would have been used by the Church of Rome, neither would it have lain hid during so many Ages. These Reasons made the Learned Cardinal Bona say, that this Liturgy was forged, and that it was in all probability compiled by a Grecian Priest Latinized, because it is collected partly from the Greek Liturgy, and partly from the Latin, and the name of St. Peter was prefixed to it, either that it might obtain more Authority, or because a great part of the Liturgy of the Church of Rome was comprehended therein.

The Mass of the Ethiopians that bears the name of St. Matthew, appears more evidently to be forged. There are Collects for Popes, Kings, Patriarchs, and Arch-Bishops: The Twelve Apostles are therein invoked: The Four Evangelists are cited, as also the Synods of Nice, Constantinople, and Ephesus: The Nicene Creed is

inserted with the Particle Filioque: Moreover mention is likewise made of St. Athanasius, St. Gregory, and St. Basil, together with the Epact, the Golden Number, and the Trisagion; which plainly shews, that this Liturgy is of a very late date.

One ought to give the same Judgment of the Liturgy of St. Mark, published by Cardinal Sirlet, and Printed at Paris by Morellus; for we find therein the word Consubstantial, and the Trisagion: There are also several Prayers for the King, and even for St. Mark himself, and mention is made of Chalice, Deacons, Subdeacons, Chanters, Monks, Religious Persons, &c. which Circumstances are apparent Demonstrations of its novelty.

There remains only the Liturgy attributed to St. James, which divers Learned Men have taken much pains to vindicate, but to no purpose; for although it is more ancient than those that we have already examined, since it is cited in the Synod that was holden in the Emperor's Palace in Trullo, after the Fifth General Council, yet we ought not to say, that St. James was the Author thereof, or that it was composed in his time. For, 1. The Virgin Mary is call'd in this Liturgy the Mother of God; and the Son and the Holy Ghost are said to be Consubstantial with the Father, terms that were altogether unknown in St. James's time: But supposing that they were not, is it credible, that this Authority should not be alleged in the Councils of Nice, Ephesus, and Constantinople? 2. We find therein the Trisagion and the Doxology, that is to say, the Sanctus and the Gloria Patri, which were not generally recited in the Church until the Fifth Century; for though it might be proved that they were in use before, yet it must be confessed, that it was not the general custom of the Church. 3. There are Collects for those that were shut up in Monasteries: Can any man say, that there were Monasteries in the time of St. James? 4. There is mention made of Confessors, a term that was not inserted in the Divine Offices, till a long time after St. James, even according to the Confession of Bellarmine. 5. In this Liturgy there is mention made of Churches, Incense, Altars, &c. can it be imagined that these things were used in St. James's time? 6. We find therein very many Citations of the Epistles of St. Paul, the greatest part whereof were written after St. James's death; neither ought we to object with the Cardinals Bona and Bellarmine, that these things were afterwards inserted, because it is not probable, that they should be added in so many places; besides, the Connexion and the Ceremonies of this whole Liturgy do not agree with the time of the Apostles.

I shall not here speak of other Liturgies cited by some Authors, such are those of the Twelve Apostles mentioned by Abraham Ecchellensis, and that of St. Barnabas quoted by a certain Monk, because they are unknown to me; neither shall I examine that which is comprised in the Constitutions of St. Clement, nor that which is extant in the Writings that are attributed to St. Dionysius the Areopagite, in regard that these Books being forged, as I shall hereafter shew in another place, it is not to be doubted but that the Liturgies which they contain, are in like manner fictitious.

(a) BY all those that have written concerning Liturgies.] Gregorius Papa. Lib. 7. Ep. 63. ad Joan. Syracus. Mos Apostolorum fuit, ut ad ipsam solummodo Orationem Dominicam, oblationis Hostiam consecrarent. Walafridus Strabo de Reb. Eccles. Cap. 21. Quod nunc agimus multiplici orationum, cantilenarum, & consecrationum officio, totum hoc Apostoli, & post ipsos, ut creditur, proximi orationibus, commemoratione Passionis Dominice, sicut ipse præcepit, agebant, simpliciter proficiente de hinc Religione amplius acta sunt à Christi cultoribus Officia Missarum. Remigius Altissiodorensis de Celeb. Miss. Lib. 1. Nam Missam B. Petrus Apostolus primus omnium Antiochia di-

citur celebrasse, in qua tres tantummodo orationes in initio fidei proferebantur, incipientes ab eo loco ubi dicitur; Hanc igitur oblationem: See Stephan. Augustodun. de Sacramento Altaris, cap. 20. Benno. Aug. de Offic. Miss. c. 1. Rupert. Tuit. Lib. de divi. Off. c. 1. Hug. de S. Victor. de Divi. Lib. 2. Cap. 11. Honorat. Augustod. in Gemm. An. Lib. 1. Durand. de Mende Rat. Off. Lib. 4. Cap. 1. Radulphus Tongrenf. de Canon. Observat. S. Antonin. in Summ. Maj. Tit. 13. Cap. 5. Cassand. de Liturg. c. 18. Polydore Virgil, and others that have treated of Rituals, and of the Ceremonies of the Mass.



# Of the Apostles Creed.

Of the Apostles Creed. **H**AVING already Discours'd of the Works of every one of the Apostles in particular, it remains, that we should now give some account of those that are reputed to be compos'd by them in general; The most Authentick among these is the Apostles Creed, which is generally believed to have been made by all the Apostles. But Authors are not agreed about the time wherein it was written by them, nor concerning the manner how it was compil'd, nor the design they had in making it. Some are of Opinion with *Ruffinus* (a), that they compil'd it in the very same year that *Jesus Christ* died, a little after the descent of the Holy Ghost; whereas *Baronius* and others conjecture, that they did not finish it till the Second year of the Reign of the Emperor *Claudius*, a little before they were separated. As to the manner of their drawing it up, some have imagin'd, that every one of the Apostles pronounc'd (b) his Article, and that for this reason it is call'd a *Symbol*, as consisting of divers Sentences: Others believe, that it was compil'd by them after they had confer'd all together; and there are some also who assert, that all the Disciples had a share therein. Lastly, as to their design in compos'ing it, some determine that it was, that they might be all found unanimously to agree in one and the same Doctrine (c), and others, that it was for the benefit of the People, that they might be able to propound to them an Abridgment of the Christian Faith, which should be easie to be understood, and to be retained in their Memory. The Etymology of the word *Symbol* is yet more uncertain (d); for some affirm, that the Creed is so call'd, because it is as it were the distinguishing Mark and Character of Christians (e); others, because it was compos'd of the Sentences of several Persons; and lastly others, on the account of its being made in a general Conference.

However, although it is an Opinion establish'd on very good grounds, that this Creed was made by the Apostles, and it cannot be deny'd, that they all preach'd and taught the Articles therein contain'd after one and the same manner, as the main Points of the Doctrine of *Jesus Christ*, in which it was necessary that all Christians should be instruct'd; yet it may be justly doubt'd without incurring the imputation of rashness, whether they were assembled together to compose this Creed, and whether they wrote it word for word, as it is now received in the Church of *Rome*; nay there are very weighty Reasons, whereby it appears, that this Opinion, though commonly received, is nevertheless very improbable.

For first, neither *St. Luke* in the *Acts*, nor any Ecclesiastical Author before the Fifth Century hath made any mention of this Assembly of the Apostles, and none ever affirm'd, that they compos'd the Creed of the Church of *Rome*, either by conferring together, or by pronouncing every one a particular Article.

Secondly, the Fathers of the Three first Ages disputing against the Hereticks, endeavour to demonstrate by many Arguments, that the Doctrine contain'd in the Creed, is that of the Apostles, but they do not affirm, that it was compil'd by them; and yet there could not

have been a stronger, or more convincing proof brought against those Hereticks, than to have said thus to them; You impugn the Doctrine of the Creed, and yet it is certain, that the Apostles were the Authors thereof, therefore you impugn the Doctrine of the Apostles. However they did not argue after this manner; On the contrary they prove by Tradition, and the Consent of the Apostolical Churches, that the Doctrine compris'd in the Creed, is that of the Apostles.

Thirdly, if the Apostles had made a Creed, it would have been every where the same throughout all Churches, and in all Ages; all Christians would have learnt it by heart; all Churches would have repeated it after the very same manner; in fine, all Authors would have express'd it in the same terms. Now the contrary is evident; for it is certain, that not only in the second and third Centuries, but also in the fourth, there were many Creeds, and all, though the same as to the Doctrine, yet different in the Expression. In the second and third Ages of the Church, we find as many Creeds as Authors (f), and the same Author sets the Creed down after a different manner in several places of his Works, which plainly shews, that there was not then any Creed that was reputed to be the Apostles, nor even any regulat'd and establish'd Form of Faith. *Ruffinus* in the fourth Century compares three ancient Creeds of the Churches of *Aquileia*, *Rome*, and the *East*, and we may observe in these three Creeds, none of which perfectly agrees with the common one, very considerable differences in the terms, as appears from the Table that is subjoin'd at the end of this Article. *St. Cyril of Jerusalem* in his *Catechetick Lectures* produceth a particular Creed, that was us'd by the Church of *Jerusalem* when this Father wrote. The Authors that have written Commentaries on the Creed, as *St. Augustine* in his 119th Sermon, *St. Maximus*, *Petrus Chrysologus*, *Fortunatus*, and others, omit divers Expressions that are insert'd in our Apostolical Creed, among others this at the end, *The Life Everlasting*; and *St. Jerome* observes in his Epistle to *Pammachius*, that the Creed concludes with these words, *The Resurrection of the Body*.

It is evident from these Reflections, that although the Creed be the Apostles as to the Doctrine which it contains, nevertheless it is not theirs, as to all the terms, and that they did not draw up any one form of Faith comprehend'd in a set number of words, which they were all oblig'd to use: But that having learned the same Faith from *Jesus Christ*, they likewise taught it to all those that were convert'd to the Christian Religion, and instruct'd them all in the same Mysteries. That they that were thus train'd up in this Faith, had it so deeply imprint'd on their mind, (as *St. Justin* and *St. Irenaeus* observe) that they were always ready to give an account thereof, and as often as they should be required to do it, without making use of any one particular form; and from thence proceeds the difference of the Creeds that are set down by the Fathers. And lastly, that for the assistance of the Memory, certain forms of these Articles of Faith, were afterwards compil'd, which were found to be different

(a) *Ruffinus*.] In *Exposit. Symboli*: *Isidore*, lib. 2. de Off. c. 22.

(b) Every one of the Apostles pronounc'd his Article.] This is the opinion of the Author of the 115th Sermon, De Tempore apud Aug. Of *St. Leo*, Ep. 13. now 27. Of *Venant. Fortunat.* in *Exegesi Symb. Apost.*

(c) Some determine that it was, that they might be all found unanimously to agree in one and the same Doctrine.] The former opinion is maintain'd by *Ruffinus*, and the later by the modern Authors.

(d) The Etymology of the Word *Symbol*, is yet more uncertain.] The Greek Word Συμβολον, properly signifies a Note, Sign, or Mark; therefore the Mystical Signs and Notes of *Pythagoras* were call'd Συμβολα Πυθαγορικά. *Herodian* uses the Word to denote a Military Signal. Other Authors, as *Dion Cassius*, and *Suetonius*, apply it to signify Signs or Marks, and certain Tickets that were given to those that were to be admitted to publick Shews, and for the distribution of Largesses. Some say that the Word *Symbolum* among the *Latins* signifies an Entertainment where every one pays his Club, or even the Club it self; But this does not belong to the Neuter *Symbolum*, but to the Feminine *Symbola*, and in Greek Συμβόλαια, as may be seen in *Aristophanes's* Scholiast, in *Athenaeus* and *Plutarch*; therefore it ought to be read in *Terence's Andria*, *Symbolam dedit*, and not *Symbolum*. *Aulus Gellius*, lib. 6. c. 1. makes use of the Word *Symbola* to signify one Man's share in

a Reckoning; and declares, that this Term was also attribut'd to those Questions that were Expounded by *Taurus* the Philosopher in the Presence of divers Persons. *St. Cyprian* is the first that apply'd the Word *Symbol* to denote an Epitome or Abridgment of the Christian Faith. Ep. 45. *Optatus* calls the Hereticks, The Deserters of the true *Symbol*, alluding to a Military Signal. And, and to the same effect, *St. Chrysologus*, in *Hom.* 62. declares, That the *Symbol* is the Covenant that we make with God in Baptism.

(e) The distinguishing Mark and Character of Christians.] This Etymology is produc'd by *Maximus Taurinensis*, and *Venantius Fortunatus*. It hath been likewise observ'd by *Ruffinus*, *Isidorus Hispalensis*, lib. 2. de Off. c. 22. and *Durandus de Mende*, lib. 4. *Rationalis*, c. 25. But the second and third Etymology are more common; and the last is maintain'd by *Ruffinus*; *St. Aug.* *Serm.* 181. de Tempore; *Isidore*, lib. 2. div. Off. c. 22. *Rabanus Maurus*, lib. 2. Init. Clerical. cap. 56. *Durandus supra*: *Eucherius*, *Homil.* de Symb. and *Innocent.* 111. lib. 2. De Sacris Misse Mysteriis, c. 49. The first however is the most probable.

(f) As many Creeds as Authors.] *St. Irenaeus* exhibits a Creed, l. 1. c. 2. and another in lib. 2. c. 1. *Tertullian* made use of three different Creeds in three several places, In *praescript.* lib. contra *Praxeam*, & de *Virginibus velandis*. See *Origen.* lib. 1. Peri Arch. & in *Dialog.* contra *Marc.* *Optat.* lib. 1. All which Creeds are different from the Vulgar.

N according



according to the diversity of the Churches wherein they were used. For I doubt not in the least, that besides the above-cited Creeds, there were many others of which we have no knowledge, from whence it must be inferred, that Jesus Christ is the Author of the Doctrine contained in the Creed, and that the Apostles preached and published it throughout the whole World; but that it cannot be determined by whom these Forms were collected, wherein this Doctrine is comprised.

It may be objected, that St. *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, *Lucifer Calaritanus*, and St. *Jerome* affirm, that the Creed is the Rule of Faith, which the Church hath received from the Apostles; That St. *Ambrose* says, that the Church of *Rome* hath preserved the Apostolical Creed in its purity without Alteration; That St. *Augustine*, *Ruffinus*, *Leo*, *Maximus Taurinensis*, *Fortunatus*, *Petrus Chrysologus*, and a great many others (g) have taken it for granted as a thing beyond Controversie, that the Creed was composed in an Assembly of the Apostles, that this Opinion is Authorised by the Church, and that it seems to be a rash Presumption to doubt of it; And lastly, that all Catholics are agreed in this Judgment, and that none but Hereticks, or at least Persons that are suspected of Heresie, durst presume to call it in question.

To these Objections I answer, first, that the Testimonies of St. *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, and *Lucifer*, rather overthrow the vulgar Opinion, than establish it; for these Fathers do not assert, that we have received the form of Faith from the Apostles, but only the Faith and Doctrine that was communicated to them by Jesus Christ; therefore if there were any force in the Objection, it must be concluded, that our Saviour is the Author of the Creed. Moreover, it is further to be observed, that by the Phrase *Rule of Faith* used by *Tertullian*, a *set Form of Faith* is not to be understood, but *the Faith it self*, which he declares to have been founded by Jesus Christ; and *Lucifer Calaritanus* doth not discourse of the Creed, but only of the Faith of the Church as it relates to our Saviour's Divinity. Lastly, when St. *Jerome* says, that the Faith of the Creed, which is an Apostolical Tradition, was not written on Paper, or with Ink, but was engraved on the Fleshly Tables of the Heart; he gives us to understand, that he meant nothing else, but that the Faith and Doctrine

comprehended in the Creed proceeds from the Apostles, who have taught it to all the Faithful. After the same manner, when St. *Ambrose* assures us, that the Creed was preserved in its purity by the Church of *Rome*, he doth not speak of the form of the Creed, but of the Doctrine therein contained. As for the other Authorities that are alledged, they are of little moment. *Ruffinus* is the first, and the only Person among the Authors of the Fifth Century, that asserts, that the Creed was composed by the Apostles, and yet he proposes this Opinion, as a matter that depended only on a popular Tradition; St. *Augustine* never approved it, for he doth not so much as mention one word thereof in his 119th Homily, and the 115th which might be cited to this purpose, cannot be proved certainly to be his: In fine, the other Authors who lived after *Ruffinus*, have taken this History from him, and are too modern to give a certain Testimony of a matter of Fact so ancient as this is; We may also add, that it is related by none but the *Latins*; that the *Greeks* never spoke of it, and that even they that produce it, do in no wise agree among themselves, concerning its Circumstances, as hath been already shewn. To conclude, there is no rashness in departing here, from the vulgar Opinion, since it is merely a *Critical Question*, that hath no regard to Faith, because it is granted on all sides, that Jesus Christ is the Author of the Doctrine comprised in the Creed, and that the Apostles taught it to all the Christians. Besides, they that maintain the common Opinion, are at last obliged to subscribe to our determination when they are urged; and to acknowledge, when it is objected to them, that the ancient *Roman* Creed was different from our *Vulgar*; that our Creed is not the Apostles as to the words, but as to the Sense, which comes to our Opinion at last. And besides it is not unusual in Critical Matters to forsake an Opinion that hath been generally received, and to embrace that of some Learned and Judicious Men, even of those that are suspected not to be Orthodox. Thus all the World is at present agreed in this, that the Apostolical Constitutions and Canons were not written by the Apostles, as we shall shew in the following Article, and yet scarce any Man presumed so much as to doubt thereof, before *Erasmus*.

(g) And a great number of other Authors.] St. *Irenæus*, lib. 1. cap. 2. *Tertullian*, de *Præscript.* c. 37. & 13. de *vel. Virg.* c. 1. *Lucifer*, lib. 2. contra *Const. Hier.* Ep. ad *Pammach.*

St. *Ambrose*, Ep. 7. lib. 1. As also, *Ruffinus* in *Expos. Symboli*, Aug. *Serm.* 115. *Maximus*, St. *Leo*, *Fortunatus*, &c.





A TABLE, wherein the Four ancient CREEDS are compared.

<i>The VULGAR.</i>	<i>That of AQUILEIA.</i>	<i>The ORIENTAL.</i>	<i>The ROMAN.</i>
I. I Believe in one GOD the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth.	I. I Believe in one GOD the Father Almighty. <i>In the ancient Editions of Morellus and Cauchius, we read, In Deo Patre Omnipotente; The Ablative Case being put in- stead of the Accusative Deum; but this was a fault of the Transcriber.</i>	I. I Believe in one GOD the Father Almighty, invisible and impassible.	I. I Believe in GOD the Father Almighty.
II. And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord.	II. And in Christ Jesus his only Son our Lord.	II. And in our only Lord Jesus Christ his Son.	II. And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord.
III. Who was Conceived by the Holy Ghost, Born of the Virgin Mary.	III. Who was born of the Holy Ghost of the Vir- gin Mary.	III. <i>The same as in that of Aquileia.</i>	III. <i>The same as in that of Aquileia.</i>
IV. Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was Crucified, dead and buried, he de- scended into Hell.	IV. <i>Was</i> Crucified under Pon- tius Pilate, and was bur- ied, he descended into Hell.	IV. <i>Was</i> Crucified under Pontius Pilate, and was buried.	IV. <i>The same as in the Oriental.</i>
V. The Third Day he rose again from the Dead.	V. <i>The Same.</i>	V. <i>The same.</i>	V. <i>The same.</i>
VI. He ascended into Hea- ven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty.	VI. He ascended into Hea- ven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father.	VI. <i>The same as in that of Aquileia, saving that some add, Almighty, as in the Vulgar.</i>	VI. <i>The same as in that of Aquileia.</i>
VII. From thence he shall come to judge the Quick and the Dead.	VII. <i>The Same.</i>	VII. <i>The same.</i>	VII. <i>The same.</i>
VIII. I believe in the Holy Ghost.	VIII. And in the Holy Ghost.	VIII. <i>The same as in that of Aquileia.</i>	VIII. <i>The same as in that of Aquileia.</i>
IX. The Holy Catholick Church, the Commu- nion of Saints.	IX. I Believe the Holy Church. <i>Pamelius adds Catho- lick, but falsely; for there is no more expressed by Ruffi- nus than these Words, The Communion of Saints.</i>	IX. <i>The same as in that of Aquileia.</i>	IX. <i>The same as in that of Aquileia.</i>
X. The Forgiveness of Sins.	X. <i>The same.</i>	X. <i>The same.</i>	X. <i>The same.</i>
XI. The Resurrection of the Body.	XI. The Resurrection of this Body.	XI. <i>The same as in the Vulgar.</i>	XI. <i>The same as in the Vulgar.</i>
XII. And the Life everlasting. Amen.	XII. <i>Wanting.</i>	XII. <i>Wanting.</i>	XII. <i>Wanting.</i>



## Of the Canons and Constitutions attributed to the Apostles.

**T**HE Opinions of Authors are extremely divided, as to the Canons that are commonly called Apostolical. *Turrianus* and some others have determined, that they were all composed by the Apostles: *Baronius* and *Bellarmino* except the 35 last, which are rejected by them as Apocryphal, but they have made no difficulty to admit the first 50. *Gabriel Albaspinus* Bishop of *Orleans*, and others, have believed, that although these Canons are not written by the Apostles, yet that they were very ancient, as being properly a Collection of the Canons of divers Councils that were holden before that of *Nice*; this Opinion is likewise maintained by the Learned Dr. *Beveridge*, in a Book lately published by him, Entituled, *Vindiciæ Canonum*, &c. calling by this Name the Collection of 85 Canons attributed to the Apostles. Lastly, *M. Duille* affirms, that these Canons are not only falsely ascribed to the Apostles, but are also of a much later date, and were not Collected until about the end of the Fifth Century. We shall now proceed to examine these Opinions, and to establish that of *Albaspinus*, which seems to be most probable.

It is not very difficult to prove, that these Canons were not compiled by the Apostles themselves; we need only peruse them, to be convinced, that they contain divers things that never were, nor indeed could be decreed by the Apostles (a); some whereof relate to certain Questions that were not debated until many years after their death (b). But it ought to be observed, that they are usually styled by the ancient Writers, *Ancient Canons*, *Canons of the Fathers*, and *Ecclesiastical Canons*; Titles that are likewise prefixed to them in several Manuscripts, as *Cotelerius* has observed: And if they are sometimes called or entituled *Apostolical*, it cannot be upon the account of their belonging to the Apostles; but it is sufficient that some of them have been made by Bishops that presided over the Church a little after the Apostles, because they that lived at that time were generally called *Apostolical Men*. The Author of the Apostolical Constitutions is the first that attributed these Canons to the Apostles, and he hath said some things to induce us to believe, that they were actually composed by the Apostles (c). Therefore these Canons are not the Work of an Impostor, who hath forged them under the Name of the Apostles, but only a Collection that hath been falsely imputed to them,

(a) *Divers things that never were, nor indeed could be established by the Apostles.* In the first Canon it is Decreed, that a Bishop should not be Ordained but by two or three Bishops; whereas it is certain, that in the time of the Apostles one single Bishop was sufficient to Ordain another. In the third it is determined, that the First-Fruits should be so presented to the Bishop and Priest, as that they should be brought immediately to them, and not offered on the Altar. In the fourth it is provided, that Oil and Incense only should be offered on the Altar. Now it is not probable, that any such things were offered in the time of the Apostles. In the fifth Canon it is ordained that the Feast of *Easter* should not be celebrated after the Jewish manner: If this had been determined by the Apostles, the Controversy between *Victor* and the *Asiatics* might have been easily decided; but it was not, and *Victor* only alledged the Tradition of his Ancestors: In like manner the 21. Canon against those that made themselves Eunuchs would have been produced by *Demetrius* against *Origen*, and *Origen's* action would not have been justified by *Alexander* and *Theodotus*, if there had been then extant a Canon of the Apostles, that had so precisely forbidden it. In the 34th and 35th Canons mention is made of the right of Metropolitans, and of the distinction of Bishopricks, which were not fixed at that time. In the 50th Canon it is decreed, that he that did not baptize or dip a Child twice in the water should be deposed; This practice, though very ancient, is later than the Apostolical times. The 52d is against the Errors of the *Montanists* and *Novatians*. The 60th is against Books forged by the Hereticks after the death of the Apostles. And the 66th is against the Sabbatical Fast. The 69th regulates fasting in *Lent*. In the following Canons are contained several Injunctions concerning Oil, Vessels of Gold and Silver, and Vails consecrated in Churches, things that were not known in the time of the Apostles. The last Canon comprehends a Catalogue of Sacred Books which could not be written by the Apostles. In the 45th, 46th, and 47th Canons the Papism of Hereticks is rejected as null and void. This question was not resolved by the Apostles. Moreover the style of these Canons is not like the Apostles; and the matter is very different from that which was usually

that it might be esteemed more Authentick: And I am apt to believe, that no Person was more capable of performing this Artifice (d), than the above-cited Author of the Apostolical Constitutions, who hath in like manner ascribed many other Writings to the Apostles, and hath inserted these Canons entire in his third Book.

As for the Antiquity of them, it is apparent that they are very ancient, and that a great part of them (if not all) were decreed by Councils that were holden before that of *Nice*: For first, they do not contain anything (according to my judgment) but what is conformable to the Discipline that was observed in some Churches at the end of the second Century, throughout the third, and in the beginning of the fourth. Secondly, they comprehend certain Ordinances that are known to have been made in those times: As for example; There is a Canon that prohibits the Celebration of the Feast of *Easter* with the *Jews*, now we are assured, that this was Decreed in divers Synods assembled in the time of Pope *Victor*. Moreover there are three, wherein the Baptism of Hereticks is rejected, as void and of no effect, which is declared by *Firmilian* and *Dionysius Alexandrinus* to have been determined in the Councils of *Synnada* and *Iconium*, that were holden some time before them. But who can believe, that these Canons were made or counterfeited at a time when Persons baptized by Hereticks were generally admitted without re-baptizing them? And it cannot be imagined, that they were forged by St. *Cyprian*, or *Firmilian*, on purpose to authorize their Discipline; It is much more reasonable to believe, that they really are the very Canons of the Synods of *Iconium* and *Synnada*, which have been falsely attributed to the Apostles, not by these Saints, but by later Authors. Thirdly, It is clearly proved, that the greatest part of these Canons are more ancient than the Council of *Nice*, because they are often cited (e) in this Council, and those that were conven'd not long after, as well as by the Authors who wrote in the fourth Century under the name of *Ancient Laws*, *Canons of the Fathers*, *Ecclesiastical Canons*, and even *Apostolical*, which is different from what they call *Customs*, *Manners*, or *Discipline*, concerning which there are no written Rules or Injunctions. Therefore it is certain, that these Canons are ancient, that they have been erroneously ascribed to the Apostles, and that they are a Collection of Ord-

treated by them; neither were the names of *Clerk*, *Bishop*, *Altars*, *Sacrifice*, &c. so common in the Apostolical times.

(b) *Questions that were not debated until many years after their death.* Viz. The questions relating to the Feast of *Easter*, the Baptism of Hereticks, as also concerning those that make themselves Eunuchs; those that would not admit Sinners to repentance; those that fast on Sundays, &c. *Vide supra*.

(c) *To induce us to believe that they were actually composed by the Apostles.* As for example in the 29th Canon, where it is ordained, that those Bishops that should obtain the Episcopal Dignity by Money, should be deposed, as *Simon* was by St. *Peter*; he hath added by me *Peter*. For these words are not found in the Epistle of *Tarasius* to Pope *Adrian*, nor in the Edition of *Dionysius Exiguus*. Moreover in the 5th Canon, we read at present the Lord hath declared unto us; whereas in the Greek Manuscripts, and in the Edition of *Zonaras* and *Balsamon*, it is simply expressed, the Lord hath declared; and in that of *Ioannes Antiochenus*, Our Lord hath declared. Lastly, in the 82d Canon there is this expression, as our Brother *Onesimus*, and in the last, our Acts, where it ought to be read simply as in the Arabick Paraphrase, as *Onesimus*, and the Acts of the Apostles.

(d) *I am apt to believe that no person was more capable of performing this Artifice.* It is suitable to the temper of this Author who designed to pass every where for a Disciple of the Apostles; for which reason he has given us divers Constitutions under their name, attributing to every Apostle some particular Constitutions and Liturgies, at the end whereof he annexed these Canons with the above-mentioned additions; and he likewise adds in the name of the Apostles: *This is what we thought fit to command you O ye Bishops, continue to observe these things.*

(e) *they are often cited.* In the first Canon of the Council of *Nice*, the second of the Apostles is alledged, concerning those that make themselves Eunuchs, and in the fifth Canon of the same Council, the 12th and 32d is cited relating to Excommunication. In the ninth Canon of the Council of *Antioch* the 34th is quoted concerning the Metropolitan; in the 20th Canon of the same, the 10th about Excommunication; in the 21st Canon, the 14th prohibiting Bishops to

Apostolical  
Canons  
and Conf-  
stitutions.

Apostolical  
Canons  
and Conf-  
stitutions.



*Apostolical Canons & Constitutions.* nances of divers ancient Synods that were holden before the Council of Nice, but it is not known when this Collection was made, nor who collected it, nor even whether it consists of those 85 Canons that are now extant, or of a lesser number. However, it is probable, that it was compiled at several times, and that some Canons have been successively added, because no order is observed therein, as also because that the Canons relating to one and the same Subject are often found separated, besides some Contradictions.

The Objections propounded by M. *Daille* against the Apostolical Canons, manifestly prove against *Turrianus* that they were not composed by the Apostles, but they do not in the least impugn our opinion. As for Example; It is objected by him, That there are in these Canons certain terms that were not usual in the time of the Apostles, as *Clerk, Lecturer, Laick, Metropolitan, &c.* But he cannot deny that these terms were used in the third Age of the Church. That which is ordained concerning Lent, and against fasting on Sundays or the Sabbath, may belong to the third Century since the same things are found in the Works of *Tertullian*. The Canons against those that make themselves Eunuchs, might be composed by *Demetrius* against the Error of *Origen*. The Canons concerning *Easter*, are apparently those of the Councils of *Synada* and *Iconium*. Upon the perusal of all the Objections alledged by M. *Daille*, it will appear, that although they are extremely weighty against the Opinion of *Turrianus*, yet they are of no force against ours (f).

It ought then to be esteemed as certain, that not only the first 50 Canons, but likewise the following 35 are very ancient, though they do not belong to the Apostles. Therefore they have been always much esteemed by the *Greeks*, as being of great Authority. *Joannes Antiochenus*, who lived in the time of the Emperor *Justinian*, hath inserted them in his Collection of Canons; and they are commended by *Justinian*, himself in his sixth *Novel*. They are in like manner approved in the Synod that was holden in the imperial Palace after the fifth General Council; cited in the seventh Oecumenial Council, and allowed by St. *Joannes Damascenus*, and *Photius*, but with this difference, that the first, who was no great Critick, attributed them to the Apostles, and the other that was more quick-sighted in these matters, doubted whether they belonged to them. However they have not always met with the same Reception among the *Latins*. Cardinal *Humbert* hath rejected them, and *Gelasius* hath plac-

ed them amongst the Apocryphal Books, as well because they were falsely ascribed to the Apostles; as because he found among them some Canons, that authorised the opinion of St. *Cyprian* concerning the Baptism of Hereticks. *Hinckmar* favourably explains *Gelasius's* Notion, declaring, that he did not insert them among those Books that were Apocryphal and full of Errors, but only in the number of those with respect to which this Rule of St. *Paul* ought to be observed, *Try all things, and hold fast that which is good.* *Dionysius Exiguus* hath translated the first 50, and hath prefixed them to his Collection, taking notice however, that some Persons would not acknowledge them; and perhaps this is the reason that *Martinus Braccarensis* would not admit them into his Collection of Canons; but *Isidore* hath made no difficulty to afford them a place in his, and ever since they have been always accounted as a part of the Canon Law. It is further to be observed, that as soon as they appeared in *France*, they were generally well received there, and were first urged in the cause of *Pratextatus* under the Reign of King *Chilperic*, wherein their Authority was allowed, as we are informed by *Gregorius Turonensis* in the fifth Book of his History, Chap. 19. where he takes notice, that there was an Appendix added to the Collection of Canons, which contained certain Canons, as being writ by the Apostles, quasi Apostolicos, and cites one of them, which is the 25th Apostolical, but according to a different Version from that of *Dionysius Exiguus*. Lastly, *Hinckmar* Bishop of *Rheims* observes, that they were annexed to the beginning of a Collection of Canons compiled for the use of the Church of *France*, separately from the others and as for their Authority and Antiquity, he is altogether of our opinion, which he explains in these words, in the 24th Canon. *The Canons (says he) that are called Apostolical, collected by some Christians, were written in a time when the Bishops could not freely assemble together, nor hold Councils; they contain many things that may be allowed, but they likewise establish others that ought not to be observed.*

I cannot say the same thing of the Apostolical Constitutions, as I have done of the Canons, viz. that they are not supposititious, but that in process of time a false Title happened to be attributed to them; for the Author of the Constitutions is an Impostor, that endeavours every where to pass for *Clement* a Disciple of the Apostles, and who imputes to them all in general, and to every one in particular, divers Ordinances that

leave their Diocesses; and in the 23d Canon the 76th, that a Successor ought not to be elected. In the Synod of *Constantinople* convened in the year 394, the 14th Apostolical Canon is quoted, of the Jurisdiction of Bishops. In the Council of *Ephesus*, Acts 7. col. 788. we find the 35th cited concerning Ordinations; and in Act. 1. the 74th is alledged relating to the three Admonitions that ought to precede Ecclesiastical Censure. Moreover *Alexander* in *Theodoret*, lib. 1. c. 4. cites the 12th, as also *Athanasius*, *Epist. ad omnes Orthodoxos*, where he likewise alludes to the 29th, 30th and 75th Canons. The 34th is alledged by *Arsenius*, in like manner the 30th, 35th, and 81st are quoted by Pope *Julius* in his Epistle. St. *Basil* in the 43d Canon plainly cites the 24th of the Apostles, under the name of an ancient Canon; in the 12th Canon the 77th concerning Bigamy; and in the first the 47th relating to the Baptism of Hereticks. Lastly *Theodotus* in *Cod. Lib. 3. de summa Trinitate* quotes the 17th under the name of an Apostolical Canon.

M. *Daille* replies, that all these Quotations do not relate, to the Apostolical Canons, but to the Discipline, Customs and Traditions that proceeded from the Apostles; however this answer hath no probability; for the word Canon signifies written Laws, and the Council of *Nice* distinguisheth Canons from Customs, which are therein called *ἀρχαία ἔθη*. Moreover M. *Daille* adds, that certain Canons and ancient Laws are often cited that are not included in the Apostolical, and he produceth two Examples, the first whereof is taken from the 13th Canon of the *Nicene* Council, and the 2d from the 1st of that of *Ancyra*. But first, the Apostolical or Ecclesiastical Canons are not cited by name in these two, but only in the first an ancient and Canonical Law or Custom, *παλαιὸν ἡ κανόνικον νόμον*, and in the second *πρότερον ἔθος*, an ancient definition. Secondly, nothing hinders but that these words may be understood of some ancient definitions of Synods; as for example, the Law wherein it was ordained to receive the *Lapsi* at the point of death, cited in the first Canon, was made in the Eastern and African Churches before the Council of *Nice*, if we may give credit to the Testimony of *Dionysius Alexandrinus* in *Ep. ad Stephanum*, produced by *Eusebius*, Lib. 7. chap. 4. and 5.

(f) They are of no force against ours.] However, some of the most material of M. *Daille's* Reasons may be objected to us; for instance, he affirms that St. *Athanasius* in the matter of

*Leontius* the Eunuch, cites the Canon of the Council of *Nice*, and not the Apostolical, which shews (says he) that it was not as yet known: Moreover, that it is not quoted by St. *Epiphanius* against the *Valesian* Hereticks: That St. *Basil* reckons the triple Immersion in Baptism amongst the unwritten Traditions, and consequently, that the Canon of the Apostles in which it is ordained, was not composed in the time of this Father: That this Canon was made against those Hereticks that Baptized with a single Immersion, and that the *Eunomians* were the first that followed this practice. These are the Arguments of M. *Daille* that can be urged against us, but it is very easie to refute them. St. *Athanasius* cites the Apostolical Canon rather than that of *Nice*. St. *Epiphanius* produceth no Canon against the *Valesians*, but only the Holy Scripture, St. *Basil* and the other Fathers understand by unwritten Tradition all those matters that are not contained in the Sacred Writings. Lastly, the Canon concerning triple Immersion was not made against Hereticks, but to prevent the negligence of Priests. The 84th Canon might indeed be objected with much more probability, wherein we find the Books of the *Maccabees*, together with the Epistles and Constitutions of St. *Clement* among the Canonical Writings. But it must be replied to this Objection, that this Canon is corrupted, that the Books of the *Maccabees* are not extant in the Greek Copy of *Joannes Antiochenus*, and it may easily be discerned, that the Epistles and Constitutions of St. *Clement*, have been added by the Author of the *Apostolical Constitutions*, who endeavoured to pass for St. *Clement*, to raise the reputation of this Book. It may be proved that this Canon is ancient, because the Books of the Old Testament that were not inserted in the Canon of the *Jews*, and the Revelation are omitted. Lastly, It is asserted against us, that these Canons were unknown to the Authors of the Fifth Century, that they are not cited by *Eusebius*, nor included in the *Codex Canonum* of the Catholick Church; but all these Objections are frivolous, for the Ecclesiastical Writers of the fourth Age have often referred to these Canons. *Eusebius* indeed hath not mentioned them, but neither doth he take notice of the Canons of the *Nicene* Council, and in fine it is not to be wondred at that they are not found in the *Codex* of the universal Church, which did not contain all the ancient Canons, no more than that of the *African* Church comprehended those that were made by St. *Cyprian* or *Agrippinus*.



are in no wise consonant to the Apostolical ones; such *Apostolical* are those concerning Churches built in the form of Temples, Catechumens, Energumens, Fasts, Liturgies, *Canons & Constitutions.* Unction, Prayers for the Catechumens and Energumens; The Ordination of Deacons and Deaconesses; Virgins, Confessors, Subdeacons; The Benediction of Oyl and Water; The First-Fruits of Tyths, Festival Days, the Celebration of *Easter*, and many other things that were not practised in the time of the Apostles, not to mention a great number of Absurdities and Mistakes of time, together with some Errors that are contained therein (g), which evidently demonstrates beyond contradiction, that

(g) *A great number of Absurdities and Mistakes of Time, together with some Errors that are contained therein.* As in Book 1. That the Beards of Women ought to be shaved, and not those of Men. In Book 2. Chap. 1. That all Bishops ought to be 50 years old. In Chap. 57. it is ordained, that the Gospel according to St. John should be read; which was not written until the 97th year of our Lord, after the death of the Apostles. In Chap. 11. the Author asserts, That the Bishop presides over Kings and Magistrates; and in Book 3. Chap. 2. That third Marriages are an Intemperance, and the fourth a manifest Debauchery. In Book 6. Chap. 6. mention is made of the *Ebionites*, whose Errors sprang up after the decease of the Apostles. In the 14th Chapter, James the Son of Zebedee is introduced as present at Jerusalem after the time of his death. In Book 8. Chap. 4. it is declared, That the Constitutions were made in the presence of St. Paul and the Seven Deacons; now it is certain, that St. Stephen, one of the said Seven Deacons, died before the Conversion of St. Paul. In Book 1. Chap. 32. Female Slaves are permitted to suffer themselves to be deflowred by their Masters. Moreover this Author is accused of *Arianism*.

(h) *Neither are they maintained at present by any.* This Synod is unknown to St. Luke, and to all the Ancients; for al-

these constitutions were not composed by Apostles, and even that they do not belong to St. Clement, as we shall shew more at large in discoursing concerning the Works of this Father, where we shall likewise endeavour to discover at what time they were forged. *Apostolical Canons & Constitutions.*

I shall add nothing concerning the Nine Canons that are also attributed to the Apostles, and are reported to have been made by them in a certain Council of Antioch unknown to all Antiquity; because there is no question but that they are fictitious; neither are they at present maintained by any (b).

though it is said to be cited by Innocent I. Ep. 18. it is a mistake, since he only mentions the Council of Jerusalem; and whereas it is written, *Antiochenam Ecclesiam quæ meruit apud se celeberrimum Apostolorum Convantum.* The Church of Antioch, which deservedly had the most famous Convention of the Apostles celebrated there, it ought to be read *propter se, near that City*; for it is apparent, that this Pope spake concerning the Synod of Jerusalem, which was the most famous Convention of the Apostles. Moreover, not so much as one of the ancient Authors makes mention of these Canons, and indeed they are altogether absurd: It is said in the first, that the Christians were called *Gallileans*, a Name that was not attributed to them until after the death of the Apostles. In the third Canon it is decreed, that the Christians should live *Anagogically*, a harsh and insignificant Term. In the 9th Canon the Synagogue is called *Belluine*; and in the 8th it is ordained, that there should be Images in the Churches, a practice that was not in use in the time of the Apostles. This Canon is cited by *Gregorius Pessinuntius* in the second Council of Nice, but it is well known that many Apocryphal Records were alledged in that Council.

## Of several Books attributed to Prochorus, Linus, and Abdias, and of the Acts of the Passion of St. Andrew.

*Prochorus, Linus, Abdias, &c.* IN the time of the Apostles there lived a certain Person named *Prochorus*, one of the seven first Deacons, and there is now extant a Book under his name, containing the Life of St. John, which is Printed among the *Orthodoxographa*, and in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. But *Baronius*, *Bellarmin*, *Lorinus*, The Master of the Palace, and in a word, all those that have written concerning Ecclesiastical Authors both *Roman Catholics* and *Protestants* unanimously agree, that it is a supposititious Book, and unworthy of him whose Name it bears; and indeed, it is a Narrative full of absurd Fables and Tales. It is related there, that St. John cast himself at the Feet of the Apostles, desiring to be exempted from going into Asia; That after he was taken out of the Caldron of boiling Oyl, a Church was built in Honour of him; That he composed his Gospel in the Isle of *Patmos*, &c. The Style of this Book argues its Author to be a *Latin* or a *Greek*, and not an *Hebrew*. Lastly, we find therein the words *Trinity* and *Hypostasis*.

The two Books attributed to *Linus* concerning the Passion of St. Peter, and St. Paul are likewise generally rejected, as fictitious and full of Fables. They say, that *Agrippa* was Governor of *Rome* in the time of St. Peter, who suffered Martyrdom without the knowledge of *Nero*; That this Emperor was offended that he was put to death; That part of the *Roman* Magistrates were Christians; and that the Wife of *Albanus* departed from her Husband against his Will, following the advice of St. Peter. In fine, both these Books are full of Errors, Falsities, Fictions, and notorious Untruths; in the last of which mention is made of the Epistles of St. Paul to *Seneca*, and of *Seneca* to St. Paul.

We must likewise give the same Judgment upon the Book imputed to *Abdias*, that contains divers extremely fabulous Relations concerning the Lives of the Apostles, and was Printed by it self in the years 1557, 1560, and 1571; at *Basil*, Anno 1532, and at *Paris* in 1583; it is also inserted in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. At first they tried to make it pass for a Book composed in *Hebrew*, by a Disciple of Jesus Christ, named *Abdias* of the City of *Babylon*, Translated into *Greek* by *Eutropius*, and into *Latin* by *Julius Africanus*; but now the whole World is convinced of this Error, and it is generally agreed, that it was forged by an Impostor, that falsely pretends to be a Disciple of Jesus Christ, who nevertheless cites *Hege-*

*sippus*, and *Julius Africanus*, whom he could not have seen if he had lived in our Saviours time; and lastly, he relates many fabulous Narrations concerning the Life of Jesus Christ and his Apostles, which it would be too tedious here to rehearse. *Prochorus, Linus, Abdias, &c.*

Men are divided in their Censures upon the Acts of the Passion of St. Andrew written by the Priests of *Achaia*, which are inserted in the History of the Saints published by *Surius*: *Baronius*, *Bellarmin*, and some other Criticks of the Church of *Rome* admit them as Authentick, but they are rejected by many. The ancient Ecclesiastical Writers know no other Records of St. Andrew than those that were corrupted by the *Manichees*, mentioned by St. *Augustine*, *Philastrus*, and Pope *Innocent* (a), and which are reckoned by *Gelasius* in the number of Apocryphal Books. But it is certain that those were different from these whereof we now discourse; It is also evident, that these last Acts of the Passion of St. Andrew, have been cited by none but Authors that lived since the Seventh or Eighth Century, as by *Remigius Auzissiodorensis*, *Petrus Damianus*, *Lanfrank*, St. *Bernard*, and *Ivo Carnutensis*, which is the cause that we can have no assurance that they are very ancient. Thirdly, the Mystery of the Trinity is not only explained in these Acts after such a manner as gives us occasion to suspect, that he that wrote them lived after the Council of Nice; but he likewise propagates the Error of the modern *Greeks*, in affirming, that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father, and remains in the Son. It is indeed objected, that there are Manuscripts wherein these words are not expressed, but who knows, whether they have not been omitted in some, rather than added in others? Therefore this History ought at least to be esteemed, as a dubious Writing, that cannot be applied (as St. Jerome declares) to prove any Doctrine of Faith.

The account of the Life and Death of St. *Matthias* was forged by an Author who pretends to have received it from a Jew that translated it out of the *Hebrew* Tongue. We ought also to place in the rank of Apocryphal and Fabulous Books, the Life of St. *Mark*, and the History of St. *Clement*, together with that of *Apollinarius*, set down in the Collection of ancient Histories compiled by *Laurentius de la Barre*. And we need only read them over to be convinced of their Falsity.

(a) Mentioned by St. Augustine, Philastrus, &c.] St. Aug. lib. de Fide contra Manichæos. Philast. lib. de Hæres.

N. 40. Innocentii I. Epist. ad Exup. Gelasius in conc. Roman.



Of the Books of the Sibyls, Trismegistus, and Hytaspes : Of the Letters of Lentulus and Pilate, concerning Jesus Christ : Of the Epistles of Seneca to St. Paul, and of those of St. Paul to Seneca : And of a Passage in the History of Josephus.

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WE join all these prophane Records together, that have been heretofore alledged in favour of the Christian Religion, that so we may examine them; and although we should reject them, yet we do not believe that we do any wrong to Religion, which is sufficiently furnished with solid and convincing Proofs, without standing in need of those that are false or dubious. We begin with the Verses that are attributed to the Sibyls, which are frequently cited by the ancient Writers to convince the Pagans of the Truth of the Religion of Jesus Christ; but before we proceed to examine them, it would be expedient to give some account of these Sibyls and their Books.

It is difficult to assign a true Etymology of the Word Sibyl; Lactantius, and after him St. Jerome, affirm, that the Sibyls were so called, because they were the Interpreters of the Decrees of the Gods; and that their Name consisted of two Greek Words (a), signifying the Counsel of the Gods, which being written in the Æolick Dialect compose that of Sibyl. It is derived by some from an Hebrew Word, and by others from an obsolete Latin Adjective (b), that signifies, subtil or acute; but this later Conjecture is false, since the Word Sibyl was used by the Greeks before the Latins. The most probable opinion is, that the Name Sibyl, which was proper to the famous Delphick Prophetess, afterwards became common to others, as that of Cæsar, peculiar only to Julius, was after him appropriated to all the succeeding Emperors.

Nothing is so uncertain as the Number and Names of the Sibyls (c), many of the ancient Writers mention but one; some speak of her of Cuma, and others of her of Delphos. Strabo and some others distinguish two Erythrean. Solinus produceth three, her of Delphos, her of Erythrae, and her of Cuma. Pausanias names four, the Libeck, the Delphick or Erythrean, the Cuman and the Babylonian. Ælian, Varro, Lactantius, Clemens Alexandrinus, and most other Writers, reckon ten, and some add

(a) Consisted of two Greek Words.] These two Words are *σιβυλλῆς*, and in the Æolick Dialect *σιβυλλῆς*, Lactantius Lib. 1. c. 6. Hierom. Lib. 1. in Jovin. It is objected against this Etymology that the Adjective *σιβυλλῆς*, the three last Syllables whereof compose a Dactyl, make it manifest that the word Sibylla cannot be derived from *σιβυλλῆς*.

(b) From an obsolete Latin Adjective.] this Adjective is *Sibylus*, which according to Festus signifies the same as *Acutus*, or *Callidus*; a quick, or crafty Man.

(c) Nothing is so uncertain as the Number and Names of the Sibyls.] Plato in his *Phædrus* mentions but one Sibyl, neither doth he declare to what place she appertained. The Author of the Book *de mirabilibus Auscultationibus* in Aristotle speaks of her of Cuma. Diodorus Siculus lib. 4. gives an account of her of Delphos, affirming that she was named *Daphne*, and was the Daughter of *Tiresias*; but Virgil, Pausanias and Suidas call her by the Name of *Manto*, and St. Clement by that of *Artemis*. Dionysius Halicarnassæus, Pliny, Juvenal, &c. mention but one Sibyl: However it doth not follow, that they knew no others. Strabo lib 13. and 17. assures us, that there were two at Erythrae, and that the second called *Athenais* lived in the time of Alexander the Great. Stephanus de Urbibus and Capella, Lib. 2. de Nuptiis Philologia reckon likewise two, *Erophile* a Native of Troy, who came to Cuma, and *Symmachia* of the City of Erythrae. Solinus in Polyhist. c. 8. produceth three, the Delphick named *Erophile*, who was more ancient than Homer, the Erythrean, and the Cuman. Ælian Var. Hist. Lib. 2. c. 35. reckons ten, the Erythrean, the Samian, the Egyptian, the Sardinian, the Cuman, the Jewish and four others. St. Clement, Stromat. Lib. 1. *Manto* (says he) and a multitude of Sibyls; the Samian, the Colophonian, the Thessalian, the Thesprotick, &c. Lactantius in Lib. 1. recites ten after Varro: The first is that of Persia mentioned by Nicanor, who wrote the History of Alexander the Great: The second of Lybia, cited by Euripides. 3. The Delphick alledged by Chrysippus, in Lib. de Divinatione. 4. The Cuman in Italy, whom Nevius and Piso mention, the former in his History of the Punick War, and the later in his Annals. 5. The Erythrean, whom Apollodorus Erythreus affirms to have lived in his City. 6. The Samian, concerning whom Eratosthenes hath written. 7. The Cuman, called by some *Amalthea*, and by others *Demophile*, or *Herophile*. 8. The Helespontick born in the Country about Troy, and in the Town of Marpeffius. 9. The Phrygian, who Prophesied at Ancyra. 10. The Tiburtine named *Albunea*, who

others to the number, but they do not agree about their Names, nor the Place of their Habitation, and they often confound them one with another.

However it is certain, that the Name of Sibyls was given to certain Women, who being transported with Enthusiasm (d) and an extravagant Fury, caused either through a violent Inflammation of Choler, or by the possession of Demons, pronounced divers obscure and enigmatical Sentences that passed among the Heathens for Oracles and Predictions. It is reported, that the Sibyl of Cuma wrote them on the Leaves of Trees (e), and that a Collection of them was offered by a certain Woman to Tarquinius (f) King of the Romans, who bought part thereof, which he caused carefully to be laid up in an Urn or Stone-Pot, and to be placed in the Capitol, having created Officers on purpose, whom he called *Dumviri*, whose Office it was to keep those Oracles with care, and to consult them upon urgent Occasions. The number of those that executed this Commission was by little and little encreased, for there were afterwards ten, and at last fifteen, constituted for this purpose; and very severe Punishments were inflicted on these persons, if they suffered the Books of the Sibyls to be seen. It is related by Dionysius Halicarnassæus, and Valerius Maximus, that one of these *Dumviri* was put to Death as a Parricide, that is to say, he was sow'd up alive in a Sack, and thrown into the Sea, for permitting some of the Sibylline Verses to be transcribed. These Books were thus preserved until the year 671, after the Foundation of Rome, which was the 83d before the Nativity of Jesus Christ. But the Capitol being burnt in that year, these Books were likewise consumed with the rest of the Ornaments of this Palace, as is observed by Dionysius Halicarnassæus, Pliny, and other Authors. When the Capitol was rebuilt, the Consuls made a Proposition to the Senate, to send Ambassadors into Greece to Erythrae, as also into Asia, to collect the Oracles of the Sibyls, and to transmit them

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uttered her Oracles at Tybur, near the River Anio now called *il Tevere*, at the bottom whereof it is reported, that her Statue was found holding a Book in her hand. Isidore hath followed the Catalogue of Lactantius, but Suidas reckons up twelve: Some with Pausanias, confound the Erythrean with the Delphick, the Phrygian, the Samian and the Colophonian. Others as Capella, and the Author de Mirab. Auscultat. joyn the Cuman, and the Erythrean. St. Justin makes no Distinction between the Babylonian and the Cuman; according to the Opinion of some, the Persick is the most ancient, others attribute the greatest Antiquity to the Cuman, and St. Clement to the Delphick.

(d) Transported with Enthusiasm.] We need only read the Description that is made by all the ancient Authors of the manner how the Sibyls uttered their Oracles: See Virgil in Æneid. Lucan. Claudian in Panegyrico Honorii Plutarch. de Orac. Pythie, &c. It was so evident among the Heathens, that they were possessed, that they applied the Word *σιβυλλῆς*, to signify, to play the Madman, Diod. Lib. 4. Now this fury that deprived them of their Senses, cannot be esteemed as an Inspiration of the Holy Ghost, but as an Effect of their being possessed with a Demon, and intoxicated with the Exhalations of inflamed Choler; for in my Opinion, it is an Imagination without any Ground to affirm with St. Jerome, that they received the Gift of Prophecy from God, in recompence of their Virginity.

(e) Wrote them on the Leaves of Trees.] Virgil. Æneid. 6. *Foliis tantum ne carmina manda.* Juvenal. *Credite me folium recitare Sibyllæ.*

(f) Was offered by a certain Woman to Tarquinius.] This History is recorded by many ancient Authors; some affirm, that those Books were presented to Tarquinius Superbus, and others, to Tarquinius Priscus. It is reported, that the Woman who brought them had Nine Volumes, which she offered to Sell at a dear Rate, but perceiving that Tarquin would not give her what she required, she burnt Three of them; that afterwards having demanded as much for the other Six, as she had done for the Nine, and being repulsed, she burnt Three more, when at last the King being astonished at her boldness, bought the Three that were left at the same Price that she had asked for the Nine. See Dionysius Halicarnassæus. Antiquit. Lib. 4. Aulus Gellius and Lactantius. Pliny reckons but Three Books instead of Nine; and affirms that Two of them were burnt.



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to Rome: Whereupon *Oetacilius Crassus*, and *L. Valerius Flaccus* were deputed to go unto *Attalus* King of *Per-gamus*, who brought out of *Asia* a thousand Verses attributed to the Sibyls, which they had gathered together throughout all the Parts of that Region from the Copies of divers private Persons. But forasmuch as there were many things therein that seemed to be false or superfluous, fifteen Men were appointed to revise and correct them, and after this Correction they were placed in the *Capitol* in the room of the others. In the time of *Augustus*, these Books were again reviewed, above two thousand Verses attributed to the Sibyls were burnt by the Command of this Emperor, and those that were allowed to be Genuine, were enclosed in two golden Boxes in the Temple of *Apollo*. Some are of opinion, that these Writings were burnt in the Conflagration of *Rome* under *Nero*, but they have not produced any convincing Proofs of this matter. However, it is certain, that as long as there were Pagan Emperors at *Rome* (g), the Oracles ascribed to the Sibyls were carefully preserved there, to which they had Recourse on all extraordinary and emergent Occasions, and *Julian* the Apostate designing to re-establish all the ancient Heathen Superstitions, caused the Sibylline Books to be diligently sought for, and consulted.

There are now extant many *Greek* Verses attributed to the Sibyls, which are divided into eight Books; but at present it is almost generally agreed throughout the whole World, that they are a fictitious Work, as the Time in which they were written (h), the Style (i), and the Things therein contained (k), do most clearly demonstrate. And if it be certain, that the eight Books, which we now have in our possession under the Name of the Sibyls, are counterfeit, it is no less true, that those that were in the hands of the Fathers, and which they cited, were equally spurious, and also that they were not much different from those that we have at this day; I affirm therefore, First, That the Books of the Sibyls, alledged by the Fathers, were not really those Sibylline Oracles that the *Romans* preserved, with so much Care; For besides that these last were so strictly kept, that a Copy of them could not be procured by any means whatsoever, much less common, as those were that are quoted by the Fathers, which were every where visible; it is plain, that they comprehended such matters as were altogether different from those that are usually found in the Writings of the Fathers. For in the former prophane Things were only comprised, concerning the Ceremonies of the Heathens, whereas the later were full of Predictions and Instructions relating to Christianity. The Books of the Sibyls were never consulted among the *Romans*, without extracting from them some Superstitions perfectly Pagan (l). They were informed therein, that they ought either to offer some sort of Sacrifice to the Gods, or to fasten a Nail in the *Capitol*, or to celebrate some

particular Games to the Honour of *Jupiter*. At another time it was found to be necessary to cause the Statue of *Aesculapius* to be brought to *Rome*, to erect a Temple to *Venus*, to offer Sacrifices to the Infernal Deities, and to appease the Heathen Gods with peculiar and extraordinary Solemnities. Lastly, Nothing was ever gathered from these Books, but Ceremonies that were absolutely prophane. On the contrary, the Fathers alledge nothing out of the Writings of the Sibyls, but what relates to the Christian Religion, and to the true Worship of God. Is there any probability, that these Prophetesses should have uttered Things so different, and that they should have taught in one and the same Book, the way of Worshipping the True God, and the greatest Superstitions of the Gentiles? Who can imagine that these Books, that were kept by the *Romans* to Authorize all their Superstitious Rites, and which they esteemed as the most sublime and refined part of their Religion, should contain far clearer Prophecies concerning *Jesus Christ*, than all that was ever declared by the *Jewish* Prophets? Moreover, not only the Books of the Sibyls that are now extant speak of our Saviour in such plain Expressions, as look more like a History than a Prophecy; But the same thing may be said of the Books cited by the Fathers, that comprehend the same Predictions, and even more distinct. For can there be a plainer Prediction concerning *Jesus Christ*, than the Verses produced by *Eusebius* in the Prayer attributed to *Constantine*?

There is but one God, who is also the Saviour;  
Who hath suffer'd for us;  
Who is mark'd out in these Verses.

The Acrostick quoted in the same place is not more obscure. Can any thing be spoken more expressly concerning the Creation of the World, the last Judgment, and the Life Everlasting, than what is produced by *Theophilus Antiochenus*, as proceeding from a Sibyl? All the other Sibylline Verses recited by the Fathers, are written almost after the very same manner on every particular Subject, and this obliged the Author of the *Exhortation to the Gentiles*, attributed to *St. Justin*, to affirm, that the Sibyl had foretold the Advent of *Jesus Christ* in clear and evident Terms, *Σαυῆς ἐπαγγελῆς*. Now what an absurdity is it to believe, that the Heathens, from whom God had concealed the Coming of his Son, and whom he suffered to walk in Darkness, should have more notable Prophecies among them, than all those of the *Jews*, to whose Custody he had committed the Sacred Writings, and to whom he had given the knowledge of the *Messiah*?

Moreover, this Argument might be urged farther, and it might be demanded from whence the Sibyls could receive the knowledge of the *Messiah*. It is alledged by some, that they were Inspired by God; and by others, that they took from the Holy Scripture, all that they uttered concerning Religion; but there is no probability

(g) As long as there were Pagan Emperors at Rome.] See *Dio* in *Tiberius* and *Nero*, *Spartian* in the Life of *Adrian*, *Julius Capitolinus* in that of *Gordian*, *Trebellius Pollio*, in that of *Gallienus*, and *Vopiscus* in that of *Aurelian*. *Aurelius Victor*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, Lib. 24. *Zozim*. Lib. 2. *Procop*. Lib. 1.

(h) As the time in which they were written.] It is certain, that the Sibyls were later than *Moses*, however the Author of this counterfeit Work affirms, that the Sibyl was in *Noah's Ark*, and nevertheless it is declared in Book III, that these Oracles were written 1500 years after the *Grecian* Empire was Established. Now after whatsoever manner this may be understood, it follows that all these Predictions concerning the *Jews* and *Moses*, are forged, since these 1500 years continue till the Destruction of *Jerusalem*. In Book V. we are informed by the Author, that he saw the second Ruin of the desirable House; which is plainly to be understood of the last Destruction of *Jerusalem*. He says in Book VIII. That after *Trajan*, intimated by the Letter T, one should Reign whose Name was to be taken from the *Adriatick* Sea, this is *Adrian*; and that after him Three should Govern at a time, that is to say, *Antoninus*, *Marcus* and *Lucius*, and that the last should obtain the Supreme Government, which shews that this was written at the beginning of the Reign of *Marcus Aurelius*, or at the end of that of *Antoninus*; for in regard that *Lucius* was the youngest, it was natural to foretel that he should live longest.

(i) The Style.] It appears, that he that counterfeited these Books, was not really transported with Enthusiasm, but only pretended to be so: The Verses of the Sibyls were obscure and without Order, whereas these are not very Irregular: The Affairs of the Emperors are therein Historically digested, and not after a Prophetical manner: The style contains nothing of that Impetuosity and Enthusiasm that is every where conspicuous in the Expressions of the Sibyls, neither is it like that of *Homer* who took many Verses from those Prophetesses, if we may believe *Diodorus*: Moreover the Author of these Sibylline Books was illiterate; for he derives the Name of *Adam* from *אדם*; in the Second Book he affirms, that the four Letters of his Name signify the four Quarters of the

World; tho' in Hebrew and Chaldee there are but three; he feigns that the Letters of the Name of God, Compose the Number 1697. which is not true, unless it be written in Greek after a Barbarous manner; from the Name of *JESUS*, which he makes to consist of four Vowels, and two Consonants, he extracts the Number of 888 years, and from that of *Rome* 948. He vouches the Fables of the *Titans*, as true Histories; Moreover he says, that the Mountain *Ararat* is in *Phrygia*; that the River *Eurotas* is in *Epirus*, and that *Gog* and *Magog* are *Ethiopians*, which shews that this Impostor was ignorant of the Hebrew Tongue, of Geography and History, which we cannot say of the Sibyl.

(k) And the things therein contained.] There are certain Principles in these Books, that were not imbibed by any but the ancient Christians; the Author is of the Opinion of the *Millenaries*, he believes *Nero* to be Anti-Christ, that the Souls of Men shall remain in Hell until the Resurrection, that the Fire of the Judgment shall serve instead of Purgatory, that the Terrestrial Paradise shall be preserved, and that at last the wicked shall be delivered from Hell fire: he likewise maintains divers other Opinions of the ancient Christians. Lastly, it cannot be doubted, but that the Accounts in these Books, of the Nativity, Life and Actions of *Jesus Christ*, have been taken from the History of the Evangelists: And indeed, the Prophets have said nothing that comes near the Plainness, that appears in the Books of the Sibyls. I shall omit many other Reasons.

(l) The Books of the Sibyls were never consulted among the *Romans*, without extracting from them some Superstitions perfectly Pagan.] See *Livy* in many places, *Varro*, de *Ling. Lat.* Lib. 5. *Cicero* in *Verrina ult.* *Tacitus* Lib. 15. *Suetonius* in *Jul.* Num. 97. *Plin.* Lib. 5. chap. 17. *Solyn.* *Polyhist.* Chap. 10. *Val. Maxim.* Lib. 1. Numb. 1, and 10. *Plutarch* in the Lives of *Publicola*, *Fabius* and *Marius*. *Pausanias* in *Phocæcis*. *Capitolinus* in *Gordiano*. *Trebellius Pollio* in *Gallienis*, and *Vopiscus* in *Aureliano* & *Floriano*. *Sext. Aurel. Victor* in *Claudio*. *Ammian.* *Marcellin.* Lib. 22, and 23. *Macrob.* *Saturnal.* Lib. 1. chap. 17.



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neither in the one nor the other Assertion; For what likelihood is there that God should inspire Sorceresses and Priestesses of false Gods, that deluded Mankind, to cause them to adore the *Demons* with which they were possessed? Or who can imagine, that God should make use of such Instruments to reveal his Mysteries so clearly to the World? And on the other side, how could they draw those Truths out of the *Old Testament*, that are but very obscurely expressed therein, and which the *Jews* themselves could scarcely understand?

It remains only for a more full demonstration of the falsity of the Sibylline Oracles that were used by the Fathers, to shew, that they differed very little from those that still bear the same Title. To evince this, it will be sufficient to observe, that excepting three or four Passages, all the others quoted by the ancient Authors, being very numerous, are expressed in equivalent Terms in the Sibylline Books that are read even at this day. Now the strongest Argument that can be alledged to prove that a Work is ancient, is, that those Passages that have been cited by the ancient Writers are found therein. Do we not frequently demonstrate the Antiquity of an infinite number of Books, only because a particular Passage recited by some ancient Author, is there to be found? Why then may it not be concluded after the same manner, that the Sibylline Books, tho' forged, are the same with those that were formerly extant? And this Proof is of so much the more force, because this may be urged not only against one single Passage, but very many, that are alledged by different Authors, and also because the Sibylline Oracles still remain in the same Language in which they were cited. Moreover it is not to be admired, that there are some Passages which are not found therein, and that there are others which are not Verbally expressed, because some places in these Books are wanting; and it hath been often observed, that the ancient Writers are not usually very exact in their Quotations, but adhere to the Sense rather than the Literal Expression. It might likewise be added, that all that is related by the ancient Fathers concerning the Books of the Sibyls that were heretofore in use, is conformable to these: The Author of the *Exhortation to the Gentiles* affirms, that the Style of the Sibylline Writings was not very polite; these are of the like nature; they were then reported to contain divers Anachronisms, and this Defect is also at present observable among them, They Treated concerning *Jesus Christ*, the last Judgment, Hell, &c. all these Things are in like manner comprised in those that we now have in our possession. Lastly, these last are very ancient, and belong to the time of the most ancient Fathers; for some Opinions may be found there, that could not be maintained but in the Primitive Ages of the Church: Such are the Errors of the *Millenaries*; That *Nero* is Anti-Christ; that the End of the World was near at hand; that it should happen in the time of *Antoninus*; that *Rome* should soon be destroyed 948 years after its Foundation, and many other Things that could never be asserted by later Christians, who would have been very far from admitting such Notions, when they were convinced of the falsity of these Predictions. Upon the whole matter it ought to be concluded, that the Books of the Sibyls were certainly forged in the Second Century, but it is difficult to determine the precise time, and by whom this was done; all that can be alledged as most probable is, that they began to appear about the end of the Reign of the Emperor *Antoninus Pius* (m).

M. Vossius in his last Book gives us an Hypothesis of the Sibylline Oracles somewhat different from this; he acknowledges that the ancient Writings of the Sibyls which were preserved until the burning of the *Capitol*, were entirely prophane, and differed from those that are cited by the Fathers; But he maintains, that among those that were brought from *Greece* by *Ocellus Crassus*, there were some Prophecies inserted that had been received from the *Jews*, who pretended that they were written by the Sibyls, in which the Coming of the *Messiah* was foretold, and that these were cited by the Fathers under the Name of *The Books of the Sibyls*, which Title was actually attributed to them.

This Hypothesis, which is well enough contrived, yet lies liable to many Difficulties; for first, the Collection of Oracles ascribed to the Sibyls, that was made after the burning of the *Capitol*, related no less to the *Pagan* Superstitions, than the ancient Verses ascribed to the Sibyl of *Cuma*. Secondly, Since the Predictions concerning *Jesus Christ*, expressed in the passages of the Sibylline

Books, and quoted by the Fathers, are clearer than those that were contained in the Prophecies of the *Jews*, there is no probability that they could proceed from any of that Nation. Lastly, the Doctrine comprised in the Books of the Sibyls, seems rather to be that of a Christian than of a *Jew*, since the Coming of *Jesus Christ* is therein manifestly foretold; the Resurrection of the Dead, the Last Judgment, and Hell Fire are expressly described in plain Terms; and mention is made of the *Millennium*, of the appearing of Anti-Christ, together with many other Things of the like nature, which could not be related, but by one that had been instructed in the Christian Religion. Therefore it is much more probable, that the Writings attributed to the Sibyls were forged by a Christian, than by a *Jew*.

However, none ought to be surprised that we reject those Books as supposititious, which have been quoted by the Ancients as real, and it must not be imagined, that we thereby condemn the Authority of the Fathers, or that we impugn the Truth; on the contrary, we should do an Injury to it, if we should endeavour to support it by false Proofs, especially when we are convinced of their Forgery. The Fathers are to be excused for citing the Sibylline Verses as true, because they had not examined them, and finding them published under the Name of the Sibyls, they really believed that they were theirs; but they that are certainly informed of the contrary, would be inexcusable if they continue to rely on such Testimonials, or refused ingenuously to confess what the Truth obliged them to own. And indeed it ought not to be admired, that the Fathers did not examine these Books critically; it is sufficiently known, that they wholly applied themselves to Matters of the greatest Consequence at that time, and that they often happened to be mistaken in prophane Histories, and to cite fictitious Books; such are the Works of *Hystaspes*, and *Mercurius Trimegistus*, which they almost always joyned with those of the Sibyls; as also the Acts of *Pilate*, Apocryphal Gospels, divers Acts of the Apostles, and a great number of other Records that have been undoubtedly forged.

But altho' the most part of the ancient Writers cited the Oracles of the Sibyls, yet there were even then many Christians that rejected them as Counterfeit, and could not be persuaded to approve the practice of those that made use of their Testimony, whom in derision they called by the Name of *Sibyllists*. This is attested by *Origen*, in his Fifth Book against *Celsus*: *Celsus* (says he) objects, that there are Sibyllists amongst us, perhaps, because he hath heard it reported, that there are some amongst us who reprove those that affirm, that the Sibyl is a Prophetess, and call them Sibyllists. St. *Augustine* hath likewise acknowledged the falsity of these pretended Oracles; and as often as he makes mention of them, he declares that he is not convinced of their Truth, particularly in *Lib. 18. c. 45. De Civit. Dei*. Were it not (says he) that it is affirmed, that the Prophecies that are produced under the Name of the Sibyls and others concerning *Jesus Christ*, were feigned by the Christians. And in cap. 47. It may be believed, that all the Prophecies relating to *Jesus Christ*, that are not contained in the Holy Scriptures, have been forged by the Christians: Wherefore there can be nothing more solid in confusing the Pagans, than to alledge those Prophecies that are taken from the Books of our Enemies.

But the Heathens (say they) doubted not of the truth of the Predictions of the Sibyls that were urged by the Fathers; they only put another sense upon them, nay they even proceeded so far as to own, that the Sibylline Verses foretold the Nativity of a certain new King, and a considerable Revolution. This is mentioned by *Tully* in divers places; moreover when *Pompey* took the City of *Jerusalem*, it was commonly reported, that the Sibyl had foretold, that Nature designed a King for the People of *Rome*; the Senate was likewise astonished at it, and by reason of this Prediction, refused to send a General, or an Army, into *Egypt*. *Lentulus* (according to the Testimony of *Cicero* and *Salust*) flatter'd himself, that he should become this King that was intimated by the Sibyl. Others have interpreted this Prophecy, with respect to *Julius Caesar* or *Augustus*, as is observed by *Cicero* and *Suetonius*. *Virgil*, in his Fourth Eclogue, produceth the Verses of the *Cuman* Sibyl, foreshewing the Birth of a new King that should descend from Heaven. In short, it is most certain, that the Gentiles acknowledged that the Books of the Sibyls were favourable to the Christians,

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(m) They began to appear about the end of the Reign of *Antoninus Pius*.] *Posssevinus* affirms, that these Books were written under the Reign of *Commodus*; but he is deceived in taking the Conflagration mentioned in Book V. for the Fire of the Temple of *Vesta*, that happened in the time of that Emperor; for the Temple of *Jerusalem* is to be understood in this place, which is called the *desirable House*, and the *Guardian Temple of God*. We have already shewn, that the Author had seen

*Lucius* and *Marcus*, but that he knew not the later Emperors. All the Fathers that have quoted the Sibylline Books, wrote either under the Reign of *Antoninus Pius*, or after that time, *Josephus* indeed and *Hermas* cite the Sibyls, but in general Terms, and there were possibly some Verses extant under their Names, even in the time of *Josephus*, who produceth one of them concerning the Tower of *Babel*, *Lib. 1. Ant. c. 5.*



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insomuch that the later were prohibited to read them, as appears from the Words of *Aurelian* to the Senate, recited by *Vopiscus*. I admire, (says he) *Gentlemen*, that you should spend so much time in consulting the Writings of the Sibyls, as if we were debating in an Assembly of Christians, and not in the principal place of the Roman Religion.

These Arguments seem to be very plausible, but if we examine them, we shall find that they contain nothing that is solid: The Pagans never submitted to the Authority of these Books of the Sibyls that were quoted by the Fathers; on the contrary it is manifest, that *Celsus* was persuaded that they were forged by the Christians; and *St. Augustine* plainly declares, that this was the general Opinion of all the Gentiles. The Sibylline Verses mentioned by *Tully* were *Paracrostick*s, that is to say, the first Verse of every Sentence comprehended all the Letters in order, that began the following Verses; now among all the Verses of the Sibyls, only those cited by *Constantine* are composed in *Acrosticks*. As for the Assertion, that in the time of *Pompey*, *Julius Cæsar*, and *Augustus*, there was a general report, that it was foretold in the Sibylline Books, that a new King should be born within a little while; we may easily reply with *Tully*, that the Verses attributed to the Sibyls by the Heathens were made after such a manner, that any sense whatsoever might be put upon them; and that, perhaps, mention might be made therein of a certain future King, as it is usual in this kind of Prophecies. Therefore when the Grandeur of *Pompey* began to be formidable to the Roman Empire, they thought it fit to make use of this pretence, to prevent him from going into *Egypt* with an Army. And *Lentulus*, to whom this Charge was committed, being Governour of *Syria*, vainly flattered himself with this Prediction, which might peradventure be further confirmed by the Prophecies of the *Jews*, who expected the Coming of the *Messiah*, believing that he ought to be their King.

Afterwards when it happened that *Julius Cæsar*, and *Augustus* after him, actually made themselves Masters of the Roman Empire, the Prophetical Expressions of the Sibyls were interpreted in their favour; neither was it necessary on this account, that they should clearly point at the Coming of *Jesus Christ*, as it is expressed in the Writings of the Sibyls that are alledged by the Fathers; but it was sufficient, that they mentioned a future King, which is the usual practice of all those that undertake to utter Predictions of extraordinary Events. This gave occasion to *Virgil*, who intended in his fourth Eclogue to compose Verses in Honour of *Pollio* his Patron, as also to extol *Augustus* at the same time, and to describe the Felicity of his Reign; this, I say, afforded him an opportunity to do it with greater Majesty, to make use of the name of the Sibyl, and to pronounce these Verses:

*Ultima Cumæi venit jam carminis ætas;  
Magnus ab integro sæclorum nascitur ordo:  
Jam nova progenies Cælo demittitur alto;  
Jam redit & Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna.*

By which nothing else is meant, but that at the Nativity of *Saloninus* the Son of *Pollio*, under the Consulate of his Father, and the Reign of the greatest Prince in the World, the Golden Age should return, as it was foretold by the Sibyl; That Plenty and Peace should flourish throughout the whole Universe, and that the Virgin *Astræa*, the Goddess of Justice, who had abandoned the Earth at the beginning of the Iron-Age, should descend again from Heaven: What is there in all this, that resembles the Prophecies concerning *Jesus Christ*? Or rather, what is there that is not altogether prophane, and feigned by an

(n) Surnamed *Trismegistus*.] In Greek *Τριμυσις*, the Egyptians call him *Thaaut*; some affirm, that he was styled *Trismegistus* by the Grecians, because he was a great King, a great Priest, and a great Philosopher; others as *Lactantius*, that his Name was attributed to him, by reason of his incomparable Learning.

(o) Mentioned by the most ancient Pagan Writers.] *Plato* in *Phædrus* declares, that he invented the Characters of Letters together with Arts and Sciences. *Cicero* in lib. 3. de *Natura Deorum* assures us, that he governed the Egyptians, and that he gave them Laws and found out the Characters of their Writings; It is recorded by *Diodorus Siculus*, that he taught the Grecians the Art of discovering the Secrets of the Mind. And we are informed by *Jamblichus*, who quotes *Manetho* and *Seleucus*, that he wrote above Thirty five thousand Volumes. *St. Clemens Alexandrinus* in *Stromat.* lib. 6. makes mention of Forty two Books of this Author, and gives an Account of the Subject of some of them. The Works of *Mercurius Trismegistus*, are cited as favourable to the Christian Religion by the Author of the *Exhortation to the Gentiles*, said to be *St. Juslin*, by *Lactantius*, in the fourth Book of his *In-*

Heathen Poet, who only makes use of the Sibyl's Name to flatter the Ambition of *Augustus*, and to add greater Authority and Lustre to that which he says in his Commendation? Lastly, the Words of *Aurelian* do not intimate that the Christians were forbidden by the Pagans to read the Sibylline Books, but only that the Christians looked upon them as prophane Writings, which in no wise related to their Religion, and to which they gave no Credit.

THE Books that are attributed to *Hyslaspes* and *Mercurius Trismegistus*, and cited likewise by the ancient Fathers are not more Genuine than the Verses of the Sibyls. There is nothing now extant of *Hyslaspes*, and this Author was altogether unknown to the ancient Heathens; but the same thing cannot be said of *Mercurius Surnamed Trismegistus* (n), who is mentioned by the most ancient Pagan Writers (o) as an incomparable Person, and an Inventor of all the Liberal Arts and Sciences. He was an Egyptian, and more ancient than all the Authors, whose Works are still extant: He is believed to be as old as *Moses*; he either wrote, or at least it is said that he wrote, Twenty five, or Thirty Thousand Volumes. But we have only two Dialogues at present under his Name, one whereof is called by the Name of *Pæmander*, and the other of *Asclepius*, who are the principal Speakers. The first Treatise is concerning the Will of God, and the second treats of the Divine Power; these have been cited by the ancient Fathers, to prove the Truth of our Religion, by the Authority of so famous an Author. But it is certain that they cannot be his (p), for the Author of these Treatises is a modern Platonic Christian, who argues from the Principles of that Philosophy, and hath taken from the Holy Scripture, that which he writ concerning the Word of God, and the Creation of the World.

IT were needless to shew the falsity of a Letter attributed to *Lentulus*, and directed to the Senate and People of *Rome*, concerning the Actions of *Jesus Christ*, since the Forgery is apparent: It is pretended to have been written by *Lentulus*, as Governour of *Jerusalem*, altho' he never was so; the Superscription thereof is inscribed To the Senate and People of *Rome*; whereas ever since there were Emperors, it was the general Custom among the Governours of *Provinces* to write immediately to them: Moreover the Contents of this Letter are ridiculous, there is a mean and unworthy Description of the Person of *Jesus Christ*; as particularly it is said, that his Hair was of a light Colour, long and loose after the manner of the *Nazarenes*; the style is also very far from the Purity and Elegancy of the Age wherein *Augustus* lived. In short, this Letter is not so much as mentioned by any of the ancient Writers.

THE Letter of *Pilate* to *Tiberius* on the same Subject, concerning the Miracles of *Jesus Christ* seems to be more Authentick; for it is recorded by *Tertullian* in his *Apologetic*, that *Tiberius* being informed of the supernatural and wonderful Operations, that were performed by our Saviour in *Palestine*, which were so many Testimonies of his Divinity, made report thereof to the Senate, and determined, that he ought to be enrolled among the Gods; but that the Senate having rejected this Proposition, *Tiberius*, nevertheless persisted in his Opinion, and forbade his Subjects to persecute the Christians. It is added, a little after by the same Author, that *Pilate* being a Christian in his Heart, wrote to *Tiberius* concerning the Resurrection of *Jesus Christ*. *Eusebius* in the second Book of his History Chap. 2. produceth this pas-

sage, by *St. Clement*, in Lib. 1. *Stromat.* by *St. Augustine*, in *Tract. de 5. Hæres.* and in Lib. 8. *De Civit. Dei*, ch. 23. by *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, in Lib. 1. *contra Julianum*, and by many others.

(p) But it is certain that they cannot be his.] The Eternity and Divinity of the Word is clearly explained in the *Pæmander*, and the Author of this Book attributes to the Son, the Quality of being Consubstantial with the Father; he declares, that he is the Son of God our God, who proceeds from the Intellect of the Father, and he makes use of the very words of the Septuagint, in describing the Creation of the World: he discourseth of the Fall of the first Man. In short, he copies out several passages of the Old and New Testament and follows the Principles of the Modern Platonic Philosophy. But the Book Entituled *Asclepius* hath not quite so great a Tincture of Christianity: The Author treats therein of Idolatry after an exquisite manner; he explains the Greek Word *εἰδωλόν*, he transcribes many things out of the Holy Scriptures, and the Works of the Grecian Writers: Lastly, he foretels the Extirpation of the Egyptian Religion.



Pilate's  
Letter.

sage of *Tertullian*, and giving a large Account how the fame of our Saviour was spread abroad, and came to the Ears of *Tiberius*, he says, that *Pilate* sent a Letter to the Emperor, according to the usual Custom of the Governours of *Provinces*, who were obliged to give an account of the most remarkable Occurrences that happened within their Jurisdiction, and that he wrote to him concerning the Resurrection of Jesus Christ, avouching that he had been informed of his Miracles by many, and that a great number of People esteemed him as a God, after he rose again from the Dead. We find in the *Orthodoxographa*, after the Epistle of *Leontulus* another attributed to *Pilate* and directed to *Tiberius*, wherein the same things are contained. But it is difficult to determine whether this Letter was extant in the time of *Ensebius*, or afterwards forged from his Story. However, there are divers learned Men, that doubt of the Truth of this History, which hath but very little probability in its Foundation; for what likelihood is there that *Pilate* should transmit these things in writing to *Tiberius*, relating to a Man whom he had condemned to death? And altho' he had written them, is it credible that *Tiberius* should have made a Proposition to the Senate, for the admitting this Person into the number of the Gods upon the bare report of a Governour? And if he had propounded it, who can doubt but that the Senate would have immediately submitted to his Judgment? Therefore, tho' this Relation cannot be absolutely charged with Falshood, yet it ought at least to be accounted as dubious. [Dr. *Pearson* late Bishop of *Chester* in his Lectures upon the Acts of the Apostles (p. 64, 65.) vindicates the Truth of this Story against the Objections of *Tanaquil Faber* so fully, that I shall set down his Reasons at large: And 1. He says, that *Tertullian* might have taken his Information from the Acts of the Senate, wherein the Votes and Acts of every day were constantly set down. 2. He observes from *Suetonius*, that *Tiberius* acquainted the Senate with every thing that he was informed of, whether publick or private, of great or of little concern. 3. He observes that *Tiberius* often took no notice when the Senate decreed things against his own Opinion; and this also is expressly affirmed by *Suetonius*. 4. The Senate refused to rank Jesus Christ amongst the Gods out of a complement to *Tiberius*, who had before refused Divine Honours, Commanding that no Statues of his should be erected in their Temples, unless for Ornament; they might probably therefore suspect that this was proposed by *Tiberius*, who never spoke his mind plainly in any thing, to ensnare them, who could not attribute those Honours to any Body else which *Tiberius* had forbidden to be paid to himself, without making that Person greater than *Tiberius*. 5. It is not probable that *Pontius Pilate* should neglect so remarkable a thing, as the Crucifixion and Resurrection of Jesus Christ, when all the Governours of particular Provinces were obliged to send relations of every one that was considerable under their Governments to the Emperors who sent them: And the Question is not, as *Faber* misunderstood it, whether the Christians then made any considerable Figure in the World; but whether upon *Pilate's* transmitting an Account to *Tiberius*, of the Death and Resurrection of Jesus Christ at *Jerusalem*, when he was Procurator of *Judea*, the Emperor did not propose to the Senate that this Jesus Christ might be ranked amongst the Gods; which being positively asserted by *Tertullian*, cannot be disproved by any

(q) *Are not written according to the style of St. Paul, nor in that of Seneca.*] The Style of those that are attributed to *Seneca* is barbarous and full of Words that are scarce Latin. The Epistles ascribed to *St. Paul*, do not suit with the Gravity of this Apostle, and contain Complements rather than solid Instructions.

(r) *As Tacitus informs us.*] He informs us, that of Fourteen quarters of the City of *Rome*, there remained but Four entire; that there were Three, the Houses whereof were wholly consumed; that very little was left in the other Seven, and that those that were left were half burnt.

(s) *The Date of these Letters is false.*] One of them is dated under the Consulate of *Aprianus* and *Capito*, that is, *Vipsianus* and *Capito*, Five Years before the burning of *Rome*, and the other under the Consulate of *Phrygius* and *Bassus*. But it was under the Consulate of *Lecanius Bassus*, and *Licinius Crassus*, that this Fire happened: And the Letter is dated in *March*, whereas the Fire did not begin (according to the report of *Tacitus*) till May following.

(t) *They contain nothing that is worthy of Seneca or of St. Paul.*] There is scarcely one Moral Notion in those of *Seneca*, or one Christian Precept in those of *St. Paul*.

(u) *In a Matter of so little moment.*] It is certain, that the Fathers have often cited Apocryphal and counterfeit Books, as we have already shewn; *Natalis Alexander* himself the Author of the Opinion, which we now confute, Confesses it,

Negative Arguments that may at this time of day be brought against it.

But tho' these Reasons which are urged by this great Man against *Tanaquil Faber*, sufficiently vindicate the Truth of *Tertullian's* Authority in this Matter; yet that is no Argument why the Epistle that goes under *Pilate's* Name should be Genuine. *Pilate* sent this Account of Jesus Christ in the Acts of his Administration, not in a particular Letter to the Emperor. The Acts are quoted by *Justin Martyr*, *Ensebius*, *Epiphanius*, and *St. Chrysostome*, and this Letter was made in all probability when the Original Acts were lost.]

BUT we have reason to reject the Thirteen Epistles, as well those of *Seneca* to *St. Paul*, as the others of *Seneca* to *St. Paul* to *Seneca*, as undoubted Forgeries; altho' *St. Paul*, *Jerome* and *St. Augustine* seem to own them as Authentick. For (1) These Epistles are not written according to the Style of *St. Paul*, nor in that of *Seneca* (q). 2. It is declared therein, that in the Fire that happened in *Rome* under *Nero*, there were only 132 Houses burnt, which is a manifest Falshood, since it is certain, that a great part of the City was consumed as *Tacitus* informs us (r). 3. The Date of these Letters is false (s). 4. They contain nothing that is worthy of *Seneca*, or of *St. Paul* (t). Lastly, it may be easily discerned, that they were feigned by some Persons, merely to gratifie their Fancy, and to exercise their Faculty of Invention.

A late Author acknowledging, that the Epistles extant at this day under the Name of *Seneca* to *St. Paul*, and of *St. Paul* to *Seneca* are counterfeit, and yet not daring to affirm, that *St. Jerome* and *St. Augustine*, who believed them to be Genuine were deceived, hath imagined that the real Letters of *St. Paul* to *Seneca*, and of *Seneca* to *St. Paul* were lost since their time; and that those that we now have in our Possession, were substituted in their room. But besides that the respect that we have for these two Fathers, ought not to hinder us from believing, that they might be mistaken in a matter of so little moment (u): it is also to be observed, that they do not positively assert, that those Epistles were Authentick, but only that they were generally reputed to be so (x); and that they were read under their Names: Moreover it might be easily demonstrated, that the Letters which remain in our hands at present, and those that were extant in the time of *St. Jerome*, are the same, for he declares that *Seneca* wished in one of his Epistles, to be among his Followers, what *St. Paul* was among the Christians, which bears a great Analogy with what we find in the 11th Letter of *Seneca* to *St. Paul* (y). It is not known, when or by whom these Epistles were forged, and it is difficult to determine, whether it were on their Account, that there is this passage in the false Acts of the Passion of *St. Linus*, that *Seneca*, and *St. Paul* wrote divers Letters one to another; or whether the Narrative of this Author, gave the hint to those that forged these Letters, as *Cardinal Baronius* conjectures.

Lastly, among all the prophane Monuments that might be quoted for the Confirmation of the Truth of the Christian Religion, none seems to be more considerable than this passage of *Josephus*, taken from Book 18. chap. 4. of his *Jewish Antiquities*, wherein he declares: That, at that time there was a wise Man named JESUS, (if we may only call him a Man; for he wrought many Miracles,

and on the very same Account rejects the Epistle of Jesus Christ to *Agbarus*, and that of *Agbarus* to Jesus Christ, that are more Authorized by the ancient Writers than those Letters of *Seneca*.

(x) *But only that they were generally reputed to be so.*] *St. Jerome* in *Catalog*. I reckon *Seneca* in the number of Ecclesiastical Authors, by reason of certain Letters which are read by many under the Name of *Seneca* to *St. Paul*, and of *St. Paul* to *Seneca*. *St. Aug. Ep. 14.* now the 153. *Seneca* of whom certain Letters are read written to *St. Paul*. But in *Lib. de Civit. Dei*, Chap. 11. He declares that *Seneca* neither commended nor censured the Christians, and that he hath made no mention of them; therefore he did not believe that these Letters were his.

(y) *Which bears a great Analogy with that which we find in the 11th Letter of Seneca to St. Paul.*] According to *St. Jerome*; *Optare se dicit servus ejus esse loci apud suos, cujus sit Paulus apud Christianos.* In the 11th Letter of *Seneca* we find the following Expression. *Cum sis vertex, & Altissimorum montium cacumen haud te indignum in prima facie Epistolarum nominandum censeas---nam qui meus tuus apud te locus, qui tuus velim ut meus.* If *apud tuos* were put instead of *apud te*, these words would express *St. Jerome's* Sense; and they seem not to be capable of admitting any other; however it is evident, that he alludes to this place.



and taught the truth to those that received it with a Passage, joy,) who had a great number of Disciples, as well among the Jews as the Gentiles; that he was the CHRIST, and that being accused by the chief of his Nation, he was crucified by Pilate's Order: That nevertheless, he was not abandoned by those that loved him, because he had appeared unto them alive on the Third day, as was foretold by the Prophets, and that he was the Author of the Sect of the Christians, which remains at this day.

This Testimony of *Josephus* is produced by *Eusebius*, *St. Jerome*, and several others after them, as a Record very important for the establishing of the Christian Faith; but in these later times, when Matters began to be examined more accurately, there have been, and there are even at present many learned Men, who maintain that this passage doth not really belong to *Josephus*, and it must be Confessed, that their Conjectures are not altogether to be disallowed, for they affirm,

1. That the style is intricate, not very fluent, and different from that of *Josephus*, whose Expressions are generally clear and elegant.

2. That it is evident, that this passage was inserted afterwards into the Text of *Josephus*; because the Coherence of the following Sentence is interrupted; for immediately after the end thereof, we read, *About that time the Jews began to be afflicted again, with another Calamity*, words that have no manner of Relation to what went before, concerning our Saviour: but which manifestly appertain to the Account of the Massacre of the Jews, whom *Pilate* had caused to be slain in *Jerusalem*, that came just before this passage concerning Jesus Christ; which plainly shews (say they) that it doth not belong to *Josephus*, and that it hath been afterwards added.

3. They argue, that in case this passage were taken separately, yet even then it might be easily perceived, that those are the words of a Christian, and not of a Jew; since Jesus Christ is therein called God, his Miracles and Resurrection is acknowledged, and it is declared, that these things were foretold by the Prophets; How can it be imagined that this should proceed from a Jew, especially *Josephus*, who seems to doubt of the Miracles recorded in the Books that were written by Hebrew Authors?

4. What probability is there, that *Josephus* a Person extremely addicted to the Interest of his own Nation, should speak so honourably of Jesus Christ, whom he did not believe to be the *Messiah*, (as is observed by *Origen* in his Book against *Celsus*) and that he should accuse his Country-men, as having unjustly put him to Death?

5. *Josephus* describing in the same Book, *Chap. 8.* the Martyrdom of *St. James*, declares, that he was the Brother of Jesus Christ; now if he had made mention of him

in some of his preceding Chapters, he would not have failed to take notice thereof, or at least, he would in this place have added somewhat in his Commendation.

6. This Testimony (say they) is not only unknown to the Authors that lived before the time of *Eusebius*; but *Origen* expressly denies, that *Josephus* wrote any thing concerning our Saviour; It is very strange, (says he in *Tom. 2. in Matth.*) That *Josephus* who did not acknowledge Jesus Christ as the *Messiah*, should give so Authentick a Testimony concerning the Innocency of *St. James*. Would he have spoken to this effect, if there had been in his time so remarkable an Evidence of the Divinity of Jesus Christ in the Works of *Josephus*, as that which is now extant therein? *Theodoret* hath also observed, that *Josephus* knew not our Saviour. But nothing is more considerable than the silence of *Photius* as to this Matter, who making an exact Epitome of the Books of *Josephus*, takes no notice of this passage concerning Jesus Christ, which he would not have omitted, if it had been then found in all the Copies of the Writings of *Josephus*, and if he had believed that it was written by him.

Lastly, that which deserves a more particular Reflection is, that it is remark'd by *Photius* in another place, that there was extant in his time a Book concerning the Universe attributed to *Josephus*, which he judged to be fictitious, in regard that Jesus Christ is too honourably mentioned therein, and he adds afterwards, that he hath been since informed that this Book was written by *Cains* a Priest of *Rome*; Perhaps this passage, which is at present in his *Antiquities*, was taken from this *Cains*, who bore the Name of *Josephus*.

*Huetius* replies to these Testimonies of *Origen*, *Theodoret* and *Photius*, that these Authors happened to meet with certain Manuscripts of *Josephus*, in which this passage had been struck out by the Jews: But this Answer seems rather to weaken its Authority; for if there were ancient Manuscripts, wherein it was not expressed, we have yet more reason to doubt of its Veracity; and the Arguments that have been already produced sufficiently shew, that it is more probable, that it hath been added in some Manuscripts by the Christians, than left out in others by the Jews. However, I shall not undertake to decide this Question, but shall leave it to the Judgment of the Reader to determine; whether the Authority of *Eusebius*, *St. Jerome*, and all the Manuscripts of *Josephus* that we have at present in our Possession, ought to be preferred before the above-cited Conjectures of the learned, the general Testimonies of *Origen*, *Theodoret* and *Photius*, and perhaps some ancient Manuscripts of *Josephus*, that are long since lost.

## HERMAS.

HERE are Three things to be examined in this Book of the *Pastor*, attributed to *Hermas*, which is one of the most famous Books of Antiquity (a). 1. Who is the Author thereof? 2. Whether it be Canonical or not? 3. Whether it be a useful Book; as also, whether it deserves the Esteem and Reputation that it formerly had?

The first Question may be easily determined. It bears the Name of *Hermas*, and all the ancient Writers have

(a) ONE of the most famous Books of Antiquity.] The Book of *Hermas* entitled the *Pastor*, hath been admitted by many Churches as Canonical. *St. Irenaeus* cites it under the Name of Scripture, *Lib. 4. chap. 3.* Bene ergo pronuntiavit Scriptura quae dicit primo omnium crede, quoniam unus est Deus, &c. This Passage is found in the *Pastor*, *Lib. 2. Mand. 1.* *Clemens Alexandrinus* produceth several other Expressions, as taken from a Book of great Authority, *Lib. 1. Stromat. p. 311*, and *356. Lib. 2. p. 360, 379, 384, and 385. Lib. 4. p. 503. Lib. 6. p. 679.* It is likewise cited by *Origen* as a Book of Holy Scripture, *Homil. 10. in Ios. Homil. 1. in Psal. 37. Homil. 13. in Ezek. Lib. 1. Regi Agg. c. 3. Lib. 2. c. 1. Lib. 2. in Matth. c. 4. 42. 1. 1. Comment. in Joannem, Lib. 10. in Ep. ad Rom.* where he declares, that the same *Hermas* mentioned in this place of the Epistle of *St. Paul*, is the Author of the *Pastor*, item in *Oseam*, *Philocal. c. 8.* Although he observes in other places, that it was not generally received in *Homil. 8. in Numb. Lib. 4. Regi Agg. Philocal. c. 2. and Homil. 35. in Luc.* It is reported by *Eusebius*, *Lib. 3. ch. 3.* that some reckoned it among the Canonical Writings, and others in the number of good Ecclesiastical Books that were necessary for new Converts, *Lib. 3. c. 25.* He placeth it amongst the A-

cited it under this Name; it appears likewise from the Antiquity thereof, that it might possibly be written by that *Hermas*, whom *St. Paul* salutes at the end of his Epistle to the *Romans*. *Origen*, *Eusebius* and *St. Jerome* have made no difficulty of asserting it; however, it cannot be doubted, but that the Author of this Book was called *Hermas*, and that the Name of *Hermes* hath been attributed to him by some Authors through a mistake, which gave occasion to certain Modern Writers, to as-

pocryphal Books, and observes, *Lib. 5. c. 8.* that it is quoted by *St. Irenaeus*. *St. Athanasius* cites it in *Lib. de Incarnat. Verbi*, and in *Lib. de Decret. Synodi Nicanae*, p. 252. *Edit. Paris. 266.* where he expressly declares, that it is not included in the Canon. He quotes it again in his Epistle to the Bishops of *Phrygia*, p. 396. and in his Paschal Epistle he inserts it in the Catalogue of Books that are not Canonical. *St. Jerome*, in *Lib. de Scriptoribus*, affirms, that it is a useful Book, but almost unknown to the Latins. In his Prologue, he placeth it in the rank of Books that are not Canonical. In *Comment. in Hoseam*, c. 7. v. 9. he cites it, adding these words, *Si cui tamen placet ejus recipere Lectionem.* In his first Book on *Habakkuk*, ad c. 1. v. 14. he calls it *Apocryphal*, and finds fault with a foolish Thought in the Book. *Ruffinus* on the Creed, reckons it among the Ecclesiastical Books, though not Canonical. It is cited by *Cassian. Collat. 8. c. 12, 13, and 17.* And *St. Prosper* rejects it as a Book of no Authority, *Ut nullius Autoritatis, contra Collat. c. 30.* *Gelasius* inserts it in the List of Apocryphal Books. And lastly, *Maximus* cites it in *Lib. 4. De divinis nominibus*. This shews, that notwithstanding its various fortune, it hath been always very famous.



*Hermas.* **H**ermas. I (b). But this Imagination is sufficiently refuted by the Testimony of all the ancient Fathers, who constantly call him *Hermas*, besides the Author of this Book was a Greek, and his Writings were more known amongst the Greeks, than the Latins, as is observed by St. Jerome, which would not have happened, if it had been Composed by the Brother of Pope Pius.

As for the Authority of this Book, it is certain that it hath been heretofore received in many Churches as Canonical, and that St. Irenæus, St. Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, and even Tertullian in *Lib. de Oratione*, cite it as a part of Holy Scripture; nevertheless it cannot be doubted, that it hath been rejected by divers other Churches, (c) and esteemed only as a Treatise, that might be used to very good purpose for the Edification of Christians: But there have been very few ancient Authors, that have not set a high Esteem on this Book, and it hath been almost always cited by the Fathers, as a Work of great Authority (d).

It hath not been so much valued by Modern Authors, and there are very few at present that commend it; or that have the same regard to it, as those that lived in the primitive Ages of the Church. And indeed, if we may judge by the Method according to which it is written, and by the things therein contained, it doth not seem to deserve much Esteem. The First part Entituled the *Visions* is full of many Revelations, that are explained to *Hermas* by a Woman representing the Church; they all relate to the State of the Church, and the manners of the Christians. The Second part which is most useful, is

(b) To ascribe this Book to one *Hermes*, the Brother of Pope Pius I.] The Author of *Damasus's* Pontifical, *Regino*, the Author of the Letter of Pope Pius I. and some other modern Writers, are in this Error, and they seem to have taken it from the Author of the Poem against *Marcion*, who affirms, that *Hermas*, who wrote this Book, was the Brother of Pius; *Post hunc deinde Pius, Hermas cui Germine frater Angelicus Pastor cui tradita verba locutus.* But he calls him, *Hermas* and not *Hermes*; It is true indeed, that we find in the Version of Origen *Πῆγι Ἀγξων* made by *Ruffinus*, *Lib. 1. c. 3.* and *Lib. 4. c. 2.* *Hermes* instead of *Hermas*; but it is a fault of the Transcriber, for in the Greek Text of the last Fragment that is extant of the *Philocalia*, it is read *Hermas*, and not *Hermes*; and *Ruffinus* himself in other places calls him *Hermas*. Moreover all the ancient Writers, as St. Clement, Tertullian, Origen, Eusebius, St. Jerome, and others above-mentioned, always call him *Hermas*, and never *Hermes*. *Baronius* and some others distinguish two Books, one written by *Hermes* the Brother of Pius, which Treated of *Easter*, and the other by our *Hermas*; but since they ground their Opinion only on the Authority

called the *Ordinances*, wherein are comprized divers Precepts of Morality, and pious Instructions, which the Pastor or Angel of *Hermas* prescribes to him. The Third Part is called *The Similitudes*, because it begins with several *Similes* or Comparisons, and concludes with Visions. These three Books comprehend very many Moral Instructions concerning the Practice of Christian Virtues; but the great number of Visions, Allegories, and Similitudes, make them tedious, and all these Moral Truths would, in my opinion, have been more useful, if the Author had propounded them simply, as the Apostles have done in their Epistles.

We have lost the Original Greek Text of these three Books; and there remains only a Version which is printed in the *Orthodoxographia*, as also in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, and hath been likewise published separately by *Barthius*, and lastly by *Cotelierius*, together with the Greek Fragments extracted from ancient Authors. It is not known when, nor by whom this Translation was composed; some attribute it to *Ruffinus*; and others affirm, that it was made in the Primitive Ages of Christianity, when the Writings of *Hermas* were not altogether unknown to the Latins. However it be, this Version is not amiss, since it exactly agrees with the Greek Passages cited by St. Clement, Origen, Antiochus, and some other ancient Writers.

[There have been other Editions of *Hermas's* Pastor, besides these which Mr. Du Pin mentions: It was first published by *Jacobus Faber* at *Paris*, 1513. Then at *Strasbourg*, 1522. And it was lately published from two MS. Copies at *Oxon*, with short Notes in 120. A.D. 1685.]

of modern Writers, in attributing a Book to this pretended *Hermes*, a Person unknown to all Antiquity, their Conjecture seems to be without any probability.

(c) It cannot be doubted, that it hath been rejected by divers other Churches.] Origen acknowledgeth, that it was Thrown out of the Canon of Holy Scripture by many Christians; Tertullian, in *Lib. de Pudicitia*, replies to certain Persons, who objected it to him, that this Book was rejected by divers Orthodox Churches. Eusebius, St. Athanasius, St. Jerome, and Ruffinus above-cited, reckon it among those Writings that are not Canonical, yet such as may be useful for the Instruction of Christians; and Gelasius placeth it amongst the Apocryphal Books.

(d) It hath been cited as a Book of great Authority.] Tertullian censures it, but after he turned Montanist, Origen observes that it was contemned by some Christians, but that he had a great Esteem for it. St. Jerome in one place accuseth it of Nonsense, but in others he commends it. St. Prosper throws it aside as a Book of no Authority; but it was because he scarce knew it.

## St. CLEMENS ROMANUS.

*St. Clement Romanus.* **S**T. Clement the Disciple, and Coadjutor of the Apostles (a), was ordained Bishop of Rome after St. Anacletus (b), in the year of our Lord 93. Divers Books are attributed to him, some of which are really his, others are ancient tho' supposititious, and others are both counterfeit and modern: And indeed we can only reckon among those that were certainly composed by this Bishop the two Epistles to the Corinthians, the first whereof, so famous among the ancient Authors (c), was undoubtedly written by him. Irenæus Book 3. chap. 8. speaks thus. *In the time of St. Clement, (says he) upon occasion of a great Division that happened in the Church of CORINTH, the Church of Rome wrote a very pathetic Letter to the Corinthians, to restore them to Peace, wherein she strengthens their Faith, and preacheth those Traditions that they had lately received from the Apostles.* This Epistle which is cited by St. Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, Eusebius, St. Jerome, and Photius, was for a long time concealed, until at length Mr. Patrick Young having

found it in an ancient Manuscript (d), caused it to be printed at *Oxford*, Anno Dom. 1633.

After the Holy Scriptures, it is in my opinion one of the most eminent Records of Antiquity. St. Clement, therein exhorts the Faithful of the Church of Corinth, that was in a Disturbance by the revolt of some Christians, who refused to submit to their lawful Pastors, he exhorts them, I say, to a Re-union, and to seek after Peace; particularly he admonisheth them to persevere in the Obedience and Submission that they owed to their Spiritual Guides, he censures those that disturbed the Church, and that promoted secret Cabals against their Ministers on purpose to supplant them; He begins with putting them in mind of the Happiness of that Peace which they had formerly enjoyed; afterwards he represents to them the misfortune of their present Divisions, and proceeds to shew by many Examples, what lamentable Consequences have always attended it, and how displeasing it is to God: Moreover he adviseth them to repent,

(a) ST. Clement the Disciple and Coadjutor of the Apostles.] This is the same Clement whom St. Paul mentions, *Phil. 4. v. 3.* reckoning him in the number of those that had laboured together with him in propagating the Gospel, and that had assisted him in his Ministry; With Clement also, and with other my Fellow Labourers, whose Names are in the Book of Life.

(b) Was ordained Bishop of Rome after St. Anacletus.] He is reputed by St. Irenæus, Eusebius, and other ancient Writers, to have been the third Bishop of Rome, tho' some affirm, that he was the immediate Successor of St. Peter; but it is better in my opinion to adhere to St. Irenæus.

(c) So famous among the ancient Authors.] St. Irenæus hath cited it, *Lib. 3. chap. 3.* St. Clemens Alex. *Lib. 1. Stromat. p. 289.* and *Lib. 4. p. 516.* *Lib. 5. p. 686.* *Lib. 6. p. 647.* Origen,

*Lib. 2. Πῆγι Ἀγξων*; chap. 3. In *Joan. 1. chap. 29.* Euseb. *Lib. 3. chap. 16.* and 36. *Lib. 4. chap. 22.* and 23. St. Cyril *Catech. 18.* Epiph. *Hæres. 27. N. 7.* Hieron. in *Lib. de Viris illustribus*, and *Lib. adversus Jovin. c. 7.* Comment. in *Isaiam*, *Lib. 14. chap. 52. vers. 13.* Comment. in *Ep. ad Ephes. Lib. 1. chap. 2. v. 2.* *Lib. 2. ad chap. 4. vers. 1.* Autor. Resp. ad *Orthodox. apud Just. Quæst. 74.* Photius, *Cod. 113.*

(d) In an ancient Manuscript.] It is called *The Manuscript of Thecla*, because it was written with the hand of an ancient Virgin called *Thecla*, who lived, (as is generally believed) in the time of the first Council of Nice. These Epistles have been since printed in the Collection of *Cotelierius*, in *Labbe's* Edition of the Councils, and at *Helmstadt* in the year 1654. [As also at *Oxford* in 1677.]



in practising Humility, Obedience, and Charity, in imitation of the Humility of *Jesus Christ*, and the Mercy of God, through the Hope of a Resurrection: From thence he takes an occasion to recommend to the Faithful the Practice of many Christian Virtues, and the Observation of a Regular Discipline: He declares to them, that it was very ill done to rise up against the Pastors and Bishops that were Constituted by the Apostles, or Elected by the Faithful after their Death: He aggravates the heinousness of their Crime that were the first promoters of this Division, and earnestly solicits them to return to their Duty by obeying their Ministers, and by reuniting themselves with the rest of the Believers. Thus you have an account of the Subject of this Epistle written by St. Clement in the name of the Church of Rome to that of Corinth, about the end of the Persecution raised by the Emperor Domitian. The Style thereof (says Photius) is simple and clear, and it comes very near the natural and artless manner of Expression used by the ancient Ecclesiastical Authors. I shall add, that one may discern a great deal of Energy and Vigour, accompanied with much Prudence, Gentleness, Zeal, and Charity.

The second Epistle of St. Clement is not so certainly known to be his; Eusebius, St. Jerome, and Photius observe, that there is reason to doubt of its being Genuine, because it is not mentioned by the ancient Writers; nevertheless some of the Fathers have cited both these Epistles, as if they were of equal Authority (e). The Fragment that is now extant of this last Letter published in Latin by Wendelinus, and in Greek by Mr. Young, is an Exhortation to the Practice of Repentance, and of divers Christian Virtues on the account of the Mercy of God, and the Reward that is promised to the Faithful.

Besides these two Epistles, several voluminous Books have been attributed to St. Clement even in the Primitive Ages of the Church, that were not his; such were (as Eusebius declares in the third Book of his History, chap. 38.) the Disputes of St. Peter and Appion, whereof the ancient Authors have made no mention, and which contain Matters that are far from the Purity of the Apostolical Doctrine: We may conjecture, that these Writings were part of the Book, Entituled, *Recognitiones Clementis*, which is likewise called, *The Voyages, Itinerary, or Acts of St. Peter*: This Work, tho' fictitious, is ancient, being cited by Origen (f), Eusebius, St. Athanasius, St. Epiphanius, St. Jerome, and the Author of *The Commenta-*

(e) *Some of the Fathers have cited both these Epistles, as if they were of equal Authority.*] The Author of the *Apostolical Constitutions*, c. ult. St. Epiphanius. *Heres.* 27. chap. 6. and 30. chap. 15. St. Jerome, *adversus Jov.* chap. 7. Photius *Cod.* 126. *Damasus*, Lib. 4. *Orth. Fidei*. St. Dionysius of Corinth takes notice but of one single Epistle, and there is some difference in the style of the second, which makes us doubt of its Veracity. The Sibyls were heretofore cited therein, if we may give Credit to the Author of the Questions attributed to St. Justin; but he doth not declare, whether it were in the first Part, or in the second, and part of the second is lost. Moreover St. Epiphanius seems to mention other Epistles of St. Clement.

(f) *Being cited by Origen.*] Tom. 3. *Comment.* in *Genes.* in *Philosol.* chap. 22. and in *Matth.* ch. 26. Euseb. lib. 3. *Hist.* chap. 3, and chap. 38. Athanasius in *Synops. Epiph. Heres.* 30. chap. 25. Hieron. in *Catalog.* and Lib. 1. in *Jovin.* chap. 14. and *Comment.* in *Ep. ad Galat.* Lib. 1. chap. 18. Rufinus *de Adulterat. Lib. Orig. Autor op. imp.* in *Matth.* chap. 10. vers. 15, 16, 24, and 42. Photius, *Cod.* 112, and 113.

(g) *Tho' written by a later Author.*] The Author of the *Recognitiones* is not the same with the Author of the *Constitutions*, tho' some have been of this Opinion; for their style is different; the later is well versed in the Principles of the Christian Religion, and in the Rites of the Church, but the other is ignorant of these matters; moreover they maintain a contrary Doctrine: The Author of the *Constitutions*, in lib. 8. c. 46. reckons the Sun, Moon, and Stars, in the number of inanimate Creatures; whereas the Author of the *Recognitiones* imagineth, that they have a Soul, in lib. 5. chap. 16. Lastly, the Author of the *Constitutions* was not an Ebionite, but he that writ the *Recognitiones* was.

(h) *It is not known by whom, nor when they were composed.*] It is certain that they do not belong to the Apostles, as we have already evidently demonstrated.

(i) *They are cited by St. Epiphanius.*] In *Heres.* 45. this Father produceth a passage that is found in the beginning of the *Constitutions*, and in *Heres.* 80. he cites another, which we read in Lib. 1. *Constitut.* chap. 3. concerning the Beards of Priests. In *Heres.* 25. he quotes a passage taken from Lib. 5. chap. 14, and 17. relating to the Fasts enjoined on Wednesday and Friday, as also on the Days before Easter. In *Heres.* 70. he observes, that the *Audians* made use of certain *Constitutions*, which, tho' dubious, ought not altogether to be rejected, as containing nothing contrary to the Faith or Discipline of the Church. This may induce us to believe, that the *Constitutions*

ries on St. Matthew, ascribed to St. Chrysostome: Rufinus hath made a Translation thereof which is still extant; Ge- S. Clemens lasius hath inserted it in the Catalogue of Apocryphal Romanus. Books; and Photius observes, that there are Absurdities and Errors to be found in it: And indeed it is a Writing full of Fables, Tales, Conferences, and ridiculous Disputes, feigned at pleasure, and pretended to be holden between St. Peter and Simon Magus, concerning certain Events and Occurrences that are related after a childish manner; But that which is more dangerous, is, that we may easily discover in several Passages thereof the Opinions of the Ebionites, tho' much palliated, together with many other Errors. In short this Book is of no use, if we reflect on the Style and Method in which it is written, or on the Things that are comprised therein.

I shall not pass the same censure upon the Apostolical Constitutions that are likewise falsely imputed to St. Clement, and which, tho' written by a later Author (g), yet contain many things very useful to the Discipline of the Church; It is not known by whom, nor when they were composed (h); All that can be certainly affirmed, is, that they are cited by St. Epiphanius (i), and the Author of *The Commentary on St. Matthew*, falsely attributed to St. Chrysostome; but the passages which are produced by them not perfectly agreeing with those that are found in the Constitutions which are extant at this day, we may be induced to conjecture that they have been since corrupted, and so much the rather, because they are infected with the Arian Heresie (k), and several other Errors. This is the Judgment that was given concerning them by the Greek Bishops in the Synod that was conven'd in the Imperial Palace of Constantinople after the fifth General Council. However I admire that the Learned Photius (i) hath not made this Observation, and that he hath imputed the Errors of this Book to its Primitive Author.

It remains only to enquire, whether this Book be the same as that which is mentioned by Eusebius (m) and St. Athanasius, Entituled, *The Doctrine, or the Precepts of the Apostles*, ἡ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ διδασκαλία or διδασκαλία. This is the Opinion of Nicephorus (n), Zonaras, and Mathias Blastares; but it seems to me to be most probable, that *The Constitutions of the Apostles*, and the Book called their *Doctrine*, were two different Works which the likeness of their Titles hath caused to be confounded (o).

which are now extant, have been corrupted since the time of Epiphanius, because the same thing could not be affirmed of those. Add to this, that in the same place Epiphanius cites a passage concerning Easter, wherein the Christians are admonished to celebrate that Feast together with the Jews, and the contrary is expressly declared in *Constitut.* Lib. 5. chap. 17. Moreover in the same place, he produces other Testimonies, out of the *Constitutions* that are not found therein: Perhaps St. Epiphanius had not sufficiently examined this Work, or perhaps he cited it without Book, or on the Report of another; However it be, he acknowledgeth it to be dubious.

(k) *Because they are infected with the Arian Heresie.*] In lib. 6. chap. 25. the Author reckons in the number of Hereticks, those that believe that JESUS is the same with the God of the Universe, but this might have been said in opposition to the Sabellians; and so much the rather since he adds, and do not distinguish the Son and the Holy Ghost. Many other Passages are likewise alledged, wherein he affirms, that the Son and the Word is the Servant, and Minister of God the Father. These are the Phrases used by the ancient Ecclesiastical Writers, but they have been suspected ever since the Council of Nice.

(l) *That the Learned Photius.*] He censures them on three several Accounts, in *Cod.* 112. First *ex malafixione*, from which (as he says) they may be vindicated; Secondly, by reason of some Expressions used by the Author, which are contradictory to the Book of Deuteronomy, and for these he might likewise be excused; and lastly, he chargeth him with Arianism, from which he cannot be cleared without offering him some violence.

(m) *Mentioned by Eusebius.*] Euseb. Lib. 3. chap. 25. Athanasius in *Ep. Fest.* & *Synopsi.*

(n) *Of Nicephorus.*] Niceph. in *Stichometria*. Zonaras in *Ep. Ath. Mat. Blastares* in a Collection of Canons that is not Printed.

(o) *Which the likeness of their Titles hath caused to be confounded.*] There are many Reasons to prove, that these are two different Books, for first St. Athanasius reckons the Book of the *Doctrine of the Apostles*, among those that were usually read to the Catechumens, whereas the *Constitutions* were composed rather for the use of Bishops, and we find it prohibited in the last Canon to publish them, or to discover the Contents thereof to all sorts of People. Secondly, the Book of the *Doctrine of the Apostles*, contained only Two hundred Verses according to the *Stichometria* of Nicephorus, which cannot agree with the *Constitutions*, that are more voluminous. It



It is therefore extremely difficult to determine when the Constitutions ascribed to the Apostles first appeared, since the Author of them is absolutely unknown, neither can it be proved whether they were at first the same as they are now. We can only conjecture, that it is most probable that the Constitutions ascribed to the Apostles, or St. Clement belong to the third, or rather the fourth Century, and that they have been from time to time corrected, altered, and augmented, according to the various Customs of different Ages and Countries (p).

Those that we have at present are not in Greek. Crabb gives us a Latin Epitome of them in his second Edition of the Councils, Printed Anno 1557. The first entire Version that ever appeared, was made by Bovius, and inserted by Surius in the Collection of Councils, which he set forth in the Years 1567, and 1585. Nicolinus published another Translation of the Constitutions composed by Turrianus, together with the Annotations of the same Author; this was printed at Venice in 1563, and at Antwerp in 1578. Afterwards Binius caused it to be Reprinted in his first Edition of the Councils, Anno Dom. 1606. but he did not think fit to allow it a place in his second Edition of the Year 1608. Fronto Ducatus, a Jesuit, is the first that published a Greek and Latin Edition of those Constitutions at the end of Zonaras, which was annexed to the new Collection of Councils. They are divided into eight Books, containing a great number of Precepts relating to Christian Duties, especially to those of Pastors, and concerning the Ceremonies and Discipline of the Church, of all which it would be too tedious to give a particular account. They that are desirous to be further informed, may have recourse to the Titles of the Chapters that are prefixed to these Tracts.

The last Work attributed to St. Clement, is a Collection of divers Pieces, Entitled, *Clementina*, and there hath been a Book under this Title for some time: The Author of the Epitome of the Holy Scriptures attributed to St. Athanasius mentions them, and after him the Chronicle of Alexandria, Nicephorus Callistus in the third Book of his History, chap. 18. St. John Damascenus, and some others (q).

Thirdly, in the Index of Scripture made by Anastasius Nicenus, διδάχαι and διδασκαλία Καθημεριᾶ are mentioned as distinct Books, and in some Manuscripts the Constitutions are Entitled διδασκαλία. Fourthly, in the Epitome of St. Athanasius διδάχαι and διδασκαλία are distinguished; therefore this Work was not attributed to St. Clement. Fifthly, when Eusebius Discourses of the Writings of St. Clement, he takes no notice of the Apostolical Constitutions, neither have the Ancients mentioned them. The Arians might have objected them, in vindication of their Heresie, and the Orthodox would have been obliged to make a Reply, but this is not done by either Party; therefore they are of a later Date, than the Doctrine of the Apostles, that was known to Eusebius, and St. Athanasius. These Reasons howsoever probable they may seem to be, are not altogether Irreprehensible; to the First it is replied, that the Constitutions were made for the use of all Christians, as appears from the first Words thereof; that the last Canon might perhaps be of a later Date; that St. Athanasius observes only, that this Book was useful for the instructing of Catechumens in the Discipline, and Faith of the Church, tho' it was not Canonical, which may be very safely affirmed of these Constitutions. In answer to the Second it is alledged, that there were two Editions of the Constitutions; one more large, being that which is now extant; and another, that was an Epitome thereof, and perhaps Nicephorus makes mention of this last under the Name of *The Doctrine of the Apostles*: Besides that there are some Manuscripts wherein there are 6000 Verses, and besides the Length of every particular Verse is not known. Thirdly, that the Distinction of διδάχαι and διδασκαλία is nothing to the purpose, the one possibly was an Abridgement of the other, neither is it certain, whether *The Constitutions*, be the Books now called διδασκαλία. Fourthly, the *Clementina* are a Work different from the Constitutions, as well as *The Doctrine of the Apostles*. Lastly, the ancient Writers have not cited every thing that occurred to them; the Arians have not made all the Objections that were obvious; and the Orthodox have not replied to every particular Circumstance that might be objected against them. These are the Answers, that are propounded to those that distinguish this Book of *The Doctrine of the Apostles* from *The Constitutions*, and I shall leave it to the Determination of the Reader, whether they do not cause greater Difficulties; for my part, I believe the former Opinion to be more probable.

(p) That they have been from time to time Corrected, &c. according to the various Customs of different Ages and Countries. It is on this Account, that the Ethiopians have certain Constitutions different from Ours, which are cited by Anastasius Nicenus, Cod. 189. in the King's Library, and in his Questions, Q. 160. where they are much commended.

Perhaps this is the second Part of the *Recognitions* cited by Rufinus, for it is a continuation of the Preachings and Acts of St. Peter. The Greek and Latin Collection, published by Cotelerius under this Name, contains divers Tracts full of Errors in Philosophy, as also of the Heresie of the Ebionites, and is such another Book as the *Recognitions*. There must needs have happened some Alteration in these *Clementinae*, as well because they do not agree with that which is cited from them by Maximus, and by the Author of the Chronicle of Alexandria, as because they are infected with the Errors of Eunomius; besides, there is a Passage cited by an Author in the Library of the College of Clermont, which is not to be found there; and we are inform'd by Nicephorus, that the *Clementinae* are an Orthodox Work, whereas this (as we have already shewn) abounds with Errors. It contains, first, two Apocryphal Letters, one of which is attributed to St. Peter as written to St. James, wherein he adviseth him not to deliver the Book of his Preachings to the Gentiles, which is followed by a Protestation of St. James. The other is a Letter of St. Clement to St. James, which tho' it be ancient, and translated by Rufinus, yet is certainly counterfeit; as we shall hereafter shew when we give an account of the Forgeries of the Decretals of the Popes. To these two Epistles there are nineteen Homilies annexed relating to the Voyages, Preachings, and Disputes of St. Peter. Moreover at the end of this Work is likewise inserted an Epitome of the Actions of St. Peter, extracted from the *Clementinae*, the *Recognitions*, and the Epistle of St. Clement. Cotelerius found three of them in the King's Library, and hath published but one, which is the shortest, formerly published by Turnebus, and Printed at Paris Anno Dom. 1555. All these Writings, which are of very little use because they are full of Errors, are only a Contexture of Fables and idle Tales. Lastly, Cotelerius hath added the Records of the Martyrdom of St. Clement, concerning the Antiquity whereof we have no assurance, and which appear on the contrary to have been composed by the modern Greeks (r).

(q) St. John Damascenus and some others. St. Epiphanius seems to quote Heres. 26. n. 16. as also Anastasius, Q. 20. p. 242. Maximus in Homil. 53, and 55. Cedrenus in Compend. Hist. p. 170, and 171. Moreover it is cited in a Collection of the Works of the Fathers, which is in the Library of the Jesuits College at Clermont, and by Nikon in his Pandect.

(r) Which appear on the contrary, to have been composed by the Modern Greeks. It is related in these Acts, that St. Clement was sent beyond Sea, (*ultra mare*) and afterwards into a Desert near the City, (*in Desertum urbi vicinum*). That he found there 2000 Christians condemned to hew Marble out of the Quarries, who entreated him, saying, *Ora pro nobis Pontifex, ut digni efficiamur promissione Christi*; Pray for us O Priest, that we may be made worthy of the Promise of Christ. That St. Clement caused a Spring to rise up in that place, because these Christians were obliged to fetch Water six Miles off from thence, that they built there within one Year 75 Churches, that they demolished the Temples, and cut down consecrated Trees to the Number of 300000, that the Emperor Trajan being astonished at these Actions, sent thither the President Aufidianus, who caused St. Clement to be drowned, that whilst his Disciples sought after the Relicks of his Body, the Sea withdrew, and they found it laid in a Tomb of Stone, and that it was revealed to his Disciples, that his Body should not be taken away, and that the Sea should retire after the same manner every Year during seven Days, which it continues to do (says the Author of these Acts) even unto this Day, and this was accompanied with divers Miracles. Here are many Fables that do not agree with the time of St. Clement. Who can imagine that People condemned to hew Stones should find means to Erect 75 Churches, and to pull down an infinite Number of Temples? St. Ephrem, or rather the Author of the Narrative, which is falsely said to be his, gives an Account of the same Miracle, concerning the Sea that was dried up, to discover the Body of St. Clement, and adds that his Child being left in a Tomb, was found alive, and in good health, at the end of the Year following: But this pretended Ephrem is an Author no less addicted to Fables, who calls himself Arch-bishop of Cherson, tho' he never was in that place.

[There have been several Editions of St. Clement's Epistles to the Corinthians, besides Mr. Young's and Cotelerius's: Joachim Maderus Printed it at Helmstadt 1654. in Quarto; Colomesius likewise set it out at London in Octavo, with some few Notes, 1687; and it was Printed at Oxon in 1677, in Twelves. All these Editions are in Greek and Latin; Mr. Burton who writ Notes upon Antonius's Itinerary, as far as it concerned Britain, Translated it into English, and Printed it with Notes in Quarto 1647, at London.]



Now it will not be amiss briefly to recollect all that *S. Clement* hath been said concerning the Works of *St. Clement, Romanus*. and to declare our Opinion in this matter. The first Epistle to the *Corinthians* was certainly written by him, and is a good and useful Treatise. The second is very ancient, tho' not of the same Authority. The Constitutions are an ancient and useful Book falsely imputed to *St. Clement*, in which many things have been added and altered in process of time, for which Reason several Errors have crept in amongst them. The *Recognitions* are an Apocryphal Work, ancient indeed, but abounding with Errors and Fables. The same Judgment ought to be given concerning the *Clementine*, which are not perhaps so ancient, as also the second Part of the *Recognitions*. The Book Entitled, *The Doctrine of the Apostles*, may be the same with the Original Constitutions, but it is more probable that they are a different Work. We can give no account of the Book that bears the Title of

*The Precepts of St. Clement*, *Διδασκαλία Κλήμεντος*. The Voyages or Itinerary of *St. Peter* are the same as the *Re-S. Clement's cognitions* and the *Clementine*. The Epitome is an *A-Romanus*. bridgmont of these Apocryphal Writings. The Acts of the Martyrdom of *St. Clement* were composed by the modern *Greeks*. The Discourse of *Ephrem* is likewise of a later Date. There were also certain Sermons ascribed to *St. Clement* concerning the just Judgment of God and Divine Providence cited by *Anastasiu Antiochenus*, *Quest.* 96. but there is no probability of their being his. The five Decretals are counterfeit; and the Revelations or Apocalypse of *St. Peter*, heretofore thought to have been written by *St. Clement*, is likewise supposititious. Thus we have given in short the Judgment that (according to our Opinion) ought to be given of all the Books that are, or have been, attributed to *St. Clement Romanus*, and all that we judge necessary to be propounded or explained concerning them in this place.

## St. DIONYSIUS the Areopagite.

*St. Dionysius the Areopagite.* **D**IONYSIUS the *Areopagite*; who is reputed to have been a Native of *Thrace* (a); after he had been converted by *St. Paul*, as it is recorded in the *Acts* (b) of the *Apostles*; was made Bishop of *Athens* (c), and suffered Martyrdom (d) in that City. I shall not spend time in proving that he never came into *France*, and that *St. Denys* who was the first Apostle of this Kingdom, is different from the *Areopagite*; this Question hath been so clearly discussed in our time (e), that there is scarcely any one, tho' never so incredulous that can question it. I could also very willingly forbear to give any Account of the Books that are attributed to him, or to shew how they have been forged, were it not that the Design of my Work obligeth me to this Undertaking; therefore I shall do it with as much Brevity and Moderation as is possible.

We must observe first, that the manner of the first appearing of those Books ought to be suspected; for it is certain, that being unknown to all Antiquity, they were first quoted by the *Severian* Hereticks, in a Conference holden between them, and the Orthodox Bishops at *Constantinople* in the Palace of the Emperor *Justinian*, 532 Years after the Nativity of Jesus Christ. The silence of all the ancient Ecclesiastical Writers, is without doubt a very great prejudice to them; for who can imagine that so considerable an Author as *St. Denys* (if these Books had been really Composed by him) should have been unknown to *Eusebius* and *St. Jerome*. And who can believe, that if they had known them, they should take no notice of them, when they Composed an exact Catalogue of all the Authors, of whom they had any knowledge; not

omitting even those, that had so little Reputation that they were scarcely heard of in the World? Is it possible that *Eusebius* in making mention of *Dionysius the Areopagite* in two several places, should not have observed according to his usual Method, that he had written several Books? *St. Jerome* in his Epistle to *Magnus* doth not omit the Testimony of one single Author, to prove that it is lawful to make use of prophane Books, whereas the Writings of *St. Denys*, might have served as a notable Proof; why then doth he not speak so much as one word concerning them? He gives us an Account in his Catalogue, of *Quadratus* Bishop of *Athens*, and of *Aristides* the *Athenian* Philosopher; is it possible that *St. Denys* should be more obscure than these two Writers, or less esteem'd by *St. Jerome*? How could it happen, that all the ancient Writers that mention *St. Dionysius the Areopagite*, as *Dionysius Corinthius*, *St. Chrysostome*, *St. Ambrose*, *St. Augustine*, and the Author of the *Dialogues* ascribed to *St. Caesarius* the Brother of *St. Gregory Nazianzen*, should give us no Intimation of these Books? In short, why were these Books which contain many things relating to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Christian Church, and that would have been of great Authority, as proceeding from so ancient and considerable an Author as *St. Dionysius the Areopagite*, never cited, either for or against any Heretick, or for the Illustration of any point of Discipline before the sixth Age, of the Church? Furthermore admitting, that they had appeared even at that time, as Books of whose Antiquity and Truth there could be no scruple; if they had been then produced by the Orthodox as ancient Records, if they

(a) A Native of *Thrace*.] *Caesarius Dialog.* 2. *interrogat.* 112. *in Thracia ex qua Dionysius Areopagita ortus est.*

(b) *Acts* 17.

(c) Was made Bishop of *Athens*.] *Dionysius Corinthius* in *Euseb. Hist.* lib. 3. cap. 4. and lib. 4. cap. 4.

(d) And suffered Martyrdom.] *Aristides* in *Ursardus*, and the other ancient Writers of Martyrologies.

(e) This question hath been so clearly discussed in our time.] *Sirmondus* published a Discourse wherein he proves it beyond contradiction; after him *Launoy* wrote several Tracts to confirm his Opinion, and to shew the falshood of the Records produced by *Hilduinus*, which are urged to authorize the vulgar Opinion; and in a word, to confute all the Arguments that are usually brought. To which we may add what *Morinus* had said concerning this Question in the beginning of his Book of Ordinations; And though I inserted nothing relating to this matter in the Text, yet I thought it convenient to set down the Opinions of the Learned Men above-mentioned, for the benefit of those that have not read their Works. Their first Proof is, That it is certain that the Gospel was preached later in *France*, than in the other Regions of the World, and that there was no Persecution in that Country before that of *Valerian*, as it is expressly attested by *Sulpicius Severus* an Author who lived in the fourth Century. Now if *St. Dionysius the Areopagite* had been in *France*, the Christian Religion would have been introduced there very early, and there would have been many Martyrs in that Kingdom before the Persecution of *Valerian*. Secondly, It is evident that *Poshinus* was the first that propagated Christianity in *France*; that during his Life, and that of his Successor *Irenaeus*, the faith was only established in the Provinces of *Vienne* and *Lyons*, and that there were no Martyrs but in these

two Churches in the time of the Persecution of *Marcus Aurelius*; therefore there were no other Churches then planted among the *Gauls*. And indeed *Eusebius* mentions no other Churches, or any other Martyrs in *France*, no more than the Christians of the Church of *Lyons* in the Epistle that they wrote concerning their Martyrs called by them *Proto-Martyrs*. Thirdly, It is related by *Gregory of Tours* in the first Book of his History, chap. 28. on the Credit of an ancient Author that composed a Treatise concerning the Passion of *St. Saturninus*, that *St. Denys* and his Companions the Apostles of *France*, came thither under the Reign of the Emperor *Decius*, about the Year of our Lord 250, to re-establish the Faith of Jesus Christ in that Country, which was almost entirely extinct after the Death of *St. Irenaeus*. Fourthly, There are great numbers of Martyrologies, in which the Festivals of *St. Dionysius the Areopagite*, and of *St. Denys* the Apostle of *France*, are described as on two different Days, and wherein the place and circumstances of their Martyrdom are distinguished. We may likewise draw the same Argument from the ancient *Breviaries*, *Missals*, *Kalendars* and *Litanies* in which *St. Denys* the Apostle of *France* is reckoned after the Saints that suffered under *Marcus Aurelius*. Fifthly, The Author of the Life of *St. Fuscianus*, *Fulbertus*, *Carnutensis*, and *Lethaldus*, distinguishing two *Denys's*. Sixthly, The Opinion of those that affirm, that *St. Denys* the Apostle of *France* is the same with the *Areopagite*, was unknown before the Ninth Century, neither doth the Monk that wrote the Life of our *St. Denys* in the Year 750, say one word concerning this matter. *Hilduinus*, who is the first that mentions it, is a very fabulous Author, who tells abundance of Lies, and cites a Book written by one named *Visbius*, which is plainly forged; on the credit of which wretched Author he builds up the Opinion of those that confound the two *St. Denys's*.

had



St. Dionysius the Areopagite. had been rejected by none, would not this be a matter of great moment? But who are they that produce them? They are Hereticks who have been used to quote counterite Records. How do they cite them? As uncertain Books, *sicut suspicamini*, say the Catholicks. To what end do they produce them? To establish their Errors. Against whom do they cite them? Against the Orthodox. And what do they reply? This ought to decide the Controversy; let us then hearken to them, and let us give Credit to their Testimony, rather than to that of the Hereticks: *How can you prove* (say the Orthodox Bishops to the Severian) *that these Records which you affirm to belong to St. Dionysius the Areopagite, are Genuine, as you imagine; for if they were his, they could not have been unknown to St. Cyril of happy Memory; but why do we only mention St. Cyril? If St. Athanasius had believed that they had been written by St. Dionysius, would not he have made use of their Authority in the Council of Nice, to prove the Consubstantiality of the Trinity against the blasphemies of Arius? If they have not been cited by any of the ancient Writers, how can you demonstrate, that they were written by him?* Thus the Orthodox then argued; but having since perused these Books, and finding nothing therein, that is contrary to the Catholick Faith, they admitted them without much Examination; tho' there have always been some Criticks, who have questioned them. Photinus says in the beginning of his *Bibliotheca*, that one Theodorus wrote a Book by way of Reply to the Objections that were generally urged against these Books, and he produceth the Objections that were propounded by this Author, but takes no notice of the Answers that he had annexed to them, which is an Argument that he thought them to be of no great strength.

2. The style and method of these Books, is very far from the manner of writing used in the First and Second Centuries, as being swelling and too much affected; the Author purposely leaves ordinary and natural Expressions, to make use of these that are lofty and figurative; he amplifies every thing, even that which ought to be recited after the most simple manner, he uses a great deal of Artifice in the disposing of his Periods, and observes an exact Method in the Order of his Arguments; which shews that it was written by a Philosopher, who had leisure to revise and Polish it with much Care and Study, which doth not agree with the Character of St. Dionysius the Areopagite, nor with the way of writing in his time.

3. Neither are the Contents of these Books conformable to the Genius of the Age, wherein St. Dionysius the Areopagite lived. The Christians were employed in these primitive Times, in composing three sorts of Books, Apologies for their Religion, Epistles for the Instruction of the Faithful, and to exhort them to suffer Martyrdom; and Lastly, Treatises against the Hereticks: Now these Writings attributed to St. Denys plainly relate to another Subject, and have a quite different Design; for his principal Intention is to treat of Mysteries after a curious and exquisite manner; and to expound them according to the Principles of Plato's Philosophy, and even in Platonick Terms. He is not content to propound them with the simplicity of the Ancients, but he applies himself nicely to enquire into all the difficulties that might occur therein, and to raise divers Questions more curious than useful concerning the Nature of God, and the different Orders of Angels: He explains the Doctrine of the Trinity more distinctly, even than St. Athanasius himself: He plainly rejects the Errors of the Nestorians, Eutychians, Anthropomorphites. He speaks of the Church as in a prosperous Condition, and enjoying Peace; neither doth he make any mention of Persecutions or Martyrs; He distinguishes the several Orders of Angels, and observes their Difference, things that were unknown to the ancient Writers, and concerning which they were not solicitous to be informed, as St. Irenaeus assures us, in *Lib. 2. Chap. 55.* and St. Cyril, *Catech. Illum. 11.* Upon the whole matter, if we compare these Writings, with those of the other ancient Authors, we shall find that there can be nothing more different, either as to Style, and Method, or as to the Matters therein contained.

We shall now proceed to give particular Proofs whereby it will plainly appear, that these Books were not written by St. Dionysius the Areopagite, and there are two sorts of these, some proving that they cannot belong to St. Denys, others shewing that they were composed by an Author who lived after the Fourth Century. I shall begin with the Arguments which prove that those Books do not belong to St. Denys. 1. The Author of the Book, *de Divinis Nominibus*, dedicates it to Timothy, and then cites an Epistle of St. Ignatius. Now Timothy was dead when St. Ignatius wrote his Epistles, and Onesimus succeeded him; and besides, he calls Timothy his Son, and yet he must needs be older than St. Denys. 2. He cites and explains the Gospel according to St. John, and the

Apocalypse, which were scarcely written when St. Dionysius the Areopagite was alive: and yet he declares in St. Dionysius those Books, that he was but a young Man. He cites the Revelation, as undoubtedly included in the Canon of Holy Scripture, and yet it was very much questioned in the primitive Ages of the Church, whether it were Canonical or not. The same Reflection may be likewise made upon his Citations, taken from the second Epistle of St. John, and that of St. Jude. 3. He rejects the Error of the Millenaries which could not have appeared in his time. 4. He expressly produceth in *Lib. de Divinis Nominibus* ch. 4. certain Passages out of the Epistle of St. Ignatius to the Romans, written by this Bishop a little before his Martyrdom; whereas St. Ignatius was put to death under the Reign of the Emperor Trajan; and St. Dionysius the Areopagite, under that of Domitian, and consequently the later was dead, when the former wrote this Epistle. Maximus replies that this Citation is added, but there are three or four entire Lines that relate to this matter, which there is no reason to disallow. 5. This Author affirms, that he was present at the Death of the Virgin Mary; but St. Dionysius the Areopagite was not converted at that time; for it is generally believed, that he died fifteen years after the Crucifixion of Jesus Christ, and St. Paul who converted St. Denys came not to Athens till seventeen years after our Saviour's Passion.

Lastly, there are many Reasons, by which it may be proved, that this Author wrote after the Fourth Century; For, 1. He treats of the Mysteries of the Holy Trinity, and the Incarnation in such Terms as were not known till after the Fourth Age of the Church; he used the Word *Hypostasis* to signify the Divine Persons, (*c. 7. Celest. Hier. c. 1. de Divinis Nominibus*) whereas it is well known, that this word was not used in this sense till after the end of the Fourth Century. 2. In *Lib. de Celest. Hier. c. ult.* He confirms the Baptism of Infants by an ancient Tradition: *We declare that* (says he) *which our Bishops have taught us according to ancient Tradition.* Could this have been written by St. Dionysius the Areopagite, or rather, doth not this shew, that he who discourseth thus, is a much later Author than this Bishop of Athens? 3. He describes the solemn Administration of Baptism as it was, when the Church being delivered from Persecution, began to practise the ancient Ceremonies with exterior Pomp and Splendour. 4. He speaks of Churches built on purpose, wherein there was a Sanctuary separated from the rest of the Churches; as also of the perfuming of Altars with Incense, and of divers Ceremonies relating to the *Energumens*, *Catechumens*, and *Penitents*, which were not observed in those Primitive times. 5. It is certain, that the Institution of Monks is not so ancient as St. Denys, and that they were not consecrated till long after the Age wherein he lived: Yet the Author of the *Divine Hierarchy* in *ch. 6.* mentions them, as being more ancient than himself, and adds, that his Instructors called them *Therapeute* or *Monks*; and he gives an Account of the manner of their Consecration; and distinguisheth several sorts of them. 6. He often cites the Ecclesiastical Authors that lived before him; who wrote concerning matters that were only debated in the Fourth Century, such were the distinctions between Love and Charity, the Opinions relating to the several Functions and Orders of Angels, as also the Lot by which St. Matthias was elected, the Prayers that were recited at Mass, which he declares to have been received from their Ancestors by Tradition; The Baptism of Infants, of which he affirms the same thing; The Funeral Rites and Solemnities, the Ceremonies of Baptism, and many other Customs. Lastly, he cites St. Clement Alexandrianus under the name of Clement the Philosopher, and the passage of this Author produced by him; is taken from *Stromat. lib. 8.* which shews that he speaks of St. Clement, who lived in the third Age of the Church.

However many Arguments are alledged to prove the Verity and Antiquity of these Books, which nevertheless may be very easily confuted in a few words. It is objected first, That it is affirmed, by Maximus, Anastasius Sinaita, and Cyparissiota, that St. Dionysius Alexandrianus composed *Scholia* or Annotations on the Books of Dionysius the Areopagite, *de Nominibus Divinis*. 2. That St. Athanasius in *Quest. 4. ad Antiochum*; and Origen; in his first Homily on St. John quotes the Writings of Dionysius the Areopagite, and that St. Gregory the Great calls him an ancient Father; St. Gregory Nazianzen seems likewise to cite him in *Hom. 38.* and *42.* where after having declared that the repetition of the Word Holy thrice, relates to one and the same Lordship, and to one and the same Divinity, he adds, *as another hath very excellently and very clearly philosophized before us*, which may well be applied to the Author of the *Hierarchy*, who lived before the time of St. Gregory Nazianzen, and whose Philosophy was very sublime: Moreover St. Denys is cited by St. Chrysostome in his Sermon of false Prophets;



Where is (says he) St. Ignatius the Tabernacle of God, St. Dionysius the Areopagite, the Eagle of Heaven? designing by this Expression to set forth the magnificence of his style. There is a comparison in *lib. de Divinis Nominibus*, chap. 3. of an Anchor that attracts us to it more than we drew it to us, which St. Clement Alexandrianus seems to have taken from St. Denys. Lastly, Nicephorus affirms, that Juvenalis Bishop of Jerusalem, who assisted at the Council of Chalcedon, in replying to Pulcheria concerning the Sepulchre and Death of the Virgin Mary, made use of the words of St. Dionysius the Areopagite. All these Arguments seem to prove, that the Books of *Hierarchia* & *de Nominibus Divinis*, were written by St. Denys, or at least that they are more ancient than the Fourth Century.

But if we examine these Objections, they will appear all very weak: For, 1. We ought not to believe on the Testimony of Anastasius and Maximus, that Dionysius Alexandrianus, the Disciple of Origen, composed any Annotations upon the Writings of Dionysius the Areopagite, since Eusebius and St. Jerome, who took a Catalogue of the Works of this Saint, did not mention it; whence we ought to infer, either that it was another Dionysius Alexandrianus, or that some Grecian hath forged Commentaries on the Books attributed to St. Dionysius the Areopagite, under that name. 2. The Book Entituled, *Questiones ad Antiochum*, cited under the name of St. Athanasius, and the Homilies on several places of the New Testament ascribed to Origen are alledged to no purpose, because it is certain that these Books are falsely attributed to St. Athanasius and Origen, as it is generally agreed. 3. St. Gregory Nazianzen doth not cite St. Denys by name; Elias Cretensis is of opinion that St. Athanasius is here meant, and indeed the passage quoted by St. Gregory Nazianzen concerning the *Trisagion* is found word for word in one of the Homilies of St. Athanasius, who living before St. Gregory might be cited by him. 4. The Sermon quoted under the name of St. Chrysostome, was without question not written by this Father, but by John the Faster, Patriarch of Constantinople; and though it really belonged to the former, yet he takes no notice of the Writings of St. Denys, but only extols him as a great Saint. Lastly, it is more probable that the Author of the Treatise *de Divinis Nominibus*, hath borrowed the similitudes from St. Clement Alexandrianus, whom he cites in another place, than that St. Clement should have taken them from him.

As for the Authority of Nicephorus and other modern Writers, it proves nothing else, but that these Books were attributed to St. Dionysius the Areopagite when they wrote, and this is agreed on all sides, for after they first

appeared in the beginning of the sixth Century, they soon got a great deal of Reputation and Authority; They are St. Dionysius cited by St. Ephrem in a Treatise that he composed in vindication of the Synod of Chalcedon; The Monk Jo-reopagite. binus, Andreas Casariensis, Leontius, Anastasius Sinaita, Suidas, Nicephorus, and many other modern Greeks, make honourable mention of them; and Joannes Scythopolitanus, Maximus, and Pachymeres, wrote Commentaries on this Author. Among the Latins, Gregory the Great cites them with great applause; Joannes Scotus Erigena translated them into Latin, and Anastasius the Library-Keeper sent this Version to Charles the Bald, with a Preface and Annotations. But the Testimony of these modern Authors is of very little moment in this matter, and only proves, that these Books were then thought to belong to St. Dionysius the Areopagite; On the contrary, the Reasons that we have already alledged are sufficient to convince all Persons that are Ingenuous and of a clear Judgment, that they were forged about the end of the Fifth Century, or at the beginning of the Sixth, for the time when they first appeared cannot be precisely determined; but it is certain, that they were written since the Fourth Century, and before the middle of the Sixth. Moreover it cannot be affirmed, that the Works of some other Denys might accidentally be imputed to St. Dionysius the Areopagite, it being evident that the Author of these Books affects to seem to have lived in the time of the Apostles.

We shall here subjoin a Catalogue of the Works that have been published under the name of St. Dionysius the Areopagite; A Book concerning the Celestial Hierarchy, another of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, a Treatise of the Divine Attributes, another of Mystical Divinity, together with Ten Epistles, whereof the Four first are written to the Monk Caius, the fifth to Dorotheus, the sixth to the Priest Sospater, the seventh to the Bishop Polycarp, the eighth to the Monk Demophilus, the ninth to the Bishop Titus, and the tenth to St. John. All these belong to the same Author, who hath likewise composed some others which are cited by himself; A Book concerning Symbolical Theology (f), another treats of the Soul (g), another of Divine Hymns (h), another of Theological Instructions; a Treatise concerning the just Judgment of God (i), and another of those things that are understood by the Mind, and of those that may be perceived by the Senses (k); but these are lost. The others have been often Printed in Greek and in Latin separately (l), and were published in Greek and Latin by Lanselius at Paris, Anno Dom. 1615, afterwards at Antwerp in 1634, and again at Paris 1644, by the Jesuit Corderius, together with the Commentaries of Pachymeres and Maximus.

(f) Cited cap. 15. *lib. de Celest. Hier.* cap. 1, and 13. *de div. nom.* cap. 3. *de Myst. Theolog.* and Ep. 9.

(g) C. 4. *lib. de div. nom.*

(h) C. 1, and 2. *de divinis nominibus* and cap. 3. *lib. de Myst. Theolog.*

(i) *Lib. de Celest. Hier.* c. 7.

(k) C. 1, and 2. *de Celest. Hier.*

(l) Often Printed in Greek and in Latin separately.] In Greek by Morellus in the year 1562, with the Scholia of Maximus and Pachymeres; at Basil in 1539, and at Venice in 1558, in Latin, of the Version of Ambrosius Camaldulensis at Strasburg in 1468, and in 1502, with the Notes of Jacobus Faber Sta-

pulensis; in 1504 at Alcalá, of the Translation of Ficinus; at Colen by Quentelius in 1546. In this Edition they have put in the Version of Scotus Erigena, Petrus Sarrafinus, Ambrosius Camaldulensis, and Marsilius Ficinus, together with a Paraphrase by the Abbot de Verceil, and the Annotations of Dionysius Carthusianus. Perionius finding these Versions too obscure, made a new Translation, which was Printed at Colen, at Paris in 1557, and 1567, and at Lyons in 1585. Clauserus likewise made another Translation that was Printed at Strasburg in 1546. The Book *de Mystica Theologia* was Printed with the Notes of a Divine at Paris, in Quarto, in the year 1626.

## St. I G N A T I U S.

St. Ignatius. **I**G N A T I U S surnamed Theophorus (a), was the Successor of Evodius (b) in the Episcopal See of Antioch, about the year of our Lord 70. He governed this Church for the space of almost Forty years with admirable Prudence and Constancy, and at last suffered Martyrdom in the Tenth year of the Reign of Trajan, when this Holy Prelate having professed the Faith even in the presence of the Emperor himself with great Courage, (if we may believe the Acts of his Martyrdom) was condemned to be exposed to wild Beasts in the Amphitheatre at Rome: And he is reputed to have wrote his Epistles to several Churches in the way as he was carried a Prisoner in Chains to that City, for maintaining the truth of the Christian Religion; but since there

(a) Surnamed Theophorus.] This is not an Epithet, but his Surname. Some have believed, that he was that young Child, whom Jesus Christ placed in the middle of his Apostles, and that from thence he took the Name of Theophorus, but this is a vain Imagination without any Ground, not supported by the Testimony of any ancient Author; and besides, it

are very great difficulties concerning the number and different Editions of these Epistles, it will be necessary to draw up their History, and to produce the Testimony of Authors that have mentioned them since his time.

Immediately after the Death of this Holy Martyr, Polycarp Bishop of Smyrna, his Disciple, collected these Epistles, and sent them to the Christians of Philippi, as appears from a Letter that he wrote to them, and which cannot be questioned without contradicting not only Eusebius, St. Jerome, and Photius, the most renowned Critics of Antiquity, but also St. Irenaeus himself the Disciple of St. Polycarp, who cites this Epistle, and commends it in these words: *There is an Epistle of Polycarp to the Christians of Philippi, which is extremely accurate,*

contradicts the Opinion of St. Chrysostome, who declares that St. Ignatius never saw our Saviour in the Flesh.

(b) The Successor of Evodius.] St. Chrysostome, Theodoret, and the Author of the Chronicle of Alexandria affirm, that he was ordained by St. Peter; but Eusebius, St. Jerome, and the other ancient Ecclesiastical Writers place Evodius between St. Peter, and St. Ignatius.



and very proper to shew the character of the Faith, and the Doctrine of the Truth, to those that take any care of their Salvation. Moreover, we have not only an approbation of St. Polycarp's Epistle by St. Irenæus, to prove the Authority of St. Ignatius's, but it is likewise evident, that this Father had read these Epistles: Irenæus (says Eusebius) was not ignorant of the Martyrdom of St. Ignatius, and mentions his Epistles in these words: Thus one of our Brethren being condemned for maintaining the Faith, to be exposed to the wild Beasts, said, (c) I am the Wheat of God, and shall be ground by the Teeth of wild Beasts, that I may become the Bread of Jesus Christ. The words recited by St. Irenæus in Lib. 5. contra Hæres. cap. 28. are also found at present in the Epistle of St. Ignatius to the Romans. Origen hath cited the Epistles of St. Ignatius, and that which he produceth in two several places, is read in those that are now extant. I have found it written (says he in his 6th Homily on St. Luke) in the Epistle of a certain Martyr, I mean Ignatius Bishop of Antioch, who was exposed to wild Beasts at Rome, I have found it written (I say) very elegantly, that the Virginity of Mary was unknown to the Prince of this World. This passage is word for word in the Epistle of St. Ignatius to the Ephesians. The Second passage quoted by Origen is in his Commentary on the Canticles. We remember (says he) the Expression of a Saint named Ignatius in speaking concerning Jesus Christ, my Love is Crucified, and I do not believe that he ought to be reprehended on this Account. These are the Testimonies taken from Authors who wrote in the Second and Third Centuries; in the Fourth, Eusebius cites the Epistles of St. Ignatius, declares their number, and gives us a Catalogue of them. He says in the Third Book of his History, chap. 36. that this Holy Martyr being carried from Asia into Italy confirmed the Churches of the several Cities, through which he passed, in the Faith, and admonished them to avoid Heresies by constantly adhering to the Tradition of the Apostles; and that being arrived at Smyrna, where Polycarp was then Bishop, he wrote four Letters; The first to the Church of Ephesus, wherein he mentions Onesimus their Pastor; The second to the Magnesians, wherein he speaks of Damas their Bishop; The third to the Trallians, where he names Bishop Polybius; And the last to the Church of Rome, wherein he intreats the Romans not to deprive him through the fervour of their Prayers of the Crown of Martyrdom. Afterwards he recites a large Fragment of this Epistle, and adds, that being departed from Smyrna, and arrived at Troas, he wrote to the Philadelphians, as also to the Church of Smyrna, and particularly to St. Polycarp their Bishop, recommending to him the care of the Church of Antioch, as unto a good Pastor worthy of those Apostolical times. He cites likewise a Fragment of the Epistle to the Inhabitants of Smyrna, and confirms what he had before alledged by the Attestations of St. Irenæus and St. Polycarp. It is evident from this passage, that in the time of Eusebius there were Seven Letters, which were esteemed undoubtedly to be St. Ignatius's, and that they were the very same with those that are still extant, because they were written from the same places, to the same Persons, and on the same Subject, and contain all the Passages that are produced by Eusebius word for word, after whom these very Epistles were unanimously allowed by the whole Church, and cited by an infinite number of Ecclesiastical Authors. St. Athanasius who could not be led by the Authority of Eusebius, whose History perhaps he had never seen, sets down in his Book of the Synods, a passage of this ancient Bishop, which is in the Epistle to the Ephesians. St. Chrysostome in the Oration, that he made in Commendation of St. Ignatius, recites this famous Sentence taken from his Epistle to the Romans: Would to God that I might ere long fight with Beasts, and in another Oration, if that be really his (d), he quotes a passage of the Epistle to St. Polycarp.

St. Jerome acknowledgeth the Seven Epistles of St. Ignatius mentioned by Eusebius to be Genuine: they are reckoned in his Catalogue of Authors, and cited by him in divers other places of his Works. The Learned Theodoret uses the Authority of the Letters of this Father, as certainly written by him, against the Hereticks, and in his Dialogues produceth many large Passages out of the Epistles to the Smyrneans, Ephesians, and Trallians,

(c) Wild Beasts, said.] In citing the Testimony of any Author, we say, as he says, or as he writes, without using any Choice; and it ought not to be concluded from thence, that St. Irenæus only produced a remarkable Expression of St. Ignatius, without taking it from any of his Works, for it is much more probable, that he took it from his Epistle to the Romans, because it is found there word for word.

(d) If that be really his.] We find this Oration in the sixth Tome of his Works, it is Entitled, Quod unus sit Veteris & Novi Testamenti Legislator. It hath been cited by Pope Adrian I. in his Epistle to Charles the Great. Epiphanius the

that are expressed after the very same manner, as they are Printed in the Editions of Vossius and Bishop Usher. St. Ignatius likewise cites a passage of the Epistle to the Christians of Smyrna on the same Subject in his Treatise concerning the two Natures of Jesus Christ: The Author of the Book of the Divine Attributes, ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite, produceth a Sentence taken from that to the Romans. St. Ephrem in the sixth Century (according to the report of Photius, Cod. 228.) hath cited the Writings of St. Ignatius: Gildas de Excidio Britanniae, produceth a large passage of the Epistle to the Romans: The Monk Jobius (as it is related by Photius, Cod. 222.) quotes another of that to the Smyrneans: Leontius opposeth the Authority of St. Ignatius to the Hereticks in Lib. de Sect. Act. 3. Anastasius Sinaita of the Seventh Century, in his Book Entitled ἰδηρε, (The Guide) sets down a passage taken from the Epistle to the Romans, and Antiochus a Monk of Palestine, in his 124th Homily to Eustathius, concerning the Honour that is due to the Bishops, recites many passages of those to Polycarp, the Philadelphians and Trallians. St. Maximus acknowledgeth the Works of St. Ignatius, and Theodorus in the Eighth Century (whom Photius mentions Cod. 1.) produceth divers passages thereof, as also Andreas Cretensis a Writer of the Ninth Century, in Hom. 2. de Virgine; and Singelius, in his Panegyrick upon St. Dionysius the Areopagite: To these may be added, Simeon Metaphrastes in the Tenth Century, Honorius Bishop of Autun in the Twelfth, Nicetas Choniates in the Thirteenth; and Lastly, Nicephorus Callistus in the Fourteenth: This shews that the Epistles of St. Ignatius have been allowed by the Church in all Ages, as authentic Records; but the modern Grecians since the time of St. Joannes Damascen have used other Letters, that are not named by Eusebius, whereas before, the Seven Epistles mentioned by Eusebius and St. Jerome were only cited.

Having reduced the several Testimonies of the Ancients, concerning the Epistles that are attributed to St. Ignatius, we shall now proceed to shew what Judgment hath been given by the Moderns concerning the same, and for the better understanding of this matter, it seems to be necessary in the beginning, to set down a Catalogue of the different Editions of these Epistles that have been made in our time.

The first Edition of the Epistles of St. Ignatius, was published at Paris, Anno Dom. 1494. which did not contain any of the Seven that are recited by Eusebius, but only the Three Latin Letters, one whereof was written to the Virgin Mary, and the other two to St. John. In the Year 1498, Eleven were Printed in Latin, which being revised by Clitovæus were Reprinted at Strasburg in 1502, 1515, and 1527, as also by Henry Peter at Basil, in 1520. Not long after Champerius added three others, and one written to Maria Cossobolita, which he caused to be Printed at Colen, by Quentelius in 1536. together with the Commentaries of Dionysius Carthusianus on the Works attributed to St. Dionysius the Areopagite; afterwards they were Printed at Antwerp in 1540. at Alcalá in 1541. at Basil in 1530, and 1540. at Zurich in 1546, 1550, 1557, and 1560. at Paris in 1569, 1575, and 1610. at Colen in 1570. at Basil in 1569, and 1628. at Louvain in 1568. and at Antwerp in 1572. In the Year 1557, they were set forth at Colen, according to the Version of Perizonius, Pacæus gave us the Greek Text. In 1557, 1558, and 1562, Morellus procured them to be Printed in Greek, at Paris in Octavo. Moreover Gesner published them in Greek, in 1559, with the Translation of Brunnerus. In the Year 1566. they were published at Antwerp, being corrected from certain Manuscripts by Vairlenius, and Printed by Plantin. Mestrens set forth a new Edition of them in 1608. Vedelius a Protestant caused them to be Printed with large Annotations in Quarto, at Geneva, Anno Dom. 1623. Lastly, Usher having observed, that three English Divines had formerly quoted a passage of St. Ignatius, in the very same words as it is expressed by Theodoret, which was not inserted in the Greek Text, nor in the Vulgar Translations, judged that it might not be difficult to find some Manuscripts of the Original Epistles of St. Ignatius in England; Whereupon having made Enquiry, he happened to meet with two, one in the University of Cambridge, (in Caius College Library,) and another in a

Deacon hath likewise alledged it against Gregorius Neocæsariensis; it is quoted also by Theodosius in the Second Council of Nice. The style doth not seem to be that of St. Chrysostome, as being full of Allegories; some say that it seems to have been written about the time of the declining of the Roman Empire, through the Incursions of the Barbarous Nations, which are mentioned therein; nevertheless, it may be understood of the inroads of the Arabians that were made under the Reign of the Emperor Valens. Others think that this passage is put in since.



private Library of one *Richard Mountagne*, which contained an ancient Version of those Epistles very different from the Vulgar; and afterwards having compared this Translation, with the passages recited by the Fathers, he perceived that it exactly agreed with them, quite through; for which reason, when he set out a new Edition (e) of the Epistles of *St. Ignatius*, he used them, and cauted the places that were added by the Modern Greeks, to be distinguished, in the Greek Text by red Characters. Not long after, the Learned *Isaac Vossius* found in the Library of *Florence* a Greek Manuscript of the same Epistles, which had been perused about an Hundred years before by *Turrianus*, wherein the Greek Text perfectly answered to the Version published by *Usher*, and so he published the Greek Original of *St. Ignatius* (f).

We may Learn from the knowledge of these Editions, that the Epistles of *St. Ignatius* ought to be divided into three Classes. The first contains those Three that are only extant in *Latin*, written to the *Virgin Mary* and *St. John*. The Second comprehends those that are in *Greek*, whereof *Eusebius* and *St. Jerome* make no mention, which being five in number (g), are cited by some Modern Greeks. In the Third Rank, are comprized those Seven Epistles mentioned by *Eusebius* (h), but these are either such as were published before the Editions of *Vossius* and *Usher*; or such as are conformable to their Copies, that is to say, more concise, and more simple.

We must likewise distinguish three several Opinions concerning these Epistles: The first is, of those that allow them all, even the three which are written only in *Latin*, as *Faber*, *Roffensis*, *Driedo*, *Marianus Victorius*, *Canisius* and *Hulloixius*. The last of whom, tho' Living in a clearer Age than the former; yet was not a better Critick than any of them that were before him. We may also reckon almost in the same Rank, those that admit all the Greek Letters, wherein they follow the Opinion of Cardinal *Bellarmin*, *Baronius* and *Possévin*. The Second is of those who reject all. *Calvin* was the chief Promoter of this Opinion, being followed by the *Centuriators*, by *Socinus*, and even, after the Editions of *Usher* and *Vossius*, by *Salmassius*, *Blondel*, *Albertinus* and *Dailé*, who have used their utmost Endeavours to ruin the Credit of their Copies. The Third Opinion is that of those who keeping the middle way, ascribe to *St. Ignatius* only the Seven Epistles, that are recited by *Eusebius* and *St. Jerome*, disallowing all the rest as Supposititious, and owning that there were some Additions in the others. This has been formerly observed by very Learned Men, even before the Editions of *Vossius* and *Usher* appeared, as by *Chemnitius*, *Perkins*, *Cook* and *Vedelius*, who tho' separated from the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, yet were very able Criticks. But since their Editions, the judicious of both persuasions as *Rivet*, *Grotius*, *Petavius*, *Labbeus*, and the Author of *the Offices of the Holy Sacrament*, have acknowledged that the Seven Epistles of *St. Ignatius*, which had been corrupted by many Additions, were restored to their Original purity in *Vossius's* Greek Edition, and in the Version published by *Usher*. *Morinus* is the only Person among the Learned, that maintains the contrary Opinion, affirming that the Original Text of those Letters is contained in the ancient Greek Edition, whereas it is retrenched and corrupted in the later of *Vossius*. I had almost forgotten to observe, that *Usher* and some others after him, have re-

jected the Epistle of *St. Ignatius* to *St. Polycarp*; and therefore reckon only six as Genuine. Thus we have re-presented the different Opinions concerning the Epistles of *St. Ignatius*; let us now consider which side we ought to take.

First it is certain, that the Three Latin Epistles, whereof two are written to *St. John*, and the Third to the *Virgin Mary* are forged. *St. Bernard* is the first that quotes them in his 7th Sermon, on the Psalm *Qui habitat*; they were unknown to the ancient and modern Grecian Writers; they were never extant in Greek, and the affected gingling of Words that appears therein, shews that they were Composed in Latin, and by one of that Nation. Besides they are written in a mean Style, and they are full of useless Notions, unworthy of *St. Ignatius*.

Secondly, Neither can it be doubted, but that the Five Greek Letters, which are not quoted by *Eusebius* and *St. Jerome* are in like manner counterfeit. For had they been extant when these Authors lived, it were impossible but they should have seen or heard of them. And is it credible that having seen them, they should take no Notice of them, when they made a Catalogue of the Epistles of *St. Ignatius*? 2. They were not only unknown to *Eusebius* and *St. Jerome*, but likewise to all the Greek Fathers, whose Testimonies we have produced, and who have all cited only the Seven Epistles mentioned by *Eusebius*, the others being quoted only by the more modern Writers. They contain many things that do not agree with the time of *St. Ignatius*, for there are some Heresies named which did not appear until a great while after his Death: We find an account of *Subdeacons*, *Lecturers*, *Chanters*, *Porters*, *Exorcists*, and of those that were called among the *Grecians* *ἀναγνώσται* or Readers. Now who knows not that these Orders were established after the Decease of *St. Ignatius*? They mention also Assemblies of *Virgins*, *Lent*, the *Sabbath*, *Festivals*, &c.

Thirdly, It must be confessed that the Epistles of *St. Ignatius* such as they were before the Editions of *Usher* and *Vossius*, were corrupted, and different from those that are cited by the ancient Writers. 1. Because the passages cited by *Theodoret* and others, are not conformable to those which we may find in the vulgar Edition. 2. Because if we compare the ancient Edition with *Vossius's*, it will evidently appear, that the later is not an Epitome of the former, but that the other is a kind of a Paraphrase of this last: for the greater part of the Passages which are extant in the ancient Edition, and are not to be found in *Vossius's*, are Explanations and Paraphrases, or thoughts added afterward, that have no manner of coherence with the rest, and wherein one may find a plain difference in the Style and Doctrine. 3. There are divers things contained in the vulgar Edition, that cannot belong to the time of *St. Ignatius*, and which might give an occasion justly to doubt of their Authority, before the Editions of *Usher* and *Vossius* were published. As for Example, in that to the *Trallians* we find the Names of *Theodotus* and *Cleobulus*; there are certain passages that confute the Opinion of *Saturninus* concerning Marriage, and the Errors of *Praxeus*, mention is also made therein of the *Nicolaicans*, of the lesser Orders, &c. things that by no means suit with those primitive Ages of the Church.

I have now only to enquire whether the seven Epistles, according to the Edition of *Vossius* were written by *St.*

(e) He made use thereof in preparing a new Edition.] The first Edition of *Usher* was Printed at Oxford, Anno Dom. 1644. It contains. 1. A preliminary Dissertation. 2. The Six Epistles of *St. Ignatius* in Greek, wherein all that is not in the ancient Version is distinguished by Red Characters. 3. The counterfeit Letters. 4. The ancient Latin Translation. 5. Several Notes. In the Year 1647. he published another Edition on which he calls *Appendix Ignatiana*, in which he inserted the Greek Text, published by *M. Vossius* in 1646. as also a new Translation. He added therein. 1. The ancient Records of the Martyrdom of *St. Ignatius*, which bear the Name of *Philo*. 2. The Letters of *Tiberianus*, *Pliny* and *Trajan* concerning the Constancy of the Martyrs. 3. The entire Epistle of the Church of *Smyrna*, concerning the Martyrdom of *St. Polycarp*. 4. Annotations on the Acts and the Epistles of *St. Ignatius*.

(f) Published the Greek Original of *St. Ignatius*.] His Edition was Printed at Amsterdam, Anno Dom. 1646. It contains. 1. The Seven Original Epistles, excepting that to the *Romans*, as they were written in his Greek and Latin Manuscripts. 2. The Greek Epistles falsely attributed to *St. Ignatius*, which are not cited by *Eusebius*. 3. The three Latin Letters to the *Virgin Mary*, and *St. John*. 4. The seven Greek and Latin Epistles, as they were in the former Editions. 5. The Epistle of *St. Barnabas*, together with Notes on the whole Work. The Editions of *Cotelerius* and of *Maderus* at *Helmstadt* in Octavo, are not different from that of *Vossius*,

which hath been lately Reprinted at London, in 1680.

(g) Which being five in Number.] We find at the beginning, the Epistle of *Maria Cassobolita*: afterward the first Epistle of *St. Ignatius* to this *Mary*; the Second to the Inhabitants of *Tarsus*; the Third to the *Antiochians*; the Fourth to *Hero* a Deacon of the Church of *Antioch*; and the last to the *Philippians*.

(h) The seven Epistles mentioned by *Eusebius*.] They are written according to the Order observed by *M. Vossius*, First to the Christians of *Smyrna*; the Second to *St. Polycarp*; the Third to the *Ephesians*; the Fourth to the *Magnesian*; the Fifth to the *Philadelphians*; the Sixth to the *Trallians*, and the Seventh to the *Romans*. Moreover we may distinguish Four ancient Editions of the Epistles of *St. Ignatius*; the First contained only these seven that were known to *Eusebius*, and the other ancient Writers without any Additions; the Second comprehended only these seven Epistles, but with several Additions; *Pearson* had a Manuscript of them; which Copy had been used by *Gobarus*, *Anastasius Antiochenus*, and the Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicle*, in the Third there are the seven Authentick Epistles without Interpolations, together with the counterfeit; such are those of the Version of *Usher*, and the Greek Manuscript of *M. Vossius*, and these were perused by *St. Joannes Damascenus* and *Antonius*: The Fourth is that of the seven Genuine Epistles, together with the Additions, and the others that were forged, which is the Vulgar.



St. Ignatius, and the first Question that offers it self to our Examination, is whether this Father wrote any Epistles at all : To which I reply, that it cannot be reasonably doubted : For, 1. This matter of Fact is attested by all Antiquity. 2. It is proved by the above-cited Tradition, that the Authors who saw St. Ignatius, as St. Polycarp, and those that lived immediately after him, as Irenaeus and Origen, knew and quoted these Epistles. Now to believe that they were falsely attributed to him even in their time, is in my opinion great Nonsense ; therefore it ought to be taken for granted, that St. Ignatius wrote Epistles : And who can imagine, that those are not Genuine that were collected by St. Polycarp ? Or what likelihood is there that they were lost between St. Polycarp's death, and Eusebius's time, and that others were substituted in their room ? Wherefore Eusebius had the Original Epistles of St. Ignatius, and they that succeeded him, whose Testimonies we have already alledged, having without doubt preserved the seven that are mentioned by him, it cannot be affirmed with any probability that they have cited fictitious Epistles. From whence we ought to conclude, that since all the Passages produced by them may be found word for word in the Editions of Usher and Vossius, it is very probable that they contain the Authentick Epistles of St. Ignatius in their Original Purity. And this Argument is of so much the more force, because this is not only true in the resemblance of one or two Passages, for it were not to be admired that they should agree, since they might have been inserted by an Impostor ; but in a very great number that are cited by different Authors, which makes it much more certain. Besides, there is nothing in these Epistles that does not agree with the Person, and Time of St. Ignatius ; there are no Defects in the Chronology, nor any Anachronisms, which are usually found in Supposititious Works ; there is no mention made of any Heretick that lived after St. Ignatius ; the Errors that are refuted belong to his time, as that of the Simonians and Ebionites concerning the Passion and Divinity of Jesus Christ ; the Tradition of the Church is confirmed according to Eusebius : He speaks of those Gifts of the Holy Spirit that were visible in the Church ; he cites very few Passages out of the Holy Scriptures ; he imitates the Style of St. Paul, and intermingles nothing of prophane Learning. Upon the whole matter, these Epistles are written with great simplicity, and bear an Apostolical Character ; thus all the Arguments that evince the Falsification, or the Corruption of the other Epistles, invincibly prove the Truth and Purity of these. But this will appear yet further from the Answers to the Objections propounded by Salmasius, Blondel, and Daillé, which we shall set down and confute in a few words, replying only to those that may be alledged against the seven Epistles, as they are Printed in the Edition of Vossius, and omitting the others which do not relate to our Opinion.

Objection 1. Our Adversaries not being able to produce any considerable Testimonies, at least such as can be esteemed to be of sufficient Authority, and being unwilling to appear to be the first Authors of the Opinion which they maintain, have sought for the Author of the *Stichometria*, which is prefixed to the Works of Syncellus and Theophanes, and is commonly attributed to Nicephorus, Patriarch of Constantinople, tho' it is not certain whether it is his or not. This *Stichometria* is a Catalogue of the sacred Books both Canonical and Apocryphal, together with the number of their Verses, at the end whereof are annexed, *The Apocryphal Books of the New Testament, the Voyages of St. Peter, and The Doctrine of the Apostles, of St. Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp, and Hermas* ; from whence M. Daillé concludes, that this Author hath inserted the Epistles of St. Ignatius among the Apocryphal and counterfeit Writings.

Answer. First, this Author calls all those Books Apocryphal that are not Canonical, and in this sense the Epistles of St. Ignatius may be reckoned under this Denomination, as the Book of the *Pastor*, which is styled Apocryphal by those that do not receive it as Canonical, tho' it is very ancient, and was certainly written by him whose Name it bears.

Secondly, This Author doth not mention the Epistles of St. Ignatius or St. Polycarp, and there is no probability that he intended to do it, because his design is to make a Catalogue of the sacred Writings both Genuine and Apocryphal ; now what Analogy is there between this and the Epistles of St. Ignatius, which being written a long time after the Death of the Apostles, could not be comprized amongst the Books of the Holy Scripture ? And indeed if the Epistles of St. Ignatius, and St. Polycarp ought to be rejected as fictitious, because this Author hath inserted their Names among the Apocryphal Books of the *New Testament*, we must likewise reject the Epistle of St. Clement, whose Name is found imme-

diately before ; therefore it must necessarily be inferred, that he intended to reject some other Books that were ascribed to St. Clement, to St. Ignatius, and to St. Polycarp, and that the Word *δοξασθαι* ought to be understood with relation to these three last ; for after having said *δοξασθαι ἀποστόλων*. *The Doctrine of the Apostles*, he adds without specifying any thing else, of *Clement, Ignatius, and Polycarp*, that is to say, the Books in like manner Entitled, *The Doctrine of Clement, The Doctrine of Ignatius, The Doctrine of Polycarp* ; this is the plain sense of that Passage.

Thirdly, Altho' it were granted, that this Author had rejected the Epistles of St. Ignatius, which is not true, of what weight could his Testimony be, against the Tradition that we have even now alledged ?

Object. 2. It is said, that these Epistles were unknown to St. Justin, to St. Clement of Alexandria, and to all the ancient Writers before Eusebius.

Answer. Tho' this were true, yet there are many Books whose Truth is not called in question, that are mentioned by Eusebius alone, and by no other ancient Author ; but besides, we have already shewn, that these Epistles are cited by St. Polycarp, St. Irenaeus, and Origen, and that the Passages which they produce, are found in those Letters that we have.

Object. 3. The style (say they) of the Epistles attributed to St. Ignatius, is very different from that of this Father ; it is full of lofty Expressions and affected Epithets, which is very far from the simplicity of the Apostolical Times. They say moreover, that the Inscriptions of these Letters are long and full of pompous Epithets.

Answer. The Objections taken from the style are of little moment ; for who hath informed these modern Critics how St. Ignatius writ ? However it is not true, that the style of these Epistles is far from the simplicity of the ancient Christians ; on the contrary, it is very simple, and extremely natural : It must be confessed indeed, that there are some Epithets and compound Words, but this agrees with the Asiatick stile, which is generally more florid than that of other Nations ? It might also be added, that we find the like Epithets in the Epistle of St. Clement, and in other ancient Authors. The inscriptions are not longer than St. Paul's Epistles, and in the Editions of Usher and Vossius they are not so large nor so magnificent as in the Vulgar, as well as in that of the Epistle to the Romans recited by Metaphrastes.

Object. 4. This Objection is the first of those that are taken from the Contents of the Epistles themselves. It is said, that the Author writes against the Opinion of Saturninus, who believed that Jesus Christ suffered only in Appearance ; and of Theodotus, who imagined that our Saviour was a mere Man. Now these two Hereticks are later than St. Ignatius.

Answer. The first of these Errors was maintained by Simon Magus and Menander ; the other was asserted by Cerinthus and Ebion, Hereticks who lived in St. Ignatius's time.

Object. 5. This is the principle, or the only Objection that hath any difficulty, it is taken from an Expression in the Epistle to the Magnesians, *That the Eternal Word proceeded not from Silence*, *ἐκ ἀπὸ σιγῆς προέβηεν*, which seems to be said purposely against the Errors of the Valentinians, who first used the word *Silence* as a Term of Art.

Answer. If there were no Answer to be given to this Objection, I should rather chuse to affirm, that this Passage is added, than merely on this account to reject the Epistles that are acknowledged as Authentick by all the Ancients. There are many Books wherein some Editions have been made, which make them appear later than they really are ; and we find some of this sort in the Bible, in Homer, and in almost all the Ecclesiastical and Prophane Authors. But there is no necessity to make use of this answer, since we have several others that are sufficient to afford reasonable Satisfaction to the Impartial and Judicious Reader.

For, 1. It is not true that St. Ignatius here speaks of the Silence of the Valentinians, or of any other Notion of Hereticks that is like it, he only declares, that the Word of God is not like unto that of Men, which comes from, or follows after Silence. These are his Words : *There is but one God who hath made himself manifest by his Son Jesus Christ, who is the Eternal Word of God, that doth not proceed from Silence, and that is in all things like unto him that sent him.* The main design of St. Ignatius in this place, is to establish our Saviour's Divinity against the Ebionites. He shews that he is God, because he is the Word or the Speech of God, which being eternal, is not preceded by Silence as that of Men. This Explication is natural and liable to no difficulty, though M. Daillé hath thought fit to censure it as Impertinent ; however



St. Ignatius. ever there is none that reads this Passage but will readily grant, that this Sense is most proper and very conformable to the Intention of the ancient Writers, who endeavoured to demonstrate the Difference that there is between the Word of God and that of Men. St. Augustine, in his Homily concerning the Nativity of Jesus Christ, makes use of the very same Comparison, without having any regard to the Valentiniens; *Quod est* (says he) *hoc Verbum?* *Quod dicturus antea non silebat, quo dicto, non siliuit qui dicebat:* And St. Fulgentius, Lib. 3. ad Trasim. cap. 28. *Idem Verbum nullo potuit coerceri silentio, quia ipse Patris est sempiterna locutio.* That which is affirmed by M. Daillé, that the word *λογος* was used by the Valentiniens, may be true, but they oftner used the word *λογος*, neither is the word *λογος* peculiar to the Valentiniens, it is commonly applied in Greek to signify *To go or come forth.* Besides, St. Ignatius says not *απο σιγης*, but *απο σιγης*, which may signify, that the Word of God came not forth after Silence as that of Men.

2. Valentinius and his Disciples did not affirm, that the Word came from Silence. The Word according to their fantastical Imagination, came from the Spirit and the Truth, and not from the Deep and from Silence.

3. The Opinion of Valentinius concerning Silence, was devised and propagated before his time, for all that speak of his Heresie, observe, that he revived the ancient Errors of the Gnosticks. Eusebius declares in Lib. 2. de Theolog. Eccl. cap. 9. that Simon Magnus often talked of Silence among his Followers: *Secundum inipium* (says he) *Hereticorum principem, qui, impii dogmatizans, pronuntiavit dicens, erat Deus, & Sige;* which comes nearer to the Error, that is supposed to be confuted by St. Ignatius. St. Irenaeus attributes this Opinion to all the Gnosticks, as also Tertullian, St. Epiphanius, and St. Augustine, St. Gregory Nazianzen, Orat. 23. and after him Elias Cretenus, charge it upon the Gnosticks. This shews, that tho' the Author of the Epistle to the Magnesians should have opposed the Error of those that maintain that the Word proceeded from Silence, yet this doth not hinder but that it might have been written by St. Ignatius.

4. It is not certainly known, whether Valentinius had not already begun to divulge his Errors even before the Death of St. Ignatius, since it is evident that St. Polycarp survived this Arch-Heretic, and tho' he was not declared to be the Ring-leader of this Party till afterwards, yet he might even then have taught some of his pernicious Doctrines, to which St. Ignatius might allude. These four Answers are solid, and every one of them separately might be sufficient to convince any Man; but the first in my opinion is most natural.

Object. 6. In the Epistle to the Christians of Smyrna, mention is made of certain visible Princes that shall be judged, if they do not believe in Jesus Christ. Now what probability is there, (say they) that St. Ignatius should speak thus of the Emperors and Kings of his time?

Answer. Why may not this be affirmed of the Unbelieving Emperors and Kings that were Contemporary with St. Ignatius? Since Tertullian and St. Justin have declared as much of the Emperors of their time, and that too in the presence of the Emperors themselves. Moreover it is not necessary to understand the word *αρχη* only of Emperors and Kings, since it may signify all that are invested with any Authority.

Object. 7. In the Epistle to the Romans we find this Expression, *That he was led by the Leopards, which are Solitaries.* This Explication (say they) is needless, and the Comparison is childish.

Answer. And I say that the similitude is very natural, and that the Explication was necessary. Bochart indeed affirms, that the word *Leopard* was not used until the time of Constantine; but how does he know it? It is in the Acts of the Passion of St. Perpetua and St. Felicitas; Aelius Spartianus, in the Life of Geta, thinks, that it was an old Word at the time when he wrote his History.

Object. 8. In the Epistle to the Philadelphians, he speaks of Penitents that were publicly received by the Church, whereas (say they) in the first Ages, they that had once fallen were not afterward re-admitted into the Communion of the Church; neither was there any Penance that ended in Reconciliation.

Answer. There is nothing in the Epistle to the Philadelphians concerning publick Penitents who had committed enormous Crimes; this is a mere Imagination. It is only declared, that they that had departed from the Church should obtain Pardon for their Fault, if they repented thereof by re-entring into it, that is to say, if they reunited themselves to the Church, from which they were separated. It is certain, that Hereticks and Schismatics returning to the Church were always re-admitted. Beside, the Example of the young Man who was reconciled by St. John, after he had been for a long time Captain

of a Troop of Highway-men, and of many others, shew, that Penance was then in use; and Morinus evidently proves, that in the two first Centuries Absolution was granted more easily than in the third.

Object. 9. Onesimus Bishop of Ephesus, who died before St. Ignatius, is cited by Name in this Epistle.

Answer. This Onesimus is not he that was the Disciple of St. Paul, whom others affirm to have been Bishop of Berea: And besides, even the Onesimus mentioned by St. Paul might be living when St. Ignatius wrote this Epistle, since that of St. Paul to Philemon was written from Rome about the Year of our Lord 64, therefore tho' Onesimus might be 26 Years old then, yet he could not have been above 70 Years of age about the Year 107, or 108, when St. Ignatius Composed these Works, which is no very extraordinary thing.

Object. 10. The Author of the Epistles attributed to St. Ignatius cites (as they say) several Apocryphal Books. He produceth in the Epistle to the Smyrneans a Sentence concerning Jesus Christ, taken from the Gospel according to the Hebrews. Who can believe this of St. Ignatius?

Answer. This is no unusual thing among the Ancients. St. Jerome gives us the same passage of St. Ignatius, and Papias hath likewise quoted the Gospel according to the Hebrews. St. Clement in his Epistle to the Corinthians, uses some Expressions as taken from the Holy Scriptures which are not there, as is observed by Photius, Cod. 126. St. Jude also cites the Book of Enoch. And besides, we cannot positively affirm, that the Gospel according to the Hebrews is cited by St. Ignatius, for he only produceth a Sentence, as knowing by Tradition that it was uttered by Jesus Christ. Thus St. Clement and St. Barnabas set down the Words of our Saviour, which they had either heard spoken by him, or had received from those by whom he was seen in the Flesh. Lastly, this Passage in St. Ignatius is quoted by St. Jerome, as belonging to the Gospel according to the Hebrews; but Origen produces it out of the Book, Entitled, *The Doctrine of St. Peter*, which shews that it was a very common Expression.

Object. 11. The ardent desire of suffering Martyrdom, expressed by St. Ignatius, is (according to their Judgment) too excessive.

Answer. This hath been admired in the Epistle to the Romans, by the ancient Christians; the same Ardor appears likewise in St. Cyprian, in Germanicus a Martyr of Smyrna, and in many others. Certainly they must needs have but a very little knowledge of Antiquity, who deny that the Primitive Christians were inflamed with a fervent desire of suffering Martyrdom, and a Man shews that he is but meanly skilled in Divinity, if he blames this Passion, when it neither does, nor says any thing that is impudent or indecent. And this is the case of St. Ignatius, who, in testifying an earnest desire of becoming a Martyr, uttered no Expressions but such as were very prudent, and very moderate: Let us read his Epistle to the Romans with the same spirit as he wrote it, and we shall be so far from censuring it with the modern Criticks, that we shall admire it as much as the Ancients did.

Object. 12. St. Paul doth not mention the Ephesians in all his Epistles, as it is affirmed by the Author of the Epistle to the Ephesians: Therefore, &c.

Answer. He doth not say that St. Paul mentioned the Ephesians in all his Epistles, but throughout the whole Epistle that he wrote to them, (*εις την εκκλησιαν της εφεσου*) and composed altogether for their use.

Object. 13. He declares that he saw Jesus Christ, which, St. Chrysostome says, is not true.

Answer. The passage which is meant by them signifies only, that he knew and believed the real Incarnation of Jesus Christ. And after all, it was not impossible for St. Ignatius to have seen our Saviour.

Object. 14. He gives an account of the Errors of certain Hereticks that abstained from the Eucharist; now there were not any such (says M. Daillé) in the time of St. Ignatius, but afterwards when these Epistles were counterfeited.

Answer. Who hath informed him, that there were no such at the time when these Epistles were forged, and none before? These Hereticks are the Docetae, who believed that Jesus Christ suffered only in appearance, whose Heresie was very ancient.

Object. 15. He affirms, that the Romans might easily have delivered him from his persecutor, why then did they not do it.

Answer. He doth not declare that they were absolutely able to deliver him, but only that he was ready to undergo Martyrdom, if they did not prevent it; that they might easily do whatever they thought fit, that is, use their endeavours to rescue him from Death; but for his part, he could not find a better opportunity of suffering for Jesus Christ.

Object.



*Object. 16.* He promiseth to send a Book to the *Ephesians*; but how could he do it when he was going to be put to Death?

*Ans.* His meaning is, that he would write a second Letter to them, *Διότις βιβλίον*. a second small Volume, upon two Conditions; First, if God should permit; and Secondly, in case the *Ephesians* should want it. He might well hope to write another, having had the liberty to write the former.

*Object. 17.* There appears (say they) too much Arrogance and Affectation in these Epistles; the Author boasts, that he hath the knowledge of Celestial things, *Se multa sapere in Deo*, and that he knew the Orders, Offices, and Stations of the Angels.

*Ans.* All this might be affirmed by an ancient Bishop, that had acquired the Reputation of St. Ignatius; all the Christians might likewise boast that they were endued with the knowledge of Celestial Things, and more especially Bishops. St. Ignatius immediately adds after the Words cited in the Objection, *Whatever knowledge I have, I am not puffed up, but I measure my self.* He says nothing of Angels, but what had been said before by St. Paul.

*Object. 18.* What reason is there, that St. Ignatius should be sent to Rome to be exposed to wild Beasts in the Amphitheatre of that City, as if Persons condemned to this sort of Punishment, were not executed in all the great Towns, where Shows were exhibited? Why must he be brought thither by Sea and Land, a way so far about?

*Ans.* If we may believe the History of the Martyrdom of St. Ignatius, he was sent to Rome by the express Command of the Emperor. However, if this were not true, it is ordained by the Law, *Ad bestias tit. de Poenis*: That Criminals, condemned to be torn in pieces by wild Beasts, should be conveyed to Rome with the Emperor's Permission; (which ought to be understood of considerable Malefactors;) such were the Ring-leaders of Factions, and the Bishops among the Christians, especially so famous a Bishop as that of Antioch. The way through which he was conducted thither was the ordinary Road; for to come to Rome out of Syria, it is necessary to go to Smyrna or to Ephesus, afterward to cross the Hellespont, and so to Brundisium, and from thence to Rome.

*Object. 19.* The last Objection which is the cause why all the others were made, is taken from the different Orders of Bishops and Priests, who are often distinguished in the Epistles that are attributed to St. Ignatius: It is supposed that this distinction was not made until the third Age of the Church, from whence it is concluded that these Epistles are none of his.

*Ans.* This Supposition being false, the whole Objection must consequently fall of it self, and tho' we had no other Proofs of the distinction of Bishops and Priests in the second Century, than the Epistles of St. Ignatius, yet we ought not to doubt thereof, and instead of inferring from thence that these Letters are Counterfeit, it may well be concluded on the contrary, that the different Orders of Bishops and Priests, were established in St. Ignatius's time, since they are found in the Epistles that have been acknowledged by all the ancient Writers as certainly belonging to him: But there are many other Testimonies which make it appear, that there was a distinction between Bishops and Priests even in the second Age of the Church. *Hegesippus*, for Example, gives us a Catalogue of the Bishops of Jerusalem; can this be said to be a List of the Priests of that City? *Polycrates* hath made another of the ancient Bishops of Asia, and *Eusebius* hath compiled that of the principal Cities throughout the whole World since the time of Jesus Christ. Therefore there must of necessity have been always in the Church, Persons called Bishops, who presided over Churches and Priests. The Martyrs of Lyons style *Pothinus* Bishop, and St. *Irenaeus* Priest. The anonymous Author, cited by *Eusebius* against the *Cataphrygians*, distinguishes Priests from Bishops. And there are infinite numbers of Testimonies and Arguments, by which it may be proved that there was some difference made between Priests and Bishops even in the second Century; but we shall insist no longer on this Subject: And I am afraid that I have already tired the Reader's patience in refuting all the Objections that have been alledged against the Epistles of St. Ignatius, but I judged it necessary for the confirmation of their Authority.

It remains only, for the conclusion of our Critical Enquiries concerning these Epistles, to give some account of that to St. Polycarp. I know not what reason *Usher* might have to reject it, since it plainly belongs to the number of the Seven that are mentioned by *Eusebius*, who clearly distinguisheth it from that which was written to the inhabitants of Smyrna. St. *Jerome* follows *Eusebius* in this particular. *Et proprie* (says he) *ad Polycarpum*.

*pum.* It is true indeed, that there he cites a Passage of the Epistle to the *Smyrneans* as appertaining to that of St. Ignatius. *Polycarp*, but this may only be an Error as to matter of Fact, and it very frequently happens, that in Citations one Work is taken for another. A notable mark of the Truth of this Epistle is that in the Manuscript of Florence, it is found to be different from the vulgar Edition, as well as the six others which are esteemed Authentick, whereas all the rest which are forged do not vary in this Manuscript from the ordinary Editions; this shews, that the Author of these Letters, is the same Person that made the Additions in the real Epistles of St. Ignatius, and that all those that are purged from these Additions in the above-cited Manuscript of Florence; and in the Edition of *Vossius*, are undoubtedly genuine.

The Chronological Order of these seven Epistles is this: First, it is certain that they were all written by St. Ignatius when he was in Bonds, and as he was conveyed from Antioch to Rome to be exposed to wild Beasts in that City. Secondly it is likewise evident, that four of them were made at Smyrna, where he resided, perhaps, for some considerable time; these four in the Edition of *Vossius* and in St. *Jerome* are put in this following Order; the Epistle to the *Ephesians*, to the *Magnesian*, to the *Trallians*, and the last to the *Romans*. It cannot be precisely determined, whether this be the Order wherein they were written, or whether they were all composed at the same time. It is probable that the Epistle to the *Romans* is the last, because he declares therein, that he wrote to the other Churches, and that he went cheerfully to suffer Martyrdom: It seems to have been made when he was ready to depart, being wearied with the long stay of his Guards in that place; so great was his Passion to suffer Martyrdom.

He wrote the three others at his departure from Smyrna whilst he stayed at Traas, from whence he was obliged to go to Naples. The Epistles to the *Smyrneans* and to St. *Polycarp* seem to have been written together, and that to the *Philadelphians* last, because it is expressed in the later, that the other Cities had sent several Bishops and Priests into Syria; and in the Epistle to St. *Polycarp*, he chargeth him to depute a fit Person for the Episcopal Function in that Country. However there is a more probable conjecture to prove, that the two others were written after that to the *Philadelphians*, according to St. *Jerome's* Opinion, because St. Ignatius declares therein, that he was ready to embark for Naples, and that this was the reason why he could not write to the other Churches, which shews, that the time of his departure drew near when he composed them. He there mentions his Martyrdom, as a thing certainly to be accomplished. St. Ignatius in his Epistle to the Christians of Smyrna, confutes the Error of those that denied that Jesus Christ took upon himself the human Nature; that he assumed a real Body, and that he actually suffered: He affirms, that those Hereticks neglected the Poor and the Widows, and separated themselves from the publick Prayers of the Church, and from the Eucharist, because they did not believe that it was the Body of Jesus Christ, which had been nailed to the Cross for our sakes, and afterwards rose again from the Dead: He admonisheth the *Smyrneans* to avoid Divisions as the Original of all Evil, to obey their Bishop, to honour the Priests and Deacons, and to do nothing contrary to the Precepts of their Bishop, without whose Assistance (saith he) it is not lawful even to Baptize, or to celebrate the *Agape* or Love-feasts.

In the Epistle to St. *Polycarp*, he gives excellent Counsels to this Bishop; he advises him to endeavour to preserve Union in his Church, to watch continually over his Flock, and to apply convenient Remedies to their Distempers, to reprove those that offend, with Charity and Gentleness, to pray to God incessantly and to sue for his Grace. In short, to labour without Intermision as a faithful Servant and Soldier of Jesus Christ, who being invisible and impassible, made himself visible and mortal for our sakes. He admonisheth him to take care of the Widows, not to despise the meanest People, not to suffer any thing to be done without his Concurrence, and to do nothing himself but what is conformable to the Will of God, to enjoin Women to please their Husbands, and Husbands to love their Wives, as also to recommend to them Chastity, accompanied with Humility, and to inform the Christians, that their Marriage when performed, according to the Will of God, ought to be solemnized in the presence of the Bishop. Afterward he exhorts all the faithful, to submit to their Bishop, Priests and Deacons, and to work out their own Salvation. Lastly, directing his Discourse to St. *Polycarp*, he adviseth him to call a Synod, and to ordain a Bishop to be sent into Syria.

In the Epistle to the *Ephesians*, he testifies his Joy in seeing  *Onesimus* their Bishop, who came to him with a



Deacon named *Burrus*, and two other Believers; he admonisheth them to live Holily, in perfect Unity among themselves, and in Obedience to their Bishop and Priests; he declares, that they that do not joyn with the Bishop and are not present at the publick Service of the Christians, over which the Bishops preside, are without the Pale of the Church, and deprived of the Celestial Food. Afterward he warns them to beware of Heresies, to avoid the Company of Hereticks, and to believe that Jesus Christ is God, who was incarnate, that he is impassible as he is God, and passible as he is Man. Lastly, after having commended their Piety, he exhorts them to pray to God for all sorts and conditions of Men, frequently to assemble together, to make publick Prayers and Supplications, and inviolably to preserve Faith and Charity; he affirms that the Prince of this World, that is to say, the Devil, was ignorant of the Virginity of *Mary*, of her Child-birth, and of the Death of our Lord: He promiseth to send to them a little Book, that is to say, a Letter concerning the Incarnation of Jesus Christ, and he intreats them to pray to God for him.

In the Epistle to the *Magnesiens*, he exhorts the Christians of that Church to be obedient to their Bishop *Damas* who came to see him, to do nothing without him, and to live in Unity one with another. He admonisheth them not to suffer themselves to be led away with vain Opinions, not to live like Jews but as Christians, to believe in Jesus Christ, who is the Word of God that doth not proceed from silence, but was sent by God the Father, and is our only hope. At last he desires them to remember him in their Prayers.

In the Epistle to the *Philadelphians*, he congratulates their Union, he exhorts them to avoid corrupt Doctrines, and advises them not to follow those that are the Abettors of Schisms and Divisions amongst them, and to concur in

every thing with their Bishop. Lastly, he refutes the Arguments of those that refused to believe any thing, but what was written in the Old Testament, and declares that the Gospel is the Perfection of that which was prefigured in the old Law.

In the Epistle to the *Trallians*, he commends their Union, and the Submission and Respect that they shewed towards their Bishop, Priests and Deacons, and exhorts them to persevere in this Union, and to beware of Hereticks. He expounds the Orthodox Doctrines of the Catholick Church, that Jesus Christ was born of the Virgin *Mary*, that he was really Man, that he actually suffered and died, and not in appearance, as some Hereticks said.

Lastly, in the Epistle to the *Romans*, he expresseth his Zeal, and ardent desire of suffering Martyrdom, and entreats them not to take this glorious Crown from him, by preventing his being exposed to wild Beasts in the Amphitheatre of *Rome*.

Upon the whole matter, all these Epistles are full of very wholesome Precepts, and useful Exhortations; they are extremely worthy of a Christian, of a Bishop, and of a Martyr, and are all full of Warmth and Piety. One cannot read them, without perceiving every where, that this Holy Man, was animated with a Zeal truly Divine for the Salvation of Souls, for the fulfilling of the Law of Jesus Christ, and for the Preservation of his Doctrine. In every thing that he says, he appears to be full of Love to our Saviour, of Affection towards his Brethren, of Care for the Discipline of the Church, and of Ardour for the Blessing of Peace. In short, let Criticks that are of a contrary Opinion say what they please, I dare maintain that these Epistles deserve to be well esteemed, and to be admired by all those who profess to have any Respect for Books of Piety.

## St. POLYCARP.

St. Polycarp (a) the Disciple of St. John the Evangelist (b), and by him ordained Bishop of *Smyrna*, was after the decease of this Apostle, esteemed as the Head of the Churches of *Asia* (c); when he went to *Rome*, under the Pontificate of *Anicetus*, about the year 160 (d) he converted several *Marcionites*, and obliged them to return to the Bosom of the Church. He had several Conferences with Pope *Anicetus*, probably about several particular Customs of the Church of *Rome*; They debated the question of the day when they should keep *Easter*, which was afterwards disputed under the Pontificate of Pope *Victor*, but each of them having judged it to be most convenient to observe his own custom, they amicably communicated one with another; and *Anicetus* to do the greater honour to St. Polycarp caused him to officiate in his own Church (e), and in his own place.

This Holy Bishop always abhorred Hereticks; and he used to tell a story, that St. John having seen *Cerintus* entering into a Bath, speedily fled from thence without bathing himself therein, fearing lest the building should fall because *Cerintus* the Enemy of the Truth was there; and he himself having once accidentally met with *Marcion*,

who desired that he would vouchsafe to take notice of him, he replied, *I know that Thou art the eldest Son of the Devil*. He had a very particular respect for the Memory of St. John; he took much delight in telling over the Discourses that he formerly had with him, and with others that had seen Jesus Christ in the flesh; he related every thing whereof he had been informed by them concerning his Doctrine and Miracles, and if he had heard any one maintaining any Principles contrary to the Apostolical Faith, he was wont to cry out, *O God to what times hast thou reserved me!* and would immediately depart from the place where he was. All this is recorded by St. *Irenaeus*, and cited by *Eusebius* in the fourteenth Chapter of the fourth Book of his History, and in the twentieth Chapter of the fifth Book.

The illustrious Martyrdom of this Saint, which happened in the year 167. after the Nativity of Jesus Christ on the 23d day of *February*, is described after a most elegant manner in the excellent Epistle of the Church of *Smyrna* to those of *Pontus*, produced in part by *Eusebius*, in the fifteenth Chapter of the fourth Book of his History, and published entirely first by Archbishop *Usher*, and afterward by *Valesius*. They there give an account that

(a) St. Polycarp.] *Hallixius* says, that St. Polycarp was originally of *Smyrna*; that he was born in the East, and that he was a Slave in his youth, that he was bought by a certain Lady named *Calistone*, who gave him his Liberty, and caused him to be instructed in the Christian Religion; that she afterwards made him her Steward, and at last her Heir. He enlarged on the liberal Donations of this Lady; he affirms that *Bucolas* Bishop of *Smyrna* was at first Tutor to St. Polycarp, and afterwards St. John; he writes much in the Commendation of this fictitious *Bucolas*, and declares, that he ordained St. Polycarp who is the Angel of *Smyrna*. These Tales and many others are extracted from the false Acts of the Life of St. Polycarp forged under the name of *Pionius* from the *Menologium Gracorum* by the modern Greeks.

(b) The Disciple of St. John the Evangelist.] St. *Irenaeus* tells us, lib. 3. cap. 3. that he was constituted Bishop of *Smyrna* by the Apostles; and this could be done by no other than St. John.

(c) The Head of the Churches of *Asia*.] St. *Jerome* says that he was *Princeps Ecclesiarum Asiae*, that is to say, that he was the most considerable Bishop, and (as I may say) succeeded in the Authority of St. John.

(d) About the year 160.] He died in the Seventh year of the Emperor *Marcus Aurelius* in the year 167. he had then served Jesus Christ 86 years, as he declares himself in the

Acts of his Martyrdom; Thus he might have begun to serve God in the year 81 after the Nativity of our Saviour, and then he might be ten years old. He conversed with all the Apostles, if we may believe the Testimony of St. *Irenaeus*. St. John died in the year of our Lord 101, and in the second of *Trajan*; he was banished in the fourteenth of *Domitian*, *An. Dom.* 95, and returned into *Asia* after the death of this Emperor. These Observations may serve to fix the Chronology of the Life of St. Polycarp. He was born about the year of our Lord 70, he began to consecrate himself to the service of God in the year 81. At that time he conversed with the Apostles, and became the Disciple of St. John; after the return of this Apostle he was ordained Bishop of *Smyrna*, however it is not precisely known in what year, but this must of necessity have happened before the year 101, since St. John died that year: He undertook his Journey to *Rome* in the beginning of the Pontificate of *Anicetus*, who presided in that See from the year 158 to the year 169.

(e) In his own Church.] All these Circumstances are related by St. *Irenaeus*. There are some who affirm, that the Expression of St. *Irenaeus* signifies only, that *Anicetus* administered the Holy Sacrament of the Lords Supper to St. Polycarp, but he would not thereby have done him much honour; it may be better understood according to our Explication.

St. Poly-



*St. Polycarp.* St. Polycarp did not voluntarily surrender himself to his Executioners, but that he waited after the example of our Saviour, until he was delivered into their hands; that many Christians suffered before him with admirable constancy all the Torments imaginable; that there was only one Quintus, who had persuaded the others to present themselves before the Tribunal of the Judge, that was overcome in the great Tryal, which shews (as it is observed in the same Epistle) that although we cannot but admire the constancy of those that have generously suffered, after they had presented themselves, yet their conduct ought not to be approved, since it is condemned in the Gospel. That St. Polycarp being informed of what had happened, determined to remain in the City; but being constrained to retire into a little House in the Country, he there continually prayed to God night and day for all the Churches, and for all men; that three days before he was apprehended, being fervent in Prayer, he saw a Vision, wherein he perceived that his Bedstead was all on fire, which caused him immediately to foretel that he should ere long be burnt alive; that although he was removed from the place of his abode, yet he was seized by the Soldiers of the Provost-Marshal, led into the City and brought before the Pro-Consul, who endeavoured to persuade him to swear by the Genius of Cæsar, and to curse Jesus Christ, whereupon Polycarp being encouraged by a Voice from Heaven, openly declares that he was a Christian; That the Pro-Consul having caused his profession to be proclaimed with a loud Voice, all the People who were in the Amphitheatre, cried out, that he should be burnt alive: That being tied to a stake, he prayed to God, and concluded with blessing the most Holy Trinity; that when the Fire was kindled it made a kind of a Circle round about the Body of this holy Martyr, who remained in the midst thereof without receiving the least hurt; and lastly, that the Pagans perceiving that the Fire could not burn or consume him, sent an Officer to run him thorough with a Sword; and would not suffer the Christians to carry off his Body, which continued whole and entire, lest (as these deluded Heathens affirmed) they should adore it instead of Je-

[There is nothing in this Declaration of the Church of Smyrna which the Protestants ever disallowed: They are far from thinking that those are not worthy of extraordinary Honours here below, who are so peculiarly graced by God himself. But yet if they are jealous of the Honour which is only due to Jesus Christ, and afraid of doing any thing which may derogate from it, they think this to be a thing which needs no excuse; since we have a positive command for the one, whereas the other is wholly discretionary: And we can never err in assigning the Bounds of that Respect which is due to Saints and Martyrs if we consider that their great Honour arises from their inviolable Fidelity to our common Master; and that the chiefest reason why the Church at first commanded the anniversaries of Saints and Martyrs to be observed with so much Splendour, was to encourage the rest of the Faithful to imitate them as they imitated Jesus Christ.]

removed from the aspersions that are cast on them by the Protestants of our time, as from the superstition of some Roman Catholics.

St. Irenæus assures us in his Letter to Florinus, that St. Polycarp wrote several Epistles to the neighbouring Churches to confirm them in the Christian Faith, and others to some of his Brethren to encourage and exhort them to persevere in the Truth. We have at present but one single Epistle written by him to the Philippians, and particularly cited by St. Irenæus, Eusebius, St. Jerome and Photius (f), who have all commended and appro-

ved it as really belonging to this primitive Bishop. And it cannot be doubted that it is the same with that which St. Polycarp was extant in the time of these ancient Writers; wherefore I shall make no difficulty to affirm that it would be great rashness to reject it, as M. Blondel and M. Daillé have done; for by whom have these modern Authors been informed that this Letter was not composed by St. Polycarp? What Reasons can they alledge? Do they know St. Polycarp's style better than St. Irenæus his Disciple? have they a greater insight into this matter than Eusebius, St. Jerome or Photius? Besides, if the Arguments produced by them had any weight, one might set them in the balance with the Authority of those ancient Writers, but they are so weak that they scarcely deserve to be mentioned. This Epistle (says M. Daillé) is disallowed by Nicephorus in his *Stichometria*: This is indeed an Authority of great moment fit to be set against the Testimony of Eusebius, St. Jerome and Photius! It is not certainly known by whom this *Stichometria* was composed, and although we should allow that it was written by Nicephorus, yet he is a late Author, and of very little Authority in comparison of those that we have now cited. After all, he doth not reject the Epistle of St. Polycarp, but only a certain Work that was attributed to him; and the Book of the Doctrine of St. Polycarp (as we have elsewhere observed) ought to be thereby understood, after the same manner as the Book of the Doctrine of St. Ignatius, and the Book of the Doctrine of St. Clement. Otherwise we must likewise disallow the Epistle of St. Clement to the Corinthians, whose name is found among the Apocryphal Writings immediately before that of St. Polycarp. It is certain also, that there was extant a Book, entituled, The Doctrine of St. Polycarp, as well as one called, The Doctrine of St. Clement, since it is cited by Maximus, Bede, Ado, Usuardus, Metaphrastes, Pachymeres, Honorius, and Nicephorus Calistus.

M. Daillé perceiving the weakness of his objection against the Epistle of St. Polycarp, is obliged to assert, that tho' the first part is genuine, yet the second wherein he mentions those of St. Ignatius, is supposititious: And to prove this he shews, that the Epistle was concluded with the Invocation of Jesus Christ, and that which follows ought to be esteemed as an addition made afterwards, being of no Authority. But M. Daillé cannot maintain this Hypothesis, without rejecting the Testimony of Eusebius and Photius, who cite this second Part, and more especially that which relates to the Letters of St. Ignatius; neither doth it signify any thing to urge that the Epistle was concluded before, because, it is evident, that the Invocation of Jesus Christ is frequently inserted in the middle of an Epistle, which is nevertheless continued after this sort of conclusion; this is very often to be found in St. Paul's Epistles, particularly in the fifteenth Chapter of his Epistle to the Romans. The only objection alledged by M. Daillé that hath any manner of probability is this; It is manifest (says he) that the Author who wrote that part wherein St. Ignatius is mentioned, supposeth him to be yet living, since he requires the Philippians to inform him concerning the Transactions of St. Ignatius, and of those that were with him; *De ipso Ignatio & de iis qui cum eo sunt* (g) *quod certius agnoveritis significate*. But if we observe these words, it will appear, that they might as well be written after the death of St. Ignatius, as when he was alive, and that St. Polycarp only desired an account of the particular Circumstances of the Life and Martyrdom of that eminent Bishop, which were not unknown to the Christians of Philippi, through which City he had passed in his Journey to Rome.

This Epistle being full of admirable Counsels, Precepts, and Exhortations taken from the Holy Scriptures is written with a great deal of elegance and simplicity, as Photius has observed already. It was Printed in Latin together with the Epistles of St. Clement and St. Ignatius in the years 1498, 1502, 1520, 1536, and 1550. at Basil in 1579, at Colen in 1530, at Paris in 1569 with the Works of St. Irenæus, at Ingolstadt in 1546, at Paris in 1562, and at several other times, it is likewise inserted in the *Bibliotheca Patrum* set forth by La Bigne. Besides it was Printed at Colen in 1557 of the Translation of Perionius, with the Works of Dionysius the Areopagite, and in 1585, with them and the Epistles of St. Ignatius. Halloixius first published part thereof in Greek from a Manuscript which Sirmondus had transcribed from

(f) By St. Irenæus, Eusebius, St. Jerome, and Photius.] St. Irenæus in lib. 3. contr. Hæres. says thus, *There is extant an Epistle of Polycarp to the Christians of Philippi, which is extremely accurate, and very proper to shew the Character of the Faith, and the Doctrine of the Truth, to those that take any care of their Salvation.* Eusebius adds in lib. 4. cap. 14. that St. Polycarp in this Epistle makes use of some Testimonies ta-

ken from the First Epistle of St. Peter: These References are found in that which we now have under his Name. St. Jerome affirms, that this Epistle was read in the Assembly of the Faithful of Asia. See Photius, Cod. 126.

(g) *Qui cum eo sunt.*] It is expressed in the Greek, *οὗτοι μετ' αὐτοῦ*, that is to say, they that had been with him, and who followed him when he passed through Philippi.



St. Polycarp. a Copy written by *Turrianus*. *Usher* hath printed it in Greek and Latin afterwards with the Epistles of St. *Ignatius* in the year 1644. *Cotelerius* put it into his Collection of the ancient Records of the Fathers. *Modernus* hath likewise procured it to be reprinted at *Helmstadt*, and lastly it was Printed in *Holland* in 1687, with a Dissertation concerning the Life and Writings of St. *Polycarp*, in a Collection of Treatises, entituled, *Varia Sacra*, set forth by M. *Le Moine*.

There are several other Works attributed to this ancient Bishop, as an Epistle to St. *Dionysius* the *Arcopagite*,

quoted by *Suidas*, and a Treatise concerning the Union of St. *John*, which is pretended to be kept in the Abby of *Fleury*; some Passages or Notes on the Gospels are likewise produced for his, which are taken from the *Catena* of *Fenardentius* under the name of *Victor Capuensis*. But it is very probable that these Tracts are fictitious. St. *Jerome* in his 28th Epistle to *Basilicus* declares, that it was commonly reported in his time, that the Authentick Works of *Josephus*, *Polycarp*, and *Papias*, were brought to him, but that it was a false rumour.

## P A P I A S.

*Papias*. **P**apias, Bishop of *Hierapolis* (a), a City of *Asia*, was a Disciple either of St. *John* the Evangelist (b), or of some other Person who bore the same name: He wrote five Books, intituled, *The Explanations of our Lords Discourses*, which were extant even in the time of *Trithemius*; but at present we have only some few fragments in the Writings of the ancient and modern Authors. He was the first that promoted the famous Opinion, or rather Dotage of Antiquity (c), concerning the Temporal Reign of Jesus Christ, which they fancied should happen on Earth a thousand years before the day of Judgment, when the Elect should be gathered together after the Resurrection in the City of *Jerusalem*, and should enjoy there all the Delights imaginable during these thousand years.

St. *Irenaeus* produceth a fragment taken from the fourth Book of *Papias*, wherein he endeavours to prove this Opinion by a passage of the Prophet *Isaiah*: And *Eusebius* having cited a Paragraph of his Preface to these Books, in which he shews the great care that he took to be informed of the Doctrine of the Apostles, by interrogating their Disciples, adds; *That this Author hath set down many things, which he pretended to have learnt by an unwritten Tradition, of which sort there are several new Parables and Instructions of our Saviour Jesus Christ, that are not contained in the Gospels, together with other fabulous Histories, among which we may reckon the Reign of Jesus Christ on Earth during the space of a thousand years after the Resurrection of the Body; That which led him into this error (continueth Eusebius) is that he understood the Discourses and Instructions of the Apostles too literally, not understanding that a mystical sense ought to be given to this sort of Expressions, and that the Apostles only made use of them as Illustrations; for he was a Man of a very mean capacity, as appears from his Books, who nevertheless gave occasion to many of the ancient Fathers, and among others to Irenaeus, to follow this Error, which they maintained by the authority of Papias.* *Eusebius* in the same place relates two Miracles, the account whereof *Papias* declares that he had received from the Daughter of *Philip* the Deacon, who

resided at *Hierapolis*; That a dead Man was raised at that time, and that *Barsabas*, surnamed *Justus*, Elected to be an Apostle, together with St. *Matthias*, having swallowed deadly Poison, was not hurt by it: Moreover he assures us, that *Papias* had collected in his Books divers Explications on some words of Jesus Christ composed by *Aristion* a Disciple of the Apostles, and the Traditions likewise of the venerable Elder St. *John*; but omitting these things, he is content only to recite a passage wherein in this ancient Writer affirms, that St. *Mark* compiled his Gospel from what he had heard St. *Peter* tell of the Actions and Discourses of Jesus Christ, and this is the reason that he hath not observed an Historical Method; That St. *Matthew* wrote his Gospel in *Hebrew*, and that it was afterward Translated into *Greek*. Lastly, *Eusebius* affirms, that he cited the first Epistles of St. *Peter* and of St. *John*, and that he explained the History of a Woman that was accused before our Saviour of several Crimes, which was found in the Gospel according to the *Hebrews*. Thus we have given an account of all that is recorded by *Eusebius* concerning *Papias*. *Andreas Casariensis* and *Oecumenius* have likewise produced some Passages (d) of his Works in their Commentaries on the Holy Scripture, but it is not certain whether they were *Papias's* or no.

The Judgment that ought to be given concerning him, is that which hath been already given by *Eusebius*, that is to say, that he was a good Man, but very credulous, and of very mean Parts, who delighted much in hearing and telling Stories and Miracles. And since he was exceedingly inquisitive, and inclined to believe every thing that was told him, it is not to be admired that he hath divulged divers Errors and Extravagant Notions as the Judgments of the Apostles, and hath given us fabulous Narratives for real Histories, which shews, that nothing is so dangerous in Matters of Religion, as lightly to believe, and too greedily to embrace, all that hath the appearance of Piety, without considering in the first place how true it is (e).

(a) *Hierapolis*.] There are several Cities of that Name, but this lies between *Phrygia* and *Lydia* near *Laodicea*, being famous for Springs of hot Water.

(b) *A Disciple of St. John the Evangelist*.] St. *Irenaeus*, Lib. 5. cap. 33. *Hæc Papias Joannis auditor Polycarpi contubernalis*. St. *Jerome*, Ep. 29. *Ad Theodorum: Refert Irenaeus vir Apostolicorum temporum & Papiæ auditoris Evangelistæ Joannis Discipulum*. In the Martyrologies of *Beda*, *Ussardus*, and *Ado*, as also in the *Roman*, in the Works of *Trithemius* and *Andreas Casariensis*, in *Anastasi*. *Sinait*. Lib. 7. in *Hexamer*. *Oecumenius* in *Act*. cap. 2. he is called *The Disciple of St. John the Evangelist*. *Eusebius* on the contrary reciting a Passage of *Papias* in *Hist. Lib. 3. cap. ult.* wherein he speaks of two *Johns*, observes that the Master of *Papias* was not *John* the Evangelist, but the other *John* called the Elder. His Reason, or rather Conjecture, is that this Author in the beginning of his Books doth not assure us, that he was the Disciple of the Apostles, or that he had learn'd any thing from them, but only that he had received that which he declares from those that were familiar with the Apostles, and who knew them. However, in the Passage alledged by *Eusebius* to prove his Assertion, *Papias* only affirms, that he interrogated the ancient Men who had seen the Apostles, demanding of them, What says *Andrew*? What says *Philip*? What says St. *John*? What says *John* the Elder? Therefore if it may be inferred from thence, that he was not the Disciple of St. *John* the Evangelist, because he informs us, that he enquired of those that had seen him what were the Opinions of this Apostle; it may as well be inferred that he was not the Disciple of *John* the Elder. However, the words of *Papias* may be interpreted after such a

manner, as to signify nothing else, but that he was careful whensoever he happened to meet with any one that had familiarly conversed with the Apostles, to desire of them a particular account of their Doctrine or Judgment; Which makes me believe, that he was the Disciple of the Evangelist, and this is confirmed by the Authority of St. *Irenaeus*, who certainly means St. *John* the Evangelist; for St. *Polycarp* was his Disciple, and he asserts that *Papias* was the Companion of *Polycarp*, *Polycarpi Contubernalis*.

(c) *The famous Opinion, or rather Dotage of Antiquity*.] This was the opinion of St. *Justin*, *Athenagoras*, St. *Irenaeus*, St. *Clement*, *Tertullian*, *Lactantius*, and many other ancient Writers.

(d) *Andreas Casariensis and Oecumenius have likewise produced some Passages*.] *Andreas Casariensis* in *Serm. 12. in Apocalypsi*. cites a Passage of *Papias*, wherein he says, that the disposing of Sublunary Things was committed to the Care of the Angels that are round the Earth, but that they did not perform their Duty as they ought to do; *Oecumenius* upon the *Acts* observes, that *Papias* believed that *Judas* did not end his Life by hanging, but that he was run over with a Chariot, which is the Opinion of *Theophylact*, *Euthymius* and *Oecumenius*.

(e) *Without considering in the first place how true it is*.] This is conformable to an excellent Passage of St. *Augustin*: *Non sit Religio nostra in Phantasmatibus nostris; melius est enim quaecumque verum quam omne quicquid pro arbitrio fingi potest, melior est vera stipula, quam lux inani cogitatione pro suspicantis voluntate formata: De ver. Rel. c. 55.*



## QUADRATUS and ARISTIDES.

**Q**UADRATUS and ARISTIDES. These two Defenders of the Faith presented Apologies for Christians to the Emperor Adrian: The first was a Disciple of the Apostles (a), and it is said, that he had the Gift of Prophecy (b). Eusebius assures us, that the Apology of this Author was extant in his time, and that it shewed the Genius of this Man, and the true Doctrine of the Apostles. But we have only a small Fragment produced by Eusebius in the fourth Book of his History, chap. 3. wherein the Author declares, that none could doubt of the Truth of the Miracles of Jesus Christ, because the Persons that were healed or raised from the Dead by him, had been seen, not only when he wrote his Miracles, or whilst he was upon Earth, but even a very great while after his Death:

(a) **A** Disciple of the Apostles.] Hieron. Ep. 84. ad Magnum. This appears from the Fragment that is set down afterward. We must not confound this Quadratus with another of this Name who was Bishop of Athens, and the Successor of Publius mentioned by Eusebius, Lib. 4. cap. 23. St. Jerome makes no distinction between them in his Catalogue, nor in his Epistle to Magnus; and they are likewise confounded in the Menologium Græcorum: But Valesius clearly proves that they are different; for the first was not a Bishop, as appears from the Testimony of Eusebius, Lib. 3. c. 37. and Lib. 4. c. 3. Besides, the former Quadratus was a Disciple of the Apostles, and lived in the time of the Emperor Adrian, whereas the other never saw the Apostles, as being Contemporary with Dionysius Corinthius under the Reign of Antoninus.

So that there are many (says he) who were yet living in our time (c). We have also lost the Apology of Aristides which was preserved till St. Jerome's time. This Aristides was a very des. Eloquent Athenian Philosopher, (says the same St. Jerome) who when he changed his Religion, did not alter his Profession, and presented unto the Emperor Adrian, at the same time as Quadratus, a Volume in form of an Apology, wherein he produced the Proofs of our Religion, and being still extant, shews the Learned how excellent a Writer this Author was. The same St. Jerome observes in another place, that this Work was full of Philosophical Notions, and that it was afterward imitated by St. Justin.

And it cannot be doubted, but that it was the Elder who presented the Apology to Adrian.

(b) It is said, that he had the gift of Prophecy.] Eusebius, Lib. 3. cap. 37. assures us, that he was endued with the Gift of Prophecy, as were the Daughters of Philip the Deacon, and Miltiades in Euseb. Lib. 5. cap. 17. reckons him in the number of the Prophets of the New Testament.

(c) In our time.] Eusebius Thessalonicensis cites this Author against Andreas Cretensis, and Phot. Cod. 335. Bede, who hath confounded him with the Bishop of Athens, declares, that he determined that there was no Meat from which a Christian ought to Abstain, which is likewise Recorded in the Menologium Græcorum upon the 21st day of September.

## AGRIPPA.

**A**T the same time, and under the Reign of the same Emperor, lived Agrippa surnamed Castor, a Learned Man, who wrote a very convincing Book against the Heresie of Basilides, in which he confuted the Errors of this Heretick, after he had discovered them, and detected all his Devices and Frauds. He observes, (says Eusebius) that Basilides, had written twenty four Books on the Gospels, and that he forged several Prophets that never were in the World, to whom he attributed extraordinary Names, such as Barsabas and

Barcoph, on purpose to amuse the Minds of his Auditors. He affirmed also, that this Heretick taught his Followers, that it was a thing indifferent to eat Sacrifices that were offered unto Idols; that it was lawful to Renounce the Faith in the time of Persecution; and that, in imitation of Pythagoras, he imposed Silence on his Disciples for the space of five years. We have no further knowledge of this Author, since his Book is lost, and I know not whether we have any considerable Fragment of it left.

## HEGESIPPUS.

**H**EGESIPPUS appeared in the World a little after the Death of the Apostles, about the beginning of the Second Age of the Church (a). He left the Jewish Religion, in which he was born (b), to Embrace that of the Christians; he took a Journey to Rome under the Pontificate of Pope Anicetus, and remained there until that of Eleutherus (c) that is to say, from the year 165, until the year 180, or thereabouts; he is the first Author that hath Composed an entire Body of Ecclesiastical History, which he divided into five Books (d), wherein he relates the principal Occurrences which happened in the Church from Jesus Christ's Pas-

sion to his own time. This Work was written in a simple Style (e), because he resolved (says St. Jerome) to imitate the Phrases and Dialect of those, whose Lives he wrote. We have only some few Fragments left, which are inserted by Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History.

The first Fragment extracted from the Writings of Hegesippus, and produced by Eusebius in the second Book of his History, Chap. 23. contains a Relation of the Martyrdom of St. James Bishop of Jerusalem, but his way of telling it looks more like a fabulous Narrative, than a true History (f).

(a) **A**bout the beginning of the second Age of the Church.] Euseb. Lib. 2. cap. 23. 'Ο Ηγέσιππος ὁ ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἀποστολικῶν χρόνων διαδεδωκός. St. Hieron. Hegesippus vicinus Apostolicorum temporum omnes à Passione Domini usque ad suam ætatem Ecclesiasticorum Actuum texens Historias, multaque alia ad utilitatem legentium pertinentia hinc inde congregans, quinque libros scripsit Sermone simpliciori, ut quorum vitam sectabatur, dicendi quoque exprimeret characterem.

(b) He left the Jewish Religion in which he was born.] Euseb. Lib. 4. c. 22. Nonnulla item in Hebraeorum Evangelio, & ex Hebraicâ Linguâ profert in medium, satis per hæc aperte significans se ex Hebraeis ad Christi fidem transisse.

(c) And remained there until that of Eleutherus.] So St. Jerome says; but Hegesippus only declares that he came to Rome, and resided there during the Pontificate of Anicetus, whose Deacon Eleutherus was at that time; that Soter succeeded Anicetus, and Eleutherus Soter. This shews, that he lived in the time of the Antonines, and wrote his History at least under the Pontificate of Eleutherus. In the Chronicle of Alexandria it is observed, that he died under the Reign of the Emperor Commodus.

(d) Which he divided into five Books.] According to the Testimony of Eusebius and St. Jerome; this Work was entitled, ἱστορικὰ καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικά πρὸς ἑξῆς, Apud Euseb. & Gobarum apud Phot. c. 232.

(e) This Work was written in a simple Style.] This Eusebius, Lib. 4. c. 8. and St. Jerome de Script. Eccles. both bear witness.

(f) But his way of telling it, looks more like a fabulous Narrative than a true History.] Scaliger proves by many Arguments that this Relation is fabulous, some whereof are not very solid, but others are so convincing, that the Answers of Halloixius and Petavius are not sufficient to give satisfaction to any Man of a sound Judgment; for to omit the particular Circumstances of the Life of St. James recited by Hegesippus, which cannot be true; as that he alone was permitted to enter into the Sanctuary, because he was not clothed in Woollen but in Linnen, and other Things of the like nature; the account of his Martyrdom being contrary to that of Josephus, the verity of whose History was never suspected by any, furnishes us with Arguments against which it is almost impossible to dispute. See Valesius his Notes on Eusebius.



The second Fragment of *Hegeſippus* is likewise to be found in the History of *Enſebius*, Book 3. Chap. 20. He therein informs us, that the Emperor *Domitian* caused a ſtrict Search to be made after the Poſterity of *David*, who were the Children of St. *Jude* the Brother of our Lord, but that perceiving them to be extremely poor, and very far from being able to make any attempt againſt the Empire, he ſoon diſmiſſed them without any moleſtation (g).

The third is alſo found in the ſame Book, Ch. 32. where he gives an account of the Martyrdom of *Simeon* the Son of *Cleopas* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, who was Crucified under the Reign of *Trajan*, and adds, that hitherto the Church had remained a Virgin (b), but that after the Death of thoſe that had heard and ſeen *Jeſus Chriſt* in the Fleſh, the firſt *Hereſiarchs* began openly to divulge their deteſtable Errors.

The fourth Fragment concerning *Antinous*, whom *Adrian* cauſed to be Reſtored amongſt the Gods, is cited, Book 4. Chap. 8. only to ſhew, that *Hegeſippus* lived after the time of that Emperor.

The fifth is in Book 4. Chap. 22. where *Hegeſippus* ſpeaks of his Journey to *Rome* in paſſing through *Corinth*, where he ſaw *Primus* the Biſhop of that City; he deſcribes the Election of *Simeon* in the room of St. *James*, and makes mention of a certain Perſon named *Thebutis*, whom he affirms to have been the firſt that rent the Church by his Errors, being incenſed becauſe he was not made a Biſhop; he obſerves, that this *Thebutis* had collected his Doctrines from the ſeven Sects that were among the *Jews*, as well as the other Hereticks.

*Enſebius* adds, that *Hegeſippus* produced divers Paſſages out of the *Hebrew* and *Syriack* Goſpels, and that he ſpeaks of ſeveral Traditions of the *Jews*; it is likewiſe obſerved by him, that he cites the Proverbs of *Salomon*, as well as St. *Irenæus*, under the Name of the Book of *Wiſdom*, and that he mentions certain Apocryphal Writings compoſed by the Hereticks of his time. This is all that is extant of the five Books of the History of *Hegeſippus*, the order of which is alſo unknown to us; but, as far we can judge by the remaining Fragments of this Work, it was not very exact, and was rather filled with feigned and fabulous Relations, than with ſolid and real Hiſtories.

We have beſides, under the Name of *Hegeſippus* an Hiſtory of the Wars of the *Jews*, and of the taking of the City of *Jeruſalem*, divided into five Books, which hath been often publiſhed, and particularly at *Colen* with the Notes of *Galterius*, in the year 1559. It was like-

(g) He ſoon diſmiſſed them without any moleſtation.] This Narrative is likewiſe accuſed of Falſhood by *Scaliger*, but his Arguments are not ſo conſiderable as thoſe which he urges againſt the former: The Answers of *Hallouxius* and *Valeſius* are indeed of ſome weight; yet I can ſcarcely perſuade my ſelf of the truth of this Relation.

(b) Hitherto the Church had remained a Virgin.] Not but that the Church always remains in this ſtate. Therefore the

meanings of *Hegeſippus* is this; That until that time ſhe was not torn in pieces by Heresies and Schiſms, and that all thoſe who were called by the Name of *Chriſtians*, had one and the ſame Faith, whereas afterward the Arch-Hereticks divided the Profeſſors of Chriſtianity, rent the Church, and propagated their pernicious Errors. It were a manifeſt Abufe of this Paſſage to interpret it otherwiſe.

Father *Mabillon* obſerves in his Voyage into *Italy*, that he found in the *Ambroſian* Library at *Milan* an ancient Manuſcript of this Book, wherein it is ſaid, that it was Tranſlated by St. *Ambroſe*, in the Titles whereof it is ſometimes written *Joſephi*; he ſaw another likewiſe at *Turin* that appeared to be about 700 years old, and that was entituled *Egeſippi*. If theſe Manuſcripts are as ancient as *Mabillon* would have them to be, this Book muſt of neceſſity be of greater Antiquity than *Voffius* and *Miræus* have imagined. It was Printed by it ſelf at *Paris* in the years 1511, 1589, 1610; and afterwards inſerted in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*.

## St. JUSTIN.

St. *Justin*. **S**T. *Justin* was a Native of the City of *Sichem*, otherwiſe called *Naples* of *Paleſtine* (a), which even at this day bears the Name of *Napolous*; his Father was called *Prifcus Bacchius*; he was a *Grecian* by Birth and Religion (b), but having in vain fought for the Knowledge of the true God among all the Sects of the *Pagan* Philoſophers, (tho' he chiefly adhered to the *Platonick*) was Converted to the Chriſtian Faith in a private Conference that happened between him and a certain an-

cient Man unknown to him, as himſelf tells the Story in his Dialogue with *Tryphon*; however being turned Chriſtian he did not lay aſide his Habit nor his Profeſſion, but added to his Skill in the Heathen Philoſophy, a profound Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. He was at *Rome* when the Perſecution, that was raiſed under the Reign of *Antoninus Pius* the Succeſſor of *Adrian*, began to break forth, where he Compoſed an excellent Apology in behalf of the Chriſtians, and Dedicated it to the

(a) Of the City of *Sichem*, otherwiſe called *Naples* of *Paleſtine*.] In *Dialog.* 2. à p. 212. ad p. 223. *Juſt. Apol.* 2. p. 53. *Ἰουστίνος Περὶ τοῦ τῷ Βακχίῳ τῶν ἀπὸ Φλαβίας νῆας πόλεως ἢ Συγίας*, *Justin the Son of Prifcus Bacchius of Flavia, the new City, or Naples of Syria*. This was one of the principal Cities of the *Samaritans*, and it hath had four Names. The firſt and moſt ancient is that of *Sichem*; thus it is uſually called in the Holy Scripture, and in the Works of *Joſephus*. The Second is *Mabobortha*, or *Mamortha*, in *Joſeph. Lib.* 5. *de bello Judaico*, c. 4. and in *Plin. Lib.* 5. *Nat. Hiſt.* c. 13. The Third is *Naples*, and the Fourth is *Flavia*, which Name it has had ever ſince one of the Emperors (it is not certainly known, whether it were *Veſpaſian* or *Domitian*) cauſed a Colony of the Greeks to be Tranſported thither. Moreover this Name is to be found, not only in the paſſage of St. *Justin*, that we have even now cited, but alſo in ancient Medals and par-

ticularly in one of *Domitian's* *Φ ΒΙΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΣΑΜΑΡΕΙΤΩΝ*.

(b) He was a Greek by Birth and Religion.] St. *Epiphanius* ſeems to believe, that St. *Justin* was of the Extraction and Religion of the *Samaritans*, when he ſays, that he paſſed from the *Samaritan* to the Chriſtian Religion, ἀπὸ Σαμαρείτων εἰς Χριστιανισμὸν. But when St. *Justin* himſelf mentions his Converſion, he declares, that he had been Educated in the Greek Religion, and that having diſcovered the Falſhood thereof he readily embraced the Chriſtian. It is true indeed that he calls the *Samaritans* in his Dialogue, and in his firſt Apology, his Stock, his Nation, and the like: But it was becauſe he was born among them, in a City the Original whereof was *Samaritan*, as St. *Paul* is ſaid to be a Citizen of *Rome*, and of the City of *Tarſus*, tho' he was a Jew, and of the Tribe of *Benjamin*; and perhaps *Epiphanius* meant nothing elſe in this place.

Emperor,



Emperor, and to the *Cæsars* his Sons (c), about the year 150 after the Nativity of *Jesus Christ* (d). *St. Justin*.

This Apology is commonly called the second, but is really the first, whereas the other commonly so called is actually the second (e), nay, (if we may give Credit to the Testimony of *Eusebius*) it was not presented unto the Emperor and the Senate (f) until the time of *Marcus Antoninus* the Philosopher and Successor of *Antoninus Pius*. The Subject of these two Apologies is almost the same. *St. Justin* in the former, to shew the Injustice of their Proceedings in punishing and persecuting the Christians, and that they were Innocent of the Crimes laid to their Charge, gives an exact account to the Emperor and his Sons, of their Doctrine, Manners, and Ceremonies, which Qualifications render this Apology one of the most considerable Records of Antiquity, and one of those wherein many things are contained relating to our Religion: We there find the Doctrine of the Church concerning the Trinity, the Incarnation of our Saviour, and Eternal Life, as also the Proofs of the Christian Faith, the Holiness of the Conversation of its Professors, together with a Description of their Assemblies, and the Ceremonies used by them in the Administration of the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

The second Apology, whereof some few Sentences are lost, doth not comprehend such variety of Matter, as being properly a Complaint or Remonstrance directed to the Emperor, the Senate, and all the People of *Rome*, concerning the Injuries that were unjustly offered to the Christians. In this last Apology he describes the Snares that were laid for him by a certain Cynick Philosopher named *Crescens*, whom he had convinc'd of Ignorance and Debauchery. *I expect* (says he) *that those who falsely call themselves Philosophers, should lie in wait for me, and should cause me to be bound with Chains; perhaps through the Instigation of this ignorant Crescens, who delights more in vain Glory than in the Truth.* This really happened just as he foretold; for not long after, *Tatian* the Disciple of *Justin* observes (g), this *Crescens* caused him to be

(c) *To the Emperor, and to the Cæsars his Sons.* The Inscription of this Apology is, *To the Emperor Aelius Hadrianus, Antoninus Pius, Augustus Cæsar, and to his Son Verissimus, and to Lucius the Philosopher, the natural Son of Cæsar, and the Adoptive of Antoninus Pius.* To understand this Inscription it is requisite to know, that the Emperor *Antoninus Pius*, the Adoptive Son of *Adrian*, adopted *Marcus Antoninus* the Philosopher; and *Lucius Verus*, the Son of *Aelius Verus*, whom some affirm to have been adopted by *Marcus* the Philosopher; therefore the first, who is named in this Inscription, is the Emperor *Antoninus Pius*; the Second called *Verissimus*, is *Marcus Antoninus* the Philosopher, the Adoptive Son of *Antoninus*; the Third is *Lucius Verus*, the Son of *Aelius Verus*, who had been *Cæsar*, and was the adoptive Son of *Antoninus Pius*; he affects to call them Philosophers, and Pious, that so he might insinuate himself into their Favour, and that he might oblige them patiently to hearken to the Reasons of the Christians.

This Reason is by no means true: *St. Justin* designed only to give these Emperors those Titles, by which they themselves desired to be called: This Family of the *Antonines* from *Adrian* to *Commodus* affected the Title of *Philosophers*, as much as of *Fathers of their Country*, or any other Title by which the flattering *Romans* endeavoured to get the Favour of their Masters whom they Courted.

(d) *About the Year 150 after the Nativity of Jesus Christ.* It could not be written before this time, because he mentions in two several places, the Followers of *Marcion*, who came not to *Rome*, till the Death of Pope *Hyginus* in the Fourth year of *Antoninus*, and did not begin to propagate his Heresie, until about the end of the Reign of the same Emperor. *St. Justin* himself says, that it was 150 Years after the Birth of *Christ*, when he wrote it, *Dici a nobis Christum ante centum quinquaginta annos natum sub Cyrenio.* It is observed by *Eusebius* in his History, that it was Composed under the Pontificate of *Anicetus*, wherefore *St. Jerome* is deceived when he asserts, that it was presented in the Fourth year of *Antoninus*, and *Scaliger* is yet more mistaken, when he maintains that it was written in the beginning of his Reign; and the Argument alledged by him, that *St. Justin* mentions the War raised against the Jews under *Adrian*, as a thing that lately happened, *ἡ πόλις ἡερουσαλήμ πύρεται*, is not considerable, since this might very well be affirmed of a War that was made ten or twelve Years before.

(e) *Is actually the second.* It is not to be doubted but that the Apology which is commonly called the first is really the second, for besides the authority of *Eusebius*, and *Anastasius* the Library Keeper, it is evident that it was written a little before the Martyrdom of *St. Justin*, since he therein describes the Snares that were laid for him by the Philosopher *Crescens*. But there is only the testimony of *Eusebius* to induce us to believe that it was Composed in the time of *Marcus Antoninus*. *Valesius* affirms, that *Eusebius* is mistaken in this point; 1. Because he affirms in this Apology, That a certain Wo-

condemned to Death in the sixth year of the Reign of *Marcus Antoninus* the Philosopher (h), in the year 166. *St. Justin*. It is not certainly known what kind of Punishment was inflicted on him, unless we stand by the Accounts which are given us in the *Menologium* (i) of the Greeks, or the Acts of his Martyrdom (k) related by *Metaphrastes*, which seem to be very ancient; wherein it is declared, that he was beheaded by the command of *Rusticus* the Prefect or Governor of the City of *Rome*, under whom *St. Epiphanius* (l), likewise affirms, that *St. Justin* suffered Martyrdom.

Besides these two Apologies, there are several other Books of this ancient Father, as, his excellent Dialogue against *Trypho* the Jew, which was composed by him after his first Apology, since he expressly assures us therein, that he had informed the Emperor, in a particular Writing, that some *Samaritans* were led away with the Impostures of *Simon Magus*; (m) which passage is in his Apology, dedicated to the Emperor *Antoninus*, from whence it follows that it was written before this Dialogue. *Eusebius* says, that this Conference was holden at *Ephesus*, but whether *St. Justin* ever had any Discourse with *Trypho*, or whether he only feigned it, as *Plato*, *Cicero* and many others have done, this Book is very considerable. This Author proves against the Jews by an infinite number of passages taken from the Old Testament, that *Jesus Christ* is the *Messiah* and the *Word*; who first appeared unto the Patriarchs, and afterward condescended so far as to be made Man, and to be born of the Virgin *Mary*, for our Salvation. Of all the Writings of this ancient Martyr cited by *Eusebius*, these only that we have now mentioned remain entire; to which may be added, a Fragment of his Treatise of Monarchy, wherein (says *Eusebius*) he demonstrated the Unity of one God, not only by the Authority of the Holy Scriptures, but also by the Testimony of prophane Authors. The first part of this Work is lost, but I am persuaded, that there is no reason to doubt, but that the Treatise which is at present Entitled, *Of Monarchy*, is the second part

man that was desirous to live separately from her Husband, presented a Petition to the Emperor, *οὐκ ἔστιν ἀντιζήτησις*, and not to the Emperors which she ought to have done, if this had happened in the beginning of the Reign of *Marcus Antoninus*, who had *Lucius Verus* for his Associate in the Empire. 2. Because he there says that a certain Person named *Lucius* reproved a Judge in these words: *This is not worthy of a pious Emperor, nor of him who is the Son of a Cæsar and a Philosopher*; or, as it is expressed by *Eusebius*, *Of a Philosopher the Son of a Cæsar*, *ἡ πρῆξις ἐστὶν ἀντιζήτησις, ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος καὶ πατρὶς, Εὐσεβίου, ἔδ. φιλοσ. φ.* This pious Emperor (says *Valesius*) is *Antoninus Pius*, and the Philosopher the Son of *Cæsar* can be no other than *Marcus Antoninus* surnamed the Philosopher. The third objection is, that *Urbicus* who is mentioned in this Apology, as *Prefectus* or Governor of the City of *Rome*, exercised this Office under *Antoninus*, as appears from the third Oration of *Apuleius*, and from the Inscriptions of *Gruter*, p. 38. These are the Reasons or rather Conjectures of *Valesius*, which nevertheless seem not to deserve to be preferred before the attestation of *Eusebius*, and in my opinion they may be easily answered; for, 1. Mention is only made of one Emperor in this Apology, because *Lucius* was absent, and might be engaged in his Expedition against the *Persians*. 2. The Epithet of *Pius* might likewise be attributed to *Marcus Antoninus* the Philosopher, and his Son *Commodus* might well be called the Son of the Philosopher. Lastly, *Urbicus* might be Governor of *Rome* in the beginning of the Reign of *Marcus Antoninus* the Philosopher, as well as at the end of that of *Antoninus Pius*.

(f) *And the Senate.* *Valesius* affirms, that it was directed to the Emperor alone, and not to the Senate, however it is not only addressed to the Senate, but the Author likewise in the sequel of his Discourse makes application to the *Romans* in the plural number.

(g) *Tatian the Disciple of Justin observes.* In *Lib. contr. Gr. ὡς ἔστιν, καὶ θάνατος μεγάλῃ καὶ τῷ θανάτῳ περιβαλλὼν περιπαλεῖται*. He procured that *Justin* should be condemned to death, as if to dye were the greatest of all evils.

(h) *In the sixth year of the Reign of Marcus Antoninus the Philosopher.* The Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicle* sets the death of *St. Justin* down in this year, and we have not any certain proof.

(i) *In the Menologium.* In *Menolog. Kalend. Junii.*

(k) *Or to the Acts of his Martyrdom.* These Acts are very plain, and contain the Replies of *St. Justin* and of six other Companions of his Martyrdom, which are very generous and pathetical; which makes me think that they are ancient.

(l) *St. Epiphanius.* It ought to be observed that *St. Epiphanius* is deceived in referring the Martyrdom of *St. Justin* to the Reign of the Emperor *Adrian*; but he is not mistaken as to the name of *Rusticus*, who lived in the time of *Marcus Antoninus*, and was much esteemed by him.

(m) *Page 342.*



thereof, and so much the rather, because it begins after this manner (n); *Having already produced Divine Authority; I shall also make use of human Allegations*, from whence it evidently appears, that this Book which we now have, is the second part of that mentioned by *Eusebius*.

We might likewise attribute to *St. Justin*, two Orations which are prefixed at the beginning of his Works, wherein he exhorts the Gentiles to embrace the Christian Religion, in shewing the Absurdity and Novelty of that of the Pagans, and the Truth and Antiquity of ours. These two Discourses are undoubtedly ancient, and tho' they are not quoted by *Eusebius*, and the Style of them seems to be a little different from that of *St. Justin*, yet we may affirm them to have been written by him, without any injury to his Reputation. The same Judgment may likewise be given of the Epistle to *Diognetus* (o), which was also composed by an ancient Author, who lived in a time when the Christians were under Persecution: But the other Epistle written to *Zena* and *Serenus*, does not agree in the least with the Style of *St. Justin*, and contains many Precepts, which rather concern Monks than simple Christians (p).

As for the other Works that bear the Name of this Father; besides that they are not cited by *Eusebius*, nor any of the ancient Writers, we have positive Proofs that they are counterfeit. The first of these is a Treatise purely Philosophical, the Compiler whereof produceth divers passages of *Aristotle's Physics*; which he confutes very dryly, and in a style altogether different, not only from that of *St. Justin*, but even from that of the Age wherein he lived. At the end of this Tract there is another written, after the same manner, and probably composed by the same Author, wherein are comprehended five Questions, which he calls Christian, tho' they have a much greater Tincture of the subtilty of a Philosopher, than of the simplicity of a Christian. Besides the Author of this Book resolves these Questions, after the method of the Pagan Philosophers; and afterwards disallows of the first Answer, by accommodating Christianity to Philosophy; to this are annexed several Philosophical Axioms together with divers Questions and Answers concerning incorporeal things, and the Resurrection. All these Books are written in the same style and by the same Author after the Heresie of the *Manichees* was sprung up, which is often mentioned therein; now since this Heresie was not known till above an hundred years after the Death of *St. Justin*, it must necessarily be affirmed that they were not written by him.

The Book of Answers to the Questions of the Orthodox, containing 146 that are very curious, is much more useful, and more worthy of a Divine than the preceding; but neither can this belong to *St. Justin*, tho' it is ascribed to him by *Photius*; for besides that this sort of Questions and Answers was not usual in his time, in which no regard was had to matters of Curiosity, such as the most part of those that are comprised in this Work, *Origen* is cited in *Quest.* 82. and 83. *St. Irenaeus* in the 115. and the *Manichees* in the 127. The Author discourseth there of the Mysteries of the Trinity, and of the Incarnation, in such Expressions, and with such Precautions as were not in use, until those Heresies were started in which these Truths were called in question. We find the Words *Hypostasis*, *Person*, *Consubstantial*, in *Quest.* 16, 17, 139, 144. according to the Sense that was attributed to them by the Church, in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries. In *Quest.* 126, he says, that at the time when this Book was written, Christianity was no longer under the Dominion of Paganism, which evidently shews that the Author of these Questions is much later than *St. Justin*, not to mention that there are some things in this Work, which are not conformable to the Doctrine of this Father; as for Example, in *Quest.* 52. he denies that the

Witch of *Endor* caused the Soul of *Samuel* to return, which is asserted by *St. Justin*, in his Dialogue against *Tryphon*; in *Quest.* 112. he says that it was a created Angel that communed with *Moses* and *Jacob*, which is expressly contrary to the Doctrine of this Father, and of the rest of the Writers of that Age, who believed it to be the Word himself. Some attribute these Questions to *Theodoret*, as well because they come near his way of Writing, as because there are several Phrases used by this Writer, which are also frequently found in *Theodoret*. However it be, this Book was written by an Author, who lived about the Fifth or Sixth Age of the Church. Lastly, the Exposition of Faith, attributed to *St. Justin*, and cited by *Leontius*, and *Euthymius Zagabenus* too plainly refutes the Errors of the *Arians*, *Nestorians* and *Eusebians* to be written near the Age, in which this Father lived.

It were to be wished, that instead of these Books which are falsely ascribed to *St. Justin*, we had those that were really composed by him, whereof the Titles only remain at present. He wrote as he himself declares (q), a Treatise against Heresies; and it is difficult to determine, whether the Book against *Marcion*, cited by *St. Irenaeus* in two several places, was part of this Tract; or whether it were a distinct Work, according to the Opinion of *St. Jerome*; however there is nothing now extant, except two passages quoted by *St. Irenaeus*. We have also entirely lost two Books that were composed by *St. Justin*, against the Gentiles, in the first of which, after having discoursed of divers Questions that are usually debated, as well by the Christians, as among the Pagan Philosophers, he treated of the Nature of Demons; the other was called *Εὐχαι* and contained a Confutation of the Errors of the Heathens. It may perhaps be suspected by some, that those two Treatises are the Orations prefixed at the beginning of the Works of *St. Justin*, immediately before his two Apologies, but besides that they have different Titles, there is not any Description in either of the two, of the Nature of Demons. Moreover there was another Work called *Ψαλμοί*, that is to say, the Psalmist, and a Book of Collections concerning the Soul, wherein he produced the Opinions of the Pagan Philosophers, promising to give his own in another Discourse on this Subject. These are all the Writings of *St. Justin* mentioned by *Eusebius*, *St. Jerome* and *Photius*; besides which (says *Eusebius*) *There are many other Works written by him, in the hands of the Christians*; Perhaps the Epistle to *Diognetus*, and the two Books against the Gentiles belong to this Number. *Anastasius Sinaita* and *Glycas*, cite a Commentary of this Father upon the *Hexameron*. *Methodius*, *Leontius* and *St. John Damascen* quote a Book of his concerning the Resurrection of the Body, but it is very probable, that these Writings are none of his.

This Author (says the Learned *Photius*, speaking of *St. Justin*) *was perfectly skilled in the Christian Philosophy, and yet more in the Profane; he had acquired an universal Learning, and a perfect knowledge of History; but he hath taken no care to adorn the Natural Beauty of Philosophy, with the Artificial Ornaments of Eloquence; Therefore his Discourses tho' very Learned, have not the Elegancy and Grace of Eloquent Discourses*. This Character appears throughout all his Works, which are extremely full of Citations, and of passages taken from the Holy Scriptures and profane Authors, with little Order, and without any Ornament. He had joined to his exquisite Skill in the Pagan Philosophy, an admirable knowledge of the Sacred and Prophetical Writings, as also of the Principles of the Christian Religion; that there is scarce any one of the ancient Fathers who ever discoursed more accurately, than he hath done of all its Mysteries. It is

(n) It begins after this manner.] Pag. 103. *ἐπεὶ οὖν ἡμεῖς τῆς θείας ἀποστολῆς οὐκ ἐκείνην τὴν ἀποστολὴν ἔχοντες*.

(o) The Epistle to *Diognetus*.] This Letter is written very much after *St. Justin's* way. There is mention made of a certain Person named *Diognetus* an able Painter in the Writings of the Emperor *Marcus Aurelius*, and in those of *Julius Capitolinus*.

(p) Rather concern Monks than simple Christians.] Such are these following Instructions; That they ought not to give occasion to Discord; That they ought not to withdraw themselves from the publick Prayers on the account of any Difference; That they ought not to seek after the chiefest and the most honourable Employments; That they ought to keep silence, and to preserve Modesty; That they ought not to discourse of the affairs of the World, but that they ought to look upon them as out of their way, and not to retain them in their minds; and many other Admonitions of this nature,

which although exceeding useful, yet suit more with another Age different from that wherein *St. Justin* lived, and seem to have been given to Monks rather than Ordinary Christians. The Author gives an account there of a Letter which he had written to a certain Pope, and to his Superiors, which further confirms our conjectures.

(q) As he himself declares.] *Apol.* 2. Pag. 70. *ὅτι δι' ἡμῶν ἐκείνην τὴν ἀποστολὴν ἔχοντες οὐκ ἐκείνην τὴν ἀποστολὴν ἔχοντες*. We have also composed a Book against all the Heresies that have appeared, which we shall present unto you if you desire it. *St. Irenaeus* lib. 4. cap. 14. *Præclare Justinus in eo libro, quem scripsit contra Marcionem ait, quoniam ipse quoque Domino non credidisset alterum Deum annuncianti, and Lib. 5. Bene Justinus in suo libro ait, quoniam ante adventum Domini nunquam ausus est Satanas blasphemare Deum, quippe nondum sciens suam damnationem*.



St. Justin. true indeed, that as to the Doctrine of the Trinity (r), he seems to differ from us in following the Platonick Maxims; but it will appear to those who shall thoroughly examine his Opinions, and those of the ancient Fathers, that in the main they agree with ours (s), and that they are only different in the manner of Expression. He asserts with many of the ancient Writers, that the Souls of Men after their Separation from the Body, shall wait for the Day of Judgment, to be either entirely happy or miserable (t); but at the same time he acknowledgeth, that during this interval they shall receive Punishments or Rewards, according to their Deserts. Moreover he believes (according to the Opinion of the most part of the primitive Christians) that the Just after the Resurrection shall remain for the space of a Thousand years in the City of Jerusalem where they shall enjoy all lawful Pleasures (u). He seems to have thought that the Souls of the wicked should at last become capable of dying (x); tho' in other places (y) he affirms that their Torments shall be Eternal. He has a peculiar Opinion concerning the Souls of the righteous; which he affirms to have been before the coming of Jesus Christ, under the power of the Devil, who could cause them to appear whensoever he should think fit (z). He hath asserted, as St. Irenæus assures us (aa), that the Devils were ignorant of their Damnation until the coming of our Saviour; nay, he goes further in his Apology to the Emperor, affirming that they are not as yet thrust down into Eternal Flames (bb) &c. Lastly, he seems not to despair of the Salvation of those who have lived virtuously among the Gentiles, having only the knowledge of God without that of Jesus Christ (cc). These are almost all the particular Points wherein he hath departed from the present Opinions of the Catholick Church.

The Works of St. Justin were first printed altogether in Greek (dd), by Robert Stephen in the years 1551 and 1571; except the second Treatise against the Gentiles, and the Epistle to Diognetus, which were printed by themselves, by Henry Stephen in the years 1592, and 1595. This Edition was soon followed by that of Commelinus in Greek and Latin, published by Fridericus Silburgius, Anno Dom. 1593. It comprehends the entire Works of St. Justin, divided into Three Parts, the first whereof contains the Books against the Gentiles, the second, the Dialogue a-

gainst Tryphon, and the third, the Tracts that were composed for the Instruction of the Christians: They are translated by Langus; except the second Oration against the Gentiles, and the Epistle to Diognetus, which are of Henry Stephen's Translation: at the end are subjoined some Notes of Silburgius, Stephens, and other Learned Men. Morellus followed this Edition in the Impression of the Works of St. Justin, which he caused to be made at Paris in the years 1615, and 1656. only he added the small Tracts of Athenagoras, Theophilus, Hermias and Tatian. This last Edition is thought to be the best, and yet it is very imperfect, and it were to be wished that another might ere long be published; to this end a new Version ought to be made of all St. Justin's Works, because Langus's hath many defects, the ancient Manuscripts ought to be consulted (if any such can be found) and exactly compared with the Greek Text, which was not corrected by Silburgius from any Manuscript: Lastly, some Annotations ought to be added, and many of those that are already Printed should be cut off.

As for the disposing of these Works, the following Order may be observed; They should be divided into Three Classes. 1. Those that were really composed by St. Justin. 2. Those that may be his, tho' we cannot certainly affirm it. And, 3. Those that are manifestly supposititious. His Apology to the Emperor Antoninus, that which ought to be called the first Apology, that so for the future it may always be cited under that Name, ought to be placed in the Front: The other Apology that immediately follows, should be Entitled the second; after this might be inserted the Fragment of the Books concerning Monarchy; the excellent Dialogue against Tryphon, should be the last Treatise of this Class, at least, till some of those that are lost, happen to be found. The second Class should contain the two Orations to the Greeks, and the Epistle to Diognetus. The third may take in all the Books that are undoubtedly forged, which also might be distinguished into two Parts; in the first whereof should be placed those Writings, that may be in some manner useful, such are the 146 Questions, the Exposition of the Faith, and the Epistles to Zena and Serenus; and then in the second, one may add the Philosophical Tracts above-cited, if it should not be thought more convenient to omit them altogether.

(r) As to the Doctrine of the Trinity.] The most difficult passage concerning the Trinity is that which we read in his Dialogue, pag. 356, and 357, wherein he declares, That the Father is invisible and the Son visible, and that the Majesty of the Father is greater than that of the Son. But if we reflect a little on this matter it will appear that St. Justin and the other Fathers who said the same thing, yet do not affirm that the Father is of a different Nature or Substance from the Son; but only, that it is the Son who manifested himself unto Men, or rather, that the Father hath not discovered himself unto Men but by his Son. Their Principle is this, That the Father performs no exterior Action but through his Word, which is his Son; that it was the Son who created the World, who revealed himself under several Figures to the Patriarchs and Prophets, and who at last was made Man. It is on this account that they assert, that the Son is visible and the Father invisible, because the Father is not visible but through the Son; But this doth not hinder them from being of the same Nature. We find the like expressions in St. Athanasius, Orat. 4. contra Arian. who cannot be suspected of maintaining any Heterodox Opinions concerning the Divinity of the Word.

(s) In the main they agree with ours.] We need only examine his Discourse concerning the Three Persons of the Holy Trinity in his Apology to the Emperor, p. 36, 93, 94. as also concerning the Divinity of the Word, p. 67, 96. and in his first Apology, p. 44, 45. and more especially his Declaration concerning the Word in his Dialogue, p. 267. where he not only confutes the Opinion of those that imagined that Jesus Christ was a mere Man, but he likewise proves that he is really God; and in p. 358. where he plainly asserts, that the Word was begotten of the Father without dividing his Substance.

(t) To be either entirely happy or miserable.] In his Dialogue, p. 223. he declares, that the Souls of the just and of the wicked wait for the day of Judgment in a place where they suffer more or less, proportionably to the good or evil that they have done in the World.

(u) Where they shall enjoy all lawful Pleasures.] See p. 306. of his Dialogue; This Opinion is common to him and almost all the ancient Fathers, and it was a fancy set on foot by Papias, and from him spread among the Primitive Christians, of the vanity whereof we are at present convinced.

(x) That the Souls of the wicked should at last become capable of dying.] We find this notion in the beginning of his Dialogue, p. 222, 223, 224. where the old Man that instructs

him, refutes the Opinion of Plato, that Souls are incorruptible of their own Nature, and maintaining that they are so only through Grace; from whence he concludes, that the Souls of the wicked are only tormented as long as it shall seem good to the Will of God; insomuch that after many Ages they shall cease to be.

(y) Although in other places, &c.] In his Apology to the Emperor, p. 57. he affirms, that the torments of the damned shall not only last for a thousand years, as these mentioned by Plato, but that they shall be everlasting. Observe likewise what he says concerning these torments in p. 64, 65, 66. and in other places, wherein he always calls them Eternal, opposing this word Eternal to the Pains that shall one day have an end.

(z) Who could cause them to appear, &c.] He asserts this in speaking of Samuel, whose Soul the Witch really caused to return, according to his Opinion in his Dialogue p. 332, and 333.

(aa) As St. Irenæus assures us.] This passage is set down above.

(bb) That the Devils are not as yet thrust down into Eternal Flames.] We find this in his Apology to the Emperor, p. 71.

(cc) Having only the knowledge of God without that of Jesus Christ.] In his second Apology, p. 83. he declares that they that lived according to the Principles of Natural Reason, as Socrates, Heraclitus, Azarias, Misael, &c. might be called Christians, and he seems to suppose that they were saved by living up to the Law of Nature.

(dd) The Works of St. Justin were first printed all together in Greek.] I do not speak of the several Editions of the Versions which are common, and whereof there are three besides that of Langus. The first was composed by Picus Mirandula, and printed at Basil by Henry Peter in the years 1528, and 1551. The second by Perionius, and printed by Nivelle at Paris in 1554. The third by Gelenius was printed at Basil in 1555. Lastly, a Translation of all the Works of St. Justin was set forth by Langus; and printed at Basil in 1565, and at Paris in the same year, and in 1578, together with large Commentaries. The Book of the Confutation of the Opinions of the Aristotelians, was translated by Postellus, and printed by it self by Nivelle in 1552. A Greek Edition of his Apologies and several other little Tracts of the Greek Fathers were printed at Rome by Zannerus. The Exhortation to the Greeks in Greek is printed by it self by Guillard at Paris.



## M E L I T O.

Melito.

**M**elito Bishop of Sardis in Asia, is one of those Fathers, who wrote the most concerning the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church; but there remains nothing of them at present but the Titles, and a few small Fragments produced by Eusebius in the Fourth Book of his History, chap. 26. The Titles are these; *Two Books of the Feast of Easter, one of the Lives of the Prophets (a), one of the Church, one of the Lords-Day, one concerning the Nature of Man, another of his Creation, one of the submission of the Senses unto Faith (b), a Book concerning the Soul, the Body, and the Spirit, one of Baptism, another of Truth, another concerning the Generation of Jesus Christ, one of Prophecy, one of Hospitality, another entitled the Key, one of the Devil, another of the Apocalypse, one of God incarnate (c), and a Collection taken out of the Holy Scriptures.* Lastly, an Apology presented to the Emperor Marcus Antoninus, whereof we have a fragment in Eusebius, wherein Melito intreats the Emperor, that he would vouchsafe to examine the accusations that were alledged against the Christians, and to cause the Persecution to cease by revoking the Edict that he had published against them: He represents to him, that the Christian Religion was so far from being destructive to the Roman Empire, that it was very much augmented since the propagation thereof; that this Religion was persecuted only by wicked Emperors, such as Nero and Domitian; that the Emperors Adrian and Antoninus had written several Letters in its behalf, and therefore he hoped to obtain of his Clemency and Generosity, the favour which he so earnestly requested. Eusebius also gives us another little Fragment out of the Book concerning Easter, to shew the time when this Author wrote, in which he mentions Sagaris Bishop of Laodicea, whom he affirms to have suffered Martyrdom under Servilius Paulus the Proconsul of Asia. As also another Fragment more considerable, which is the Preface to his Collections, wherein he gives us a Catalogue of the Canonical Books of the Old Testament, omitting those that are not included in the Canon of the Jews; these are the Books of Ecclesi-

asticus, Wisdom, (for he calls the Book of the Proverbs by the Name of Wisdom) Judith, Esther, and the two Books of the Maccabees.

Melito.

There is also another Fragment of Melito's preserved by the Author of the Chronicle commonly called the Alexandrian in Olympiad 236. wherein he says, that the Christians do not adore insensible Stones, but that they worship one God alone; who is before all things, and in all things, and Jesus Christ who is God and the Word before all Ages. It is not known from what Book this Fragment was taken; but it is probable, that it is in his Apology to the Emperor. Some other passages are likewise attributed to him, which are taken out of a Catena of the Greek Fathers upon Genesis, but they seem to me to be unworthy of this Author (d); we find also in the Bibliotheca Patrum, another Book under his Name Entitled, *Of the Passage or Death of the Virgin Mary*, which is inserted by Pope Gelasius amongst the Apocryphal Writings, and rejected by Bede; but it is at present generally agreed, that this Book, as not being cited by any of the ancient Writers, and containing many untruths and absurdities, is a counterfeit Work. Melito lived under the Reign of Marcus Antoninus, he presented his Apology in the second year of this Emperor, that is to say, in the year of our Lord 182. and died before the Pontificate of Victor, as appears from the Epistle of Polycrates to this Pope, wherein he mentions him, as already dead in these Words: *Why should not I speak of Melito, whose Actions were regulated by the Motions of the Holy Ghost, who lyes enterr'd at Sardis, where he expects the Judgment and Resurrection?* This shews that Melito was esteemed as a Prophet, that is to say, as a Man inspired by God, according to the Testimony of Tertullian produced by St. Jerome. If the same Tertullian had not assured us, that this Author wrote elegantly and was a good Orator, it would be very difficult to give any Judgment concerning his Style, by that little of his Writings which is yet extant.

(a) *Book of the Lives of the Prophets.*] Some reckon two Books on this Subject, but it is plain from the Greek Text of Eusebius, and the Authority of St. Jerome, that there was but one.

(b) *One of the Submission of the Senses unto Faith.*] St. Jerome, and Rufinus distinguish the Book of Faith, from that of the Senses, but it is more probable, that it was but one Book bearing the above-mentioned Title, as being composed against some Hereticks, who asserted that we ought to believe only according to our Senses.

(c) *Of God incarnate.*] It is expressed in Greek. *Περί ἐνσώ-*

*μάντεος*, of God incarnate, or invested with a Body. Others expound this passage after another manner, imagining that he maintained that God was corporeal; but this last is not the proper signification of the Greek Word. However, Origen, cited by Theodoret in Quest. 20. in Exodum, says that Melito wrote a Book *περί τοῦ ἐνσώματου τοῦ θεοῦ*, that God was corporeal, which answers to the other Interpretation.

(d) *Unworthy of this Author.*] One of these passages is produced by Halloixius, being a Comparison between Isaac and Jesus Christ, full of childish Notions and Expressions, that are more agreeable to the Modern, than the ancient Writers.

## T A T I A N.

Tatian.

**T**atian Surnamed the Assyrian (a), from the Name of his Country, was an able Orator, and St. Justin's Scholar. He remained in the Communion of the Church during the Life of his Master but after his Martyrdom being puffed up with Pride, which often attends the Opinion of Knowledge, he became Head and Author of a new Sect (b), which was called the Heresie of the Encratites, or of the Continent, because these Sectaries condemned Marriage, as also the use of divers sorts of Meats and Wine, leading a sober and austere Life in appearance; besides this, they maintained some of the Errors of the Valentinians, and affirmed that our Fore-Fathers were damned: This Sect was afterwards augmented by Severus (c), from whom they took the Name of Severians: these later rejected the Epistles of St. Paul, and the Acts of the Apostles. But to return to Tatian; he having got a great facility in Writing, composed a great number of Books, and amongst others an excellent Treatise against the Gentiles, which is

most esteemed of all his Works, as also a Gospel collected from the four Evangelists.

There is yet extant the Treatise of Tatian against the Gentiles, which was first printed at Zurich, in the year 1646. together with the Version of Conradus Gesner, afterwards inserted in the Bibliotheca Patrum; and Lastly, annexed to the Works of St. Justin; the Title thereof is as follows: *The Discourse of Tatian against the Gentiles, proving that the Greeks are not the Inventors of any of the Sciences, as they boast themselves to be, but that they were all invented by those whom they call Barbarians.* This is indeed the Subject of the beginning of his Discourse, but then he adds, that the Greeks corrupted the Sciences, which they received from the Barbarians, and more especially Philosophy. Afterwards he proceeds to the Explication and Defence of the Christian Religion; he treats of the Nature of God, of the Word, of the Resurrection of the Body, and Freedom of the Soul: He confutes the Opinion of Fate, he discourseth of the Nature of the Soul,

(a) *Surnamed the Assyrian.*] At the end of his Treatise against the Gentiles, he declares that he was born in Assyria, and that he had been instructed in the Theology of the Grecians.

(b) *Of a new Sect.*] St. Irenaeus Lib. 1. Euseb. Lib. 4. c. 29.

St. Jerome, in Catalogo.

(c) *This Sect was afterward augmented by Severus.*] St. Epiphanius affirms, that Severus lived before Tatian, but he is mistaken.



*Tatian.* and of Devils, discovering the Snares that they lay for Men. He intermixeth all these things with several satirical Reflections on the ridiculous Theology of the Pagans, and the corrupt Manners of their Gods and Philosophers, shewing at the same time, that the Writings of *Moses*, are more ancient than all other Histories, and giving an admirable Description of the holy Conversation of the Christians. This Work is extremely full of prophane Learning, and the Style thereof is elegant enough, but exuberant, and not very elaborate; and the Matters therein contained are not digested into any Order. It was certainly composed by *Tatian*, before he fell into Heresie, tho' after *St. Justin's* Death, since he doth not condemn the State of Matrimony in that Book (d). He argues concerning the Generation of the Word, in such Expressions as do not agree with our manner of explaining it, but they may be interpreted in a sense which is not Heretical (e). He maintains that the Angels, and Devils consist of Bodies and Souls: He denies the Immortality of the later, affirming that they die, and that they shall hereafter rise again with their respective Bodies, which is a considerable Error.

As for the Gospel that was compiled by *Tatian*, *St. Epiphanius* in his Description of the Heresie of the *Nazarenes*, hath confounded it with that which was Entituled, *The Gospel according to the Hebrews*; and indeed they had this in common, that the Genealogy of Jesus Christ was not in either of them: But the Gospel according to the *Hebrews* was older than *Tatian's*; besides the later was

(d) He doth not condemn the State of Matrimony in that Book.] On the other hand, *Pag. 168.* he seems to approve it.

(e) A Sense which is not Heretical.] He asserts that the Word was begotten in the time of the Creation of the World; altho' he was from all Eternity, calling the Generation of the Word, his Application, (if we may so term it) to the exterior Works: He adds, that the Word was not begotten by way of Separation, but after the same manner, as one Fire is

only a kind of a *Catena* or Concordance, wherein this Author had gathered together, what he judged proper to be collected out of the four Evangelists. *St. Ambrose* seems to mention it in the Preface to his Commentaries on *St. Luke*; when he declares, that some Writers had made one single Gospel out of the Four, by collecting those passages, which they believed to be most favourable to their Opinions, and omitting the rest. The Gospel of *Tatian* was composed after this manner; in which he retrenched the Genealogy of Jesus Christ, together with all that which relates to his human Nature, and his Extraction from the Stock of *David*. *Baronius* thought that that was the Work of *Tatian* which is in the Seventh Tome of the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, under the Name of *Ammonius*; but this is a distinct Book; for as *Valesius* observes, it is an Historical Epitome of the Gospels, written by an Ancient Orthodox Author, containing many passages, wherein Jesus Christ is called the Son of *David*; whereas *Tatian's* Gospel was a Rhapsody of the passages taken out of the four Evangelists, on purpose to induce us to believe that our Saviour was not descended from the Lineage of *David*. *Tatian* lived after the Death of *St. Justin*, and died about the time when *St. Irenaeus* wrote his Book concerning the Heresies. *St. Clement* in the third Book of his *Stromata*, cites a Treatise of this Author Entituled, *Of Perfection according to the Saviour*, written by him after his Fall into Heresie; he produceth a passage out of it against Marriage, which he confutes in *Page 460.*

lighted or kindled by another; so that God did not remain without the Word, but that the Word proceeded from him, and remained in him altogether, or at the same time; this he explains by the Instance of human Speech. These are the Principles of some of the ancient Christians. The Version of this Treatise was printed together with the Greek Text at *Basil*, in the years 1564, 1569, 1575, 1593. and at *Geneva*, in 1592.

## ATHENAGORAS and HERMIAS.

*Athenagoras and Hermias.* **A** *Thenagoras* an *Athenian* Philosopher, lived in the time of the Emperor *Marcus Antoninus*, to whom he presented an Apology for the Christians (a). This Work and its Author, were unknown to *Eusebius*, *St. Jerome*, and *Photius*, but it is cited by *St. Epiphanius* in the Heresie of *Origen*. In this Apology he refutes the three principle Calumnies that were alledged against the Christians, as 1. That they were Atheists. 2. That they eat human Flesh. 3. That they committed horrible Crimes in their Assemblies. To the first Accusation he makes Answer, that the Christians were not Atheists, since they acknowledged and adored one God in Three Persons, and lived conformably to his Laws and Commandments, believing that he sees and knows all things; that they refused to worship Idols, and to offer Sacrifice to them, as being persuaded that they were not Deities. He replies to the two last Objections, in shewing that the Life, Laws and Manners of the Christians were very far from Murther and those infamous Crimes whereof they were accused. He plainly establisheth the Unity of the Essence of God, and the Trinity of the Three Divine Persons: He affirms that the Word, that remained in God from all Eternity departed from him, (if we may use such an Expression) to create and govern all things: He maintains the Worship of Angels, and declares that they were created to take care of Affairs here

below. He asserts that the Devils were ruined through the Love that they bore unto Women; he admits Free-will in its utmost Latitude; he makes divers Descriptions of the Holiness of the Conversation of the Christians; he commends Virginity; he condemneth second Marriages, calling them an honest Adultery; Lastly, he treats of the Resurrection, and of the last Judgment.

There is another Treatise of this Father extant, concerning the Resurrection of the Dead, wherein he endeavours to prove, that it is not only not impossible, but even extremely credible: These two Books are written in a Dogmatical Style, they were printed separately in Greek and Latin (b), translated by *Gesner*, *Nannius*, *Marsilius Ficinus* and *Suffridus*, and are inserted in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, as also in Greek, in the Supplement to the *Bibliotheca*; and Lastly, after the Works of *St. Justin*, with the Annotations of *Gesner*, and *Henry Stephen*; there is another imperfect Tract annexed to them, which is a continual Series of Satirical Reflections, on the Opinions and Philosophical Notions of the Gentiles, composed by *Hermias*, a Christian Philosopher. But this Author is not known, nor the precise time when he wrote, however it is not to be doubted but that he is ancient, and that he lived before the Pagan Religion was extirpated. This little Book was printed by it self in Greek and Latin, at *Basil*, Anno Dom. 1553.

(a) **I**N the time of the Emperor *Marcus Antoninus*, &c.] He joyns *Lucius Aurelius Commodus* with *Marcus*. *Labbe* affirms that it was *Lucius Verus*; but it is more probable, that it was *Commodus* the Son of *Antoninus*, and that this Apology was presented after his being taken into the Government, about the Year 178.

(b) *In Greek and Latin.*] At *Paris* in *Quarto*, by *Veke*, Anno Dom. 1541, and in *Octavo*, by *Stephen* with *Nannius's* Translation in 1557. Also by *Plantin* at *Antwerp* in 1560, 1583, and 1588. The Translation of *Suffridus* was printed at *Colen*, with Commentaries in 1567, and 1573. *Nannius's* Version of the Treatise concerning the Resurrection, was published at the end of the Works of *Philo* at *Basil* 1561, and in 1558 by *Episcopi*, as also at *Colen* in 1599. There is a Version of the Treatise of the Resurrection by *Ficinus*, and prin-

ted at *Basil* in 1516, and another of *Valetus* in *Italian*, printed at *Venice* in 1556. The Apology was printed in Latin at *Paris* in 1498, in Greek and Latin in 1577. In Latin at *Basil* 1565. translated by *Gesner*, and there again in 1558, in *Octavo* at *Zurick* in 1599. The Book concerning the Resurrection of the Dead, was printed in Latin at *Paris* in 1498, at *Basil* in 1561. In Greek and Latin at *Venice* in 1498, and 1550. At *Basil* in 1593, and 1653. At *Paris* in 1615, 1618, and 1636. The Translations which are at the end of *St. Justin*, are *Nannius's* of the Treatise of the Resurrection, and *Gesner's* of the Apology.

[*Athenagoras* has also been printed in Greek and Latin at *Oxon.* in *Duodecimo* 1682; and at *Leipzig* 1684, in *Octavo cum Notis Var.*]



## THEOPHILUS Bishop of ANTIOCH.

Theophilus  
Bishop of  
Antioch.

They that imagine (a), that this *Theophilus* whom we speak of is the same with him, to whom *St. Luke* dedicates the Acts of the Apostles, are grossly mistaken; for this Man was so far from being contemporary with *St. Luke* and the Apostles, that he was not ordained Bishop of *Antioch* (b), until the year 170. after the Nativity of Jesus Christ, and he governed this Church twelve or thirteen years, until the beginning of the reign of *Commodus* (c); that is to say, until the years of our Lord 181, or 182. This Bishop was one of the most vigorous Opposers of the Hereticks of his time; he wrote a considerable Book against *Marcion*, and a Treatise against the Heresie of *Hermogenes* (d), wherein he cited the Apocalypse. He likewise composed other small Tracts, for the Instruction and Edification of the faithful: All these Works are entirely lost; but we have three Books still written by him to *Autolycus*, a Learned Heathen of his Acquaintance, who had undertaken to vindicate his Religion against that of the Christians.

In the first of these Books he answers the Request, that had been made to him by that Heathen, to teach him how to know the true God, and after having declared that to attain to the knowledge of him, we must be purified in Mind and Heart, he proceeds to treat of the Nature of God, and of those things which the Divines call his Attributes, as his Eternity, Imensity, Power, Invisibilty; afterward he enlargeth on the Blessedness of the other Life, and on the Resurrection of the Body; he observes by the way, that Princes ought to be honoured as having received their Authority from God, and derives the Etymology of the Word Christian from Unction. This first Book is properly a Discourse between him and *Autolycus*, in Answer to what this Heathen had said against the Religion of Jesus Christ. The second Book was written to convince him of the Falseness of his own Religion, and of the truth of the Christians. He begins with a Confutation of the Opinions that were maintained by the Pagans, concerning their Gods, and shews the Contradictions of the Philosophers, and Poets on this Subject; he explains at large the Creation of the World, and that which happened in the succeeding Ages; he demonstrates that the History of *Moses* is the oldest, and truest History that ever was, and that the Poets have extracted many things from the Holy Scriptures, particularly their Relations concerning the Torments of the damned. In the third Book, after having proved that the Writings of the Heathens are full of an infinite number of Notions, contrary to right Reason and good Manners, he shews that the Doctrine and Lives of the Christians, are very far from those Crimes that are laid to their Charge. Lastly,

(a) They that imagine, &c.] This was the Opinion of *Guilielmus Tyrius*, who in *St. Bernard's* time wrote the History of the Crusade, See lib. 4. c. 9. It is a gross error, for according to this account *Theophilus* must have lived above 150 years.

(b) Ordained Bishop of Antioch.] He was the sixth; The first (according to the testimony of *Eusebius*) was *Evodius*, the second *St. Ignatius*, the third *Hero*, the fourth *Cornelius*, the fifth *Heros*, and *Theophilus* the sixth; *St. Jerome* indeed declares in one place that he was the seventh, but he is mistaken; *Eusebius* in his Chronicle, and in his History, refers his Ordination to the eighth year of the reign of the Emperor *Marcus*, that is, the 170 after Christ, according to the common computation.

(c) Until the beginning of the reign of *Commodus*.] *Eusebius* affirms that *Maximinus* was his Successor in the seventeenth year of *Marcus Antoninus*, but in the Chronology of the Emperors composed by *Theophilus* at the end of his third Book to *Autolycus* he reckons nineteen years and ten days of the reign of *Verus*, that is to say, of the same Emperor *Antoninus*, and it cannot be affirmed that 16 years ought to be put instead of 19, as it is in the Translation, for by computing the total Sum of the years of the Emperors which amount to 237 years and one day, it is apparent, that there must of necessity be 19. From whence it follows, that either he was mistaken in reckoning up a greater number of years of the reign of this Emperor under whom he lived, than were really passed, which is not credible, or that he did not write these Books until after this time, under the beginning of the reign of *Commodus*; and then, he could not have had *Maximinus* for his Successor until the year 182 of the vulgar account, unless he was taken in his Life-time to be his Coadjutor. There is more probability that *Eusebius* was deceived a year or two. *Nicephorus* in his Chronography of the Patriarchs of *Antioch* allows 13 years to *Theophilus*; which agrees with our Opinion.

(d) And a Treatise against the Heresie of *Hermogenes*.] Eu-

at the end of his Work he adds an Historical Chronology, from the Beginning of the World unto his Time, to prove that the History of *Moses* is the ancientest and the truest. It is apparent from this little Epitome, how well this Author was acquainted with prophane History. These three Books are filled with a great variety of curious Disquisitions concerning the Opinions of the Poets and Philosophers: Tho' there are but few things that relate immediately to the Doctrines of the Christian Religion; not that *Theophilus* was ignorant of them, for it appears from several passages, that he was very skilful in these Matters, but in regard that he composed this Book chiefly to convince a Pagan, he insists rather in proving our Religion, by Arguments from without, than by expounding its Doctrines. He is the first Author that hath applied the Word Trinity (e), to the Three Persons of the Godhead, but he calls the Third by the Name of Wisdom: He asserts two things concerning the Word, which seem to favour of the *Arian* Heresie; the first is, that the Word may be in a Place, and the Second, that he was begotten in Time; but these Expressions, which are common to him, and many of the ancient Fathers, had a different Signification (f) from that which was afterwards given them by the *Arians*.

Moreover these Books are full of Moral and Allegorical Expressions, the Style is elegant, and the Turn of the Thoughts very agreeable, that whoever reads them, cannot doubt but that the Author was a very eloquent Man. They are entituled in the Greek Manuscripts, *The Books of Theophilus to Autolycus concerning the Faith of the Christians against the malicious Detractors of their Religion*. They have been published in Greek and Latin, as also in Latin by *Conradus Gesner*, and printed at Zurich in the year 1546; afterward they were inserted in the *Orthodoxographia*, printed at Basil in 1555. *Fronto Ducens* annexed them to the first Volume of the Supplement of the *Bibliotheca Patrum* set forth in 1624; and they were afterwards printed at the end of the Works of *St. Justin* in the Edition of *Morellus*.

Besides these three Books, we have another Book in Latin attributed to *Theophilus*, consisting of Allegorical Commentaries on the four Gospels, which is in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*; There was a Commentary on the Gospels under his Name in *St. Jerom's* time, divers passages whereof are produced by him in his Annotations on *St. Matthew*; there were also Commentaries on the Proverbs of *Salomon*; but this Father observes in his Treatise of Ecclesiastical Writers, that they did not come up to the Elegancy or to the Style of the Writings of *Theophilus*.

Feb. lib. 4. cap. 24. Από τῆς οὐκ ἀγνοίας αὐτοῦ καὶ Μαρκιανῶν πατρὸς ἡμῶν λόγῳ. *St. Jerome*, Sub Imperatore M. Antonino Vero librum contra Marcionem composuit, qui usque hodie extat. And *Eusebius*, καὶ ἄλλοις τοῖς τῆς αἰρέσεως ἐπὶ μαρτυρίας ἔχον. *St. Jerome*, Et contra Haresim Hermogenes liber unus, καὶ ἄλλαι τινες κατηχητικαὶ αὐτοῦ βιβλία. *St. Jerome*, Et alii breves, elegantesque tractatus ad edificationem Ecclesie pertinentes.

(e) The word Trinity.] Lib. 2. p. 94. and 100.

(f) But these Expressions which are common to him with many of the ancient Fathers had a different Signification.] They meant nothing else by the first Expression, as hath been already observed, but that God made himself manifest unto Men by the Word, therefore when *Theophilus* affirms that the Word is in a place, and that the Father cannot be there, he intended only to declare, that the Word appears unto Men in a place, as he heretofore appeared unto *Adam* in the Terrestrial Paradise, and that the Father doth not appear in that manner: This is the System of the ancient Christians: It would be more difficult to resolve the second Expression, were it not that they themselves have explained it, since they acknowledge that the Word is Eternal, and that he remained in God from all Eternity, as his Council, Wisdom, and Word. But they say that the same Word who was in God, in some manner went out from him when he undertook to create the World, because he began to make use of this Word in exterior Operations, and this is what they call the Procession, Prolation, and Co-generation of the Word, which does not hinder but that the Word might be from all Eternity, and eternally begotten of the Father after the same manner as we apprehend it, but this is not that which they call Generation. These Expressions are not only used by *Theophilus*, but likewise by *Athenagoras*, *Tatian*, *Tertullian*, the Author of the Book concerning the Trinity, amongst the Works of this Father, *Lactantius*, the Compiler of the Homilies attributed to *Zeno Veronensis*, and afterwards by *Rupertus* in his Commentaries on *Genesis*.



# APOLLINARIUS, or, APOLLINARIS of HIERAPOLIS.

Apollinari-  
us, &c.

**A** Pollinarius, or, Apollinaris Bishop of Hierapolis, a City of Phrygia, wrote several Books under the Reign of Marcus Antoninus, the Titles whereof only remain at present; The first was an Oration dedicated to the Emperor in defence of the Christian Religion; The second a Treatise against the Gentiles divided into five Books; The third, two Books concerning Truth; The fourth, two Tracts against the Jews; The fifth was one or more Treatises against the Sect of the Montanists, which then began to appear. These are all the Works of this Author that are cited by Eusebius and St. Jerome (a), they were extant in Photius's time, who having read his Books against the Gentiles, as also those concerning Piety and Truth (b), declares, that he was much to be esteemed both for his Doctrine and his Style; wherefore I shall prefer the Judgment of this Learned Man before that of Trithemius, who without perusing the Works of Apollinaris, pe-

(a) [Eusebius and St. Jerome.] Lib. 4. Cap. 27. St. Jerome in Catalogo omits the Books against the Jews, neither are they found in the Version of Rufinus, nor even in some Greek Manuscripts of Eusebius.

remptorily asserts, that there seems to be more Zeal than Learning in what he has writ.

We find in Eusebius, Book 5. Chap. 16. a large fragment of a certain Author, whom he doth not name, against the Heresie of the Montanists, from whence Rufinus and Nicephorus have asserted, that this Fragment was taken from the Discourses of Apollinaris against them, but they must of necessity be deceived; for Apollinaris composed his Books to confute their Opinions, when they first began to be divulged, whereas the Anonymous Author of this Fragment, wrote after the death of Montanus, Maximilla, and Theodotus, who were the Ring-leaders of that Party; besides, he makes mention of this Heresie as maintained in a Country far distant from his, and established a great while ago, which plainly shews, that this Fragment belongs not to Apollinaris, and consequently, that there is not any part of his Works now extant.

Apollinar-  
us, &c.

(b) [As also those concerning Piety and Truth.] Photius Cod. 14. It is probable that the Book of Piety is the first of those two that are cited by Eusebius, under the Title of Truth. Besides, he affirms, that there were other Works of this Author, which he had never seen.

## DIONYSIUS of CORINTH.

Dionysius  
of Corinth.

**D**ionysius Bishop of Corinth lived under the Reign of the Emperor Marcus Antoninus, and in the beginning of Commodus's. 'He not only took care of his own Flock, (says Eusebius, Book 4. Chap. 23.) but he also made the Christians of other Countrys partakers of his Divine Labours, causing them to fructify every where by his Catholick Epistles, which he sent to many Churches. The first is written to the Lacedaemonians, containing an Instruction of the Catholick Faith, and an Exhortation to Peace and Unity. The second is directed to the Athenians, to excite their Faith, and to induce them to lead a Life conformable to the Rules of the Gospel: He likewise reproves their negligence, whereby they had almost abandoned the Christian Religion ever since their Bishop Publius suffered Martyrdom in the Persecutions that were raised in his time: Moreover he mentions Quadratus, who was elected Bishop of Athens after the Martyrdom of Publius, and testifies, that the Christians of this City owned the renovation of the ardour of their Faith to his Care. Besides this he informs us, that Dionysius the Areopagite being converted by St. Paul, (as it is recorded in the Acts of the Apostles) was constituted the first Bishop of Athens. There is also another Epistle written by him to the Nicomedians, wherein he confutes the Heresie of Marcion, and keeps close to the Rule of Faith. He likewise composed a Letter directed to the Church of Gortyna; as also to all those of Crete, in which he extremely commends Philip their Bishop, to whom his whole Church had given authentick Testimonies of his singular Abilities and Generosity, and he admonisheth them to avoid Heresies. In his Epistle to the Amastrians, and to the other Churches of Pontus, addressing his Discourse to their Bishop Palma, he explains divers passages of the Holy Scriptures; He therein lays down several Precepts concerning Marriage and Chastity, determining at the same time, that all Penitents should be received that returned from any Crimes whatsoever, and even from Heresie. In the same Volume is contained another Epistle to the Gnostians, wherein he adviseth Pinytus their Bishop not to impose on the Christians the heavy burden of the Obligation to preserve their Virginity, but to have respect unto the weakness which is incident to most of them. Pinytus in replying to this Epistle, extols and admires Dionysius of Corinth, and exhorts him at last to afford them more solid nourishment, and to send frequent Letters to him which might fill and satiate the People that were committed to his charge, lest being always nourished only with Milk, they should grow old, and yet remain in a kind of Infancy. This answer represents as it were a lively Portraiture of the Faith of Pinytus, his diligence in watching over the Flock, with which he was entrusted by God, his profound knowledge in Divinity, and his extraordinary Eloquence. We have also in our

hand another Letter of Dionysius written to the Romans, and particularly directed to Soter, who was then their Bishop; a passage whereof it will be expedient here to produce, in which he recommends to them the continuation of a certain Custom, that had been always observed by them from their first plantation unto the persecution which happened in our time. This is (says he) a custom which hath been established among you, O ye Romans, ever since the beginning of your Church, to be charitable unto your Brethren, and to send to divers Churches throughout the World things necessary for their subsistence; you comfort the poor in their indigence, and relieve the urgent necessities of those that are condemned to the Mines; This custom you have received from your Ancestors, which the blessed Bishop Soter hath not only retained, but even augmented, by abundantly distributing the Donatives appointed for the relief of the Faithful, and cherishing as a Father would do his Children all the Brethren who came to Rome. He mentions St. Clement's Epistle to the Corinthians, which had been for a long time constantly read in the Church of Corinth, as he testifies in these Words. We have even now passed the Lords Day, when we perused your Epistle, which we shall hereafter read continually, as we do that of St. Clement, that we may be replenished with Precepts and wholesome Instructions: Afterward he observes, that his Letters were corrupted by Falsifiers in these Words: I wrote several Epistles at the Entreaty of the Brethren, but the Ministers of the Devil have filled them with Tares, by retrenching and adding many things; they may well expect this terrible Sentence: Cursed be he that adds or diminisheth any thing from my Words. Wherefore it is not to be admir'd, that some have presumed even to corrupt the Sacred Writings, since they have done it in Books of much less Authority. Besides these Epistles, there is another Extant, written to Chrysochora his faithful Sister, to whom he gave Instructions suitable, carefully nourishing her with spiritual Food. These are the Contents of this passage of Eusebius, concerning the Epistles of St. Dionysius, which I have set down entire, because he hath made use of the same Method as we should have done, in case those Epistles had been still Extant.

Dionysius  
of Corinth.

Moreover Eusebius in his 2d. Book, Chap. 25. recites another Fragment of his Epistle to the Romans, wherein is mentioned the Death of St. Peter, in the City of Rome in these Words. Thus (says he) as I may so say, by your Exhortations you have mixed the Grain that sprung from the Seed of St. Peter and St. Paul, that is to say, the Romans and the Corinthians: for these two glorious Apostles entering into our City of Corinth, instructed us in dispersing the spiritual Seed of the Gospel, afterwards they passed together into Italy, and having given you also the like Instructions, they suffered Martyrdom with you at the same time. This is all that we certainly know concerning the Life and Writings of



*Dionysius* Bishop of *Corinth*. In the *Menologium* of the Greeks, he is reckoned among the Martyrs (a), but since neither *Eusebius*, nor *St. Jerome* take any Notice of the

matter, I am apt to believe that the Latin Church hath done more prudently in placing him in their Martyrology in the Rank of the Confessors.

*Dionysius of Corinth.*

(a) *HE is reckoned among the Martyrs.* On the 29th of November, τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ Διονύσιος ἐπίσκοπος Κορίνθου ἔτελεύτησε, on this day *Dionysius Bishop of Corinth* died

by the Sword. *Glycas* affirms that he suffered Martyrdom under the Reign of *Antoninus Pius*; and yet it is certain, that he lived under *Marcus Aurelius*.

## *Pinytus, Philippus, Modestus, Musanus, and Bardefanes.*

*Pinytus, &c.*

**A**T the same time lived *Pinytus* Bishop of *Gnossus* in the Island of *Crete*, who replied (as we have even now observ'd) to *St. Denys of Corinth*, in an Eloquent and Learned Epistle, *Philippus* Bishop of *Gortyna*, mentioned likewise by the later, wrote a Treatise against *Marcion* as well as *Modestus* (a), but less accurate.

Among these may be reckoned *Musanus*, who wrote a Work against the *Encratites*, and *Bardefanes* (b) the *Syrian*, who Composed two Tracts translated into Greek by his Disciples, the First against *Marcion*, and other Hereticks, and the Second concerning Fate; this last was dedicated to the Emperor *Antoninus* (c). Besides he wrote other Treatises upon the Persecution, that was then raised against the Christians of *Syria*: *Eusebius* observes, that this Author having been engaged in the Sect of the *Valentinians*, tho' he had acknowledged and retracted the most part of his Errors, yet he retained some of them; wherefore he is accused by *St. Jerome*, of being the Deviser of a new Heresie: Tho' he owns that *Bardefanes* was endued with a very quick Apprehension, and was extremely vehement in his Disputes. *St. Epiphanius* likewise makes him to be the Ring-leader of an Heresie. *Bardefanes* (says he in *Heret. 56.*) is the Author of the Heresie of the *Bardasianites*, he was a Native of *Mesopotamia*, and an Inhabitant of the City of *Edeffa*; moreover he was a very good Christian (d), and wrote many useful Books, being well skill'd in the Greek and Syriack Tongues (e). He was intimately acquainted with *Agbarus* Prince of *Edeffa*, and assisted him in his Studies; he lived until the time of *Antoninus Verus*, and Collected many things concerning Fate against the Astronomer *Abidas*: There are also other Works written by him agreeable to the Faith: He Courageously withstood *Apollonius* the Friend of *Antoninus* (f), who advised him to deny that he was a Christian, and undauntedly replied, that he did not fear Death, which he could not avoid, tho' he should do

that which the Emperor required: But at last this Man adorned with so many Vertues fell into Heresie, suffering himself to be infected with the Errors of the *Valentinians*; inventing divers *Æones*, and denying the Resurrection of the Dead. He acknowledged indeed the Law and the Prophets, together with the whole New Testament, but then he admitted several Apocryphal Books along with them. *Eusebius* in *Lib. 6. Preparat. Evangl.* produceth an excellent Fragment of the Writings of this Author against Fate, whereby it is evident that it was written in the Form of a Dialogue. He proves in this Fragment, that Men are not Conducted by Nature and Necessity as brute Beasts, but by Reason and with Liberty, because, altho' the Nature of all Men be the same; yet there are infinite numbers of Manners, Customs, Laws and Religions among them, that are different even in the same Country, and under the very same Climate, which cannot proceed but from the different Choice that is made by them. Afterwards having alledged many Examples to evince this Truth, he adds: What shall we say, of the Society of Christians, who are dispersed throughout all the Cities of the World, and who cannot be induced by any Considerations, nor by any Arguments whatsoever, to follow the Manners and Customs of those among whom they reside; but on the contrary, wheresoever they are, they still adhere to peculiar Laws, and have Manners different from those of the People among whom they live, without being persuaded by any means to commit those things, which their Master hath declared to them to be Criminal, chusing rather to suffer Poverty, Dangers, Ignominy, Torments, and even Death it self? This passage set down by *Eusebius*, not only shews that *Bardefanes* was a Person of a quick Apprehension, and of a vehement Temper, (as hath been observed by *St. Jerome*) but it likewise informs us, that he had acquired much Learning (g), and that his Style wanted neither Elegancy nor Ornament.

*Pinytus, &c.*

(a) *AS well as Modestus.* *St. Jerome* affirms, that in his time there were other Tracts extant under the Name of *Modestus*; but that they were rejected by the learned as Supposititious.

(b) *Bardefanes.* *Porphyrus*, *Lib. de Abst.* cites one *Bardefanes* a *Babylonian*, who (he says) lived in the time of his Fore-fathers, and writ concerning the *Brachman* and *Indian* Philosophers: But he must needs have been another Person.

(c) *Was Dedicated to the Emperor Antoninus.* It is asserted by *St. Jerome*, that he presented it to him; but it is more probable, that being Translated, it was afterwards delivered by others; for since he wrote in Syriack, it is not credible, that he presented, or even Dedicated his Book to the Emperor; on the contrary, he Composed it at the Entreaty of his Friends; and in the form of a Dialogue.

(d) *A very good Christian.* *St. Epiphanius* is deceived; for it is otherwise affirmed by *Eusebius*, that he was at first a *Valentinian*, and that his Errors were the remainders of this Heresie.

(e) *Being well skilled in the Greek and Syriack Tongues.* He did not understand Greek, since, as *Eusebius* assures us, his Disciples Translated his Works.

(f) *The Friend of Antoninus.* Neither is there much certainty in this Relation.

(g) *That he had acquired much Learning.* This Fragment contains an Enumeration of the Manners, Customs and different Laws of a very great number of People, which plainly shews his Learning, and it is written as agreeably as the Subject was capable of allowing it.

## St. I R E N Æ U S.

*St. Irenæus.*

**W**E know nothing of the Country of *St. Irenæus* but only in general, that he was a Greek (a). It is probable, that he was at first Educated in the Christian Religion (b), or at least that he made profession thereof even from his Youth, during

which he was a Disciple of *St. Polycarp* Bishop of *Smyrna* in *Asia*, who was then very Old. This induceth me to believe, that this Father could not be born till about the end of the Reign of the Emperor *Adrian*, or the beginning of that of *Antoninus Pius*, some time before

*St. Irenæus.*

(a) *That he was a Greek.* *Galestinus* and some other Authors tell us, that he was of *Smyrna*, but this is barely a Conjecture: 'Tis certain, he was a Greek, and in all probability of *Asia*.

(b) *He was at first Educated in the Christian Religion.* He always speaks of the Christian Religion, as if he had never been of any other, and he no where takes notice, that he had ever been a Heathen. Besides it is certain, that he was a Christian, and a Disciple of *St. Polycarp* from his tender years, as he himself testifies in his Letter to *Florinus*, as it is cited by *Eusebius*, *Lib. 5. c. 20.* I have seen you, says he, when I was as yet but a Child in *Asia* with *St. Polycarp*, I remember

it very well, because we best retain what we have seen in our Youth, so that I can tell, what kind of a place it was where *St. Polycarp* lived, what Discourses he held, and after what manner he lived. And in the Third Book against Heresies, Ch. 3. *Polycarpus autem constitutus ab Apostolis Smyrnis in Asia Episcopus, quem & nostrâ primâ atate vidimus, multum enim perseveraverat, & valde senex, gloriosissimè, ac nobilissimè Martyrium faciens exivit à vitâ.* Which clearly Demonstrates that *St. Irenæus* was very young, when he used to go to *St. Polycarp*, and that on the other hand, *St. Polycarp*, was extremely old.

the



the Year 140, after the Nativity of Jesus Christ (c). He was also a Disciple of Papias, if we may believe St. Jerome (d), and perhaps it is he whom he frequently cites in his Work against the Heresies, under the Name of an Elder, that had seen the Successors of the Apostles (e). After he had thus spent the time of his youth in the School of the most Learned of the Apostles, he went into France (f); where he was ordained Priest of the Church of Lyons by Pothinus (g), who was Bishop of that See. And when this Holy Prelate had suffered Martyrdom in the 90th Year of his Age, being the 17th of the Reign of Marcus Antoninus, and the 178th Year of Jesus Christ, Irenaeus was Elected his Successor upon his return from a Voyage that he made to Rome (h); having carried several Letters thither written to Pope Eleutherus, by the Martyrs of Lyons, concerning the new Sect of the Mon-

tanists. At the end of this Epistle, these Holy Men recommended St. Irenaeus in these words: *We have desired St. Irenaeus, our dear Brother and Colleague Irenaeus, to carry this Letter unto you; we commit him unto your Care; and we entreat you to esteem him as a Person that hath very much Zeal for the Gospel of Jesus Christ; if we believed that his Dignity would add any thing to his worth, we would have recommended him to you in quality of a Priest; but he is much more recommendable for his Zeal and Piety.*

St. Irenaeus being constituted Bishop, was not only employed in governing his particular Church with singular prudence, but he applied himself also to the preserving of all the other Churches in the World from the infection of Heresies, which were then spread abroad in great numbers. And it was on this account (i) that he Composed in Greek (k) under the Pontificate of Eleu-

(c) *The Year of our Lord, 140.* 'Tis commonly believed, that he was born towards the end of Trajan's Reign, or in the beginning of Adrian's. But this does not agree with what we have observed concerning him, by which it undeniably appears, that he only knew St. Polycarp in his old Age, when he himself was exceeding young: Besides, St. Irenaeus lived till the Year 202, or 203, wherein he suffered Martyrdom, and that he had Strength and Vigor enough still left under the Pontificate of Eleutherus, towards the Year of our Lord 178. And this abundantly discovers the Error of those Persons, who have imagined, that Irenaeus was the Angel of Thyatira, of whom mention is made in the Apocalypse. 'Tis certain, that a Book was writ before his Birth, for in his Fifth Book speaking of the Revelations; *It is not very long, says he, since it has appeared in the World, almost in our own time, at the end of Domitian's Reign.*

[Mr. Dodwel has fixed the time when St. Irenaeus lived, in his Third Dissertation upon this Father, in this manner. Irenaeus speaking of St. John's Revelation says (Lib. 5. cap. 30.) *Neque enim ante multum temporis visum est, sed pene sub nostro Seculo, ad finem Domitiani imperii.* So that the latter end of the Reign of the Emperor Domitian, was very near the time when St. Irenaeus lived. Whence it must follow, that he was alive at least under the former part of Trajan's Government. But then the words, *Sub nostro seculo*, are not so easy; because *Seculum* at that time signified as often the time of the present Emperors Government as any thing else. Irenaeus says also, that when he was ἐν πρώτῃ ἡλικίᾳ, he heard St. Polycarp at Smyrna; when he was πᾶν ἡλικίᾳ. Now St. Polycarp was an old Man in the beginning of Hadrian's Reign, to which time Irenaeus being his Disciple must be referred: For St. Irenaeus in his Letter to Florinus, says, that he saw him when himself was very Young, making a very splendid Figure in the Emperor's Court. Now this can agree to none but Hadrian, who often went about his Empire, staying long in several places, where their Antiquities and Histories could afford him Entertainment. This of necessity must be about the Year CXXII, since no other time can be Assigned in Hadrian's Reign for such a Journey.

As for the time of his Death it must be carried as much higher as that of his Birth. The common Opinion is, that he suffered in the Persecution which Severus raised in Gaul, after he had Conquered Albinus. But that is inconsistent with it self; and it is no ways probable, that Severus should raise Persecution against those Men, for favouring Albinus, who as Tertullian assures us, made it a great part of their Justification, that in all these Civil Wars they had never declared themselves of any one Faction against the Emperor Severus; and this he appeals to as a thing notoriously known. Besides none of the Ancients within 300 Years of Irenaeus ever mention his being a Martyr, a thing never omitted in those Primitive times, whenever they had just grounds to give a Title, which of all others they thought the most Honourable. It is plain by the Controversies concerning Easter, and his Letter to Florinus, that he lived to Commodus's time. And if he were 25 years old, when he saw Florinus at Smyrna about the Year CXXII, he must have been born near or in the Year XCVII. In the Year CLXXXII (the 3d. of Commodus) he wrote against Blastus and Florinus, when by this Account he himself was 85 years old. The last Controversies concerning the time of observing Easter were in the Year CLXXXIX, in the 10th year of Commodus, when we are sure that St. Irenaeus was alive, because his Opinion was appealed to, and he gave it so solemnly as to put an end to their Differences. Then he was by the former Account, in the XCII Year of his Age: After that we have no Memorials, either how long he lived, or what he did.]

(d) St. Jerome.] Ep. 29. ad Theodorum. *Refert Irenaeus, vir Apostolicorum temporum, & Papias auditoris Joannis Evangelistae discipulus.*

(e) *Who had beheld the Successors of the Apostles.* Lib. 4. c. 45. *Quemadmodum audiui à Presbytero, qui audierat ab his, qui Apostolos viderant, c. 47. valde insensatos ostendebat Presbyter eos.* Item c. 49, 50, 52. and Lib. 5. c. 5. and cap. 17. he cites Papias by Name, Lib. 5. c. 37.

(f) *He went into France.* Gregory of Tours writes, that he was sent thither by St. Polycarp. We don't certainly know what Year, though 'tis probable he did not stay long in Asia.

(g) By Pothinus.] Halloixius was of Opinion, that he was ordained Presbyter by St. Polycarp. But there is more Rea-

son to induce us to believe, that he was ordained by Pothinus, and therefore St. Jerome calls him the Presbyter of Pothinus.

(h) *At his return from a Voyage that he made to Rome.* 'Tis certain, that the Martyrs had resolved to send him to Rome to carry their Letter, but we can't certainly tell, whether he went thither or no. Valesius thinks, that though they intended to send him, yet Pothinus's Death preventing him, he was detained there to be his Successor, and so never went to Rome at all. Baronius and Petavius say, that he went to Rome, and that he was not ordained till after his Return. They have the Authority of St. Jerome to support them, who says the same thing in his Book of the Ecclesiastical Writers in the following words. *Irenaeus, Pothini Episcopi qui Lugdunensem in Galliâ regebat Ecclesiam Presbyter, à Martyribus ejusdem loci ob quasdam Ecclesiae questiones rogatus Romam Atissus, honorificas super nomine suo ad Eleutherum perferret literas; postea tum Pothino prope Nonagenario Martyrio Coronato in locum ejus substituitur.* Eusebius also seems to be of the same Opinion, since he mentions a Letter wherein it is said, that he was sent to Rome, without telling us, that his Journey was stopt by the Death of Pothinus. The Conjecture of Valesius is only founded upon the Improbability of the thing, that they would send St. Irenaeus, who was the chief and the best known Member of the Church of Lyons, and who besides was to succeed Pothinus, at a time when that Church stood so much in need of his Assistance. But besides that in a Question of Fact, as this is, a Conjecture of this Nature is of little Consequence, so it may be replied, that he was sent at the beginning of the Persecution, and that he returned before the Death of Pothinus. Eusebius imagines, that St. Irenaeus carried Letters also into Asia and Phrygia, which the same Martyrs wrote to their Brethren in those Churches about the same Subject, but this is very improbable, and there is nothing in Eusebius to induce us to believe it. All that we Read there, amounts only to this, that the Churches of Vienna and Lyons, after the Death of Pothinus, and the other Martyrs, wrote a long Letter (which in all probability was Composed by St. Irenaeus) to the Churches of Asia and Phrygia, cited by Eusebius, towards the end of which, *They passed their Censure upon the Montanists, with a great deal of Piety and Devotion, setting before them (subijcimus) the Letters which their Martyrs had written, while they were as yet in Chains, as well to the Brethren of Asia and Phrygia, as to Eleutherus Bishop of Rome.* But he does not say, that those first Letters to the Brethren of Asia and Phrygia, were carried by St. Irenaeus, nor that they were sent at all, till the Letter concerning their Martyrdom was writ, and it seems to be very improbable that they would send them the second time, if they had been carried thither once before. As for what relates to the Ordination of St. Irenaeus it is certain, that he was only a Presbyter, when he went to Rome, and this appears by the Letter of the Martyrs by Eusebius, and St. Jerome. It is more difficult to know, who ordained him afterwards. Father Quésnel in his Dissertations upon St. Leo, pretends that he was ordained by the Pope, and that he went purposely to Rome upon that Account, others believe that he came back before the Death of Pothinus, and was ordained by him. It is more natural and more agreeable to the Testimony of the Ancients to believe that he was not Elected, and ordained Bishop of Lyons, till after the Death of Pothinus; and whereas Father Quésnel pretends, that at that time there was only one Bishop of France, and therefore it was necessary for St. Irenaeus after the Death of Pothinus to go and be ordained at Rome, all this is precarious, and the rather, because it appears that St. Irenaeus was sent thither while Pothinus was living, and upon another occasion.

(i) *'Twas upon this Account.* He himself tells us in his Preface to the fifth Book, that he Composed these Books to convert the Hereticks, and to preserve the Novices in the Faith, lest they should be led aside by those, who would use their utmost Endeavours to pervert them, and seduce them from the Truth.

(k) *In Greek.* Erasmus having found this ancient and barbarous Version, at first imagined, that these Books were Originally written in Latin, but afterwards he altered his Opinion, and no body doubts at present, but that they were written in Greek. For first St. Jerome places St. Irenaeus amongst the Greek Authors. Secondly, Eusebius, St. Epiphanius, Theodoret, Photinus and St. John Damascene, read and quoted him in



St. Irenæus. *therus* (l) five Books against Heresies, bearing this Title (m), *The Confutation and Subversion of that which is falsely called Knowledge*. He wrote likewise at the same time two Epistles to two several Hereticks of Rome, one whereof was directed to *Blastus*, and the other to *Florinus*, whom he knew when he was the Disciple of St. Polycarp. In the first of these Letters he treated of *Schism*, and in the second concerning *Monarchy*. In the latter he proved, that there was but one God, and that he was not the Author of Evil; for this was at first the principal Error of *Florinus*, tho' he soon fell into those of the *Valentinians*, which obliged St. Irenæus to dedicate another Work to him, Entituled, *περὶ ἑσθλότητος*, because it was written against the Oedonary of the *Æons* of the *Valentinians*.

Not long after, under the Pontificate of *Victor* the Successor of *Eleutherus*, the Controversie that arose between the *Asiatick* Bishops and this Pope, gave occasion to St. Irenæus to use his utmost endeavours to re-establish Peace. The subject of this dispute was to know on what day *Easter* ought to be observed; The Bishops of *Asia*, according to their ancient custom, always celebrated that Festival on the 14th of the Moon of *March*, on whatever day of the week it happened, whereas the Western Churches waited for the Lords-Day before they celebrated it. This difference in point of practice, which seems to be but of little consequence, produced some disturbance among the Churches of the first Ages; and when St. Polycarp came to Rome in the time of Pope *Anicetus*, these two Bishops earnestly endeavoured to accommodate this matter; but not being able to persuade one another to leave their former Custom, (so jealous have Churches always been of their Ceremonies and Customs) they parted very good Friends, thinking that a difference of so little moment ought not to interrupt their mutual Agreement. But under the Pontificate of *Victor*, this Contest was revived with greater heat; and had well nigh caused a division in the Catholick Church. For this Pope, incensed because the Bishops of *Asia* being very far from submitting to the Threats and Penalties which he had denounced against them, in case they refused to abolish their own Custom, and to Conform to that of the Western Churches, had procured a large Epistle to be written to him by *Polycrates* Bishop of *Ephesus* in vindication thereof; took a resolution to drive *Polycrates* and the *Asiatick* Bishops out of their Churches, and sent everywhere Letters (says *Eusebius*) in which he declared them to be Excommunicated. Whereupon the other Bishops, and even those that celebrated the Feast of *Easter* with those of the West, disapproved the proceedings of *Victor*, and wrote Letters to exhort him to take other Measures more conformable to Peace and Charity. But there was none that performed this with greater Efficacy than St. Irenæus, who wrote an Epistle to him under the name of the Church of *France*, wherein he declares, that tho' he himself solemnized the Feast of *Easter* on the Lord's Day according to his manner, yet he could not approve of his undertaking to Excommunicate whole Churches for the observation of a Custom which they had received from their Ancestors. He advertiseth him, that different Customs have been used in Churches not only in the Celebration of the Festival of *Easter*, but also of Fasts, and in divers other matters of practice. Lastly, he lays before him, that his Predecessors did not contend with the *Asiatick* Bishops in this matter; and that St. Polycarp being arrived at Rome, and having holden a Conference with Pope *Ani-*

cetus touching this affair, they decreed, that mutual Communion and Peace ought not to be broken for a matter of so small importance. It is probable that *Victor* was convinced by these Reasons; for tho' the *Asiaticks* did not lay aside their Custom, yet it doth not appear that the Union between them and the Bishops of Rome was thereupon discontinued. This Epistle is produced by *Eusebius*, who affirms, that this Father wrote many others of the like nature to other Bishops.

To return to the Works of St. Irenæus, besides those that we have already mentioned, he wrote a Treatise against the Gentiles very concise and extremely necessary, (says *Eusebius*) Entituled, *Of Knowledge* (n) *περὶ ἐπιστήμης*, as also another Tract which he wrote to *Marcion*, to shew what was the Doctrine that was Preached by the Apostles; and lastly, a Book containing several Dissertations, *παρὰ τὰς ἐπιστολάς* on different Subjects, wherein (according to the Testimony of *Eusebius*) he quotes the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the Book of the Wisdom of *Salomon*. These are all the Works of St. Irenæus that *Eusebius* and St. *Jerome* mention (o), but it is not known when these last were written.

The Death of St. Irenæus was no less glorious than his Life; for after having governed the Flock which Jesus Christ had committed to his Charge for 24 years, he was not willing to abandon it in the time of the persecution of the Emperor *Severus*, which was much more cruel in *France* than in any other part of the World. He suffered Martyrdom at *Lyons* with all the Christians that were found in that City, and in so great numbers that their Blood ran down through all the Streets, according to the report of *Gregory of Tours* in the first Book of his History, Chap. 27. We have not any particular account of his Martyrdom, which happened in the year, 202, or 203. after the Nativity of Jesus Christ.

Of all the Works of this Father, there remains only in our possession a very barbarous Version of those against the Heresies, and some few Greek Fragments of these Books given us by *Eusebius*, *Theodoret*, St. *Epiphanius*, and St. *Joannes Damascenus*, which are collected in the last Edition of *Fenardentius*, and in the Writings of *Halloixius*. There is also a Fragment of his Epistle to *Florinus* extant, and a considerable part of that to *Victor*, and an Advertisement which he had inserted at the end of his Book *περὶ ἑσθλότητος*, to oblige the Transcribers thereof, faithfully to revise and correct their Copy from his Manuscript. The Version of the five Books concerning the Heresies, tho' Barbarous (as I have hinted already) and full of Faults, yet is a very valuable Fragment; for the Variety which is in it is admirable.

In the First Book, after having described at large the Errors of the *Valentinians*, in Chap. 1. He opposeth to them in the Second, the Faith of all the Churches in the World, which he comprehends in a kind of Creed; In the Third and fourth Chapters, he proceeds to shew that all the Churches and all Christians agree in this Faith, and that the most Learned cannot add any thing to it, or make any Alterations from it, nor the most simple and ignorant, diminish any part of it. The following Chapters are spent in explaining the absurd Notions of *Valentinus* and his Disciples. In the 20th he returns to the Source and Original of the Hereticks, and beginning with *Simon Magus*, he gives an Account successively of all the Heresies that appeared since the time of the Sorcerer, even unto that wherein he wrote. This first Book

Greek. Thirdly, This Author was less known to the Latins, than to the Greeks; and Lastly, speaking of the number of the Letters, and the Name of Anti-Christ, Lib. 5. he says several things that could not be said but by an Author that wrote in Greek. We don't know who made this Version; some have attributed it to himself, but this is a foolish Chimera; it was certainly Composed by a Man that understood neither Language as he ought. It was not known in the time of *Gregory the Great*, who in his 50th Letter to *Æthelricus* tells him, that he had searched a long time after the Writings of St. Irenæus, without being able to find them. *Gesta vel scripta D. Irenæi jamdiu est quod sollicite quaesivimus, sed hæcenus ex eis invenire aliquid non valui.* St. *Austin* cites a passage out of St. Irenæus, Lib. 1. contra *Jul.* cap. 3. which is of another Version.

(l) *Eleutherus*.] This appears, because in his Catalogue of the Bishops of Rome, from St. Peter down to his own time, he ends with *Eleutherus*, who, he says, was then living. *Nunc duodecimo loco Episcopatus ab Apostolis sortitur Eleutherus, Lib. 3. c. 3.*

(m) *Bearing this Title, &c.*] *Επιστήμη ἀντιχριστοῦ καὶ ψευδοπροphetίας* *Eusebius*, *Photius*, and others. This agrees with the name which he has given his Books in his Prefaces to Lib. 2, 3, and 4. and in the last Chapter of the 4th as well as the first of the fifth. The Hereticks of those times called their knowledge *γνῶσις*, and themselves *Gnosticks*, which was also the name of a particular Sect.

(n) *Of Knowledge*.] St. *Jerome* distinguisheth this Treatise of Knowledge from that against the Gentiles, for want of having sufficiently minded a passage in *Eusebius*, Lib. 5. c. 26.

(o) *That Eusebius and St. Jerome mention*.] St. *Jerome* speaking of the Apocalypse of St. *John* tells us, that St. *Justin* and St. *Irenæus* have interpreted it, from whence some conclude, that St. Irenæus composed a Commentary upon it. But St. *Jerome's* true meaning is, that these two Authors cited and explained some passages of it. Some Authors formerly attributed to him the Book *De Universo*, which was composed by *Caius* a Presbyter of Rome, mentioned by *Photius*, Cod. 48. The Author of the Questions attributed to St. *Justin*, cites a Book about *Easter*, *Quest. 115.* and tells us, that there was an Account, that they did not pray kneeling on Sundays, and that there was mention made of the Pentecost, all which perhaps might be found in the intire Letter of St. Irenæus to *Polycarp*, of which *Eusebius* has only given us a fragment. *Eusebius* in his fourth Book, ch. 25. speaking of the Book of *Philip* against *Marcion*, tells us, that St. Irenæus and *Modestus* had likewise wrote against the same Heretick. St. Irenæus himself, lib. 1. c. 29. promises to write particularly against that Heretick. We are not assured whether he ever did write against him or no, because neither St. *Jerome*, nor *Eusebius*, who have given us a Catalogue of all the Books of St. Irenæus, mention it. 'Tis probable, that the Letter of the Churches of *Vienna*, and *Lyons* concerning their Martyrs was writ by St. Irenæus.

indeed



*St. Irenæus.* indeed is extremely tedious, being fill'd with almost nothing else but the wild Conceits, and extravagant Imaginations of the primitive Hereticks: There is a notable passage in it concerning Penance, upon the occasion of certain Women, who being defiled by a famous Impostor named *Mark*, afterwards did Penance, during the remainder of their Lives. In the Second Book, *St. Irenæus* begins to impugn the Errors which he had barely recited in the First: He chiefly makes use of the Principles of the Hereticks in opposing them, and shews that they contradict themselves, and that all their Whimsies are ridiculous and ill laid together. In the Third Book he confutes them by the Authority of Holy Scripture and Tradition: He proves that it is impossible, that all the Churches in the World should agree together, to alter the Apostolical Doctrine; that the Evangelists and Apostles knew but one only God, the Creator of Heaven and Earth, and one Jesus Christ God and Man, who was born of a Virgin, who is not the Son of *Joseph*, but was really Man, and that he actually suffered, and not in appearance only, as was pretended by the Hereticks. He occasionally refutes the Error of *Tatian*, concerning the Damnation of *Adam*, and maintains as a certain truth, that he is saved. In the Fourth Book he continues to demonstrate, that there is but one God; particularly, he shews against *Marcion*, that the same God is exhibited in the Old and New Testament; he Answers all the Objections of the Hereticks, and especially those which they took from Scripture; afterwards he alledgeth the Reasons that induce a spiritual Man, that is to say, a Christian, to condemn the Pagans, Jews, Hereticks, and Schismatics. Lastly, he rejects the Opinion of those who affirmed, that Men were naturally good or evil, and proves the Liberty of Mankind. In the last Book, he Treats of the Redemption of Jesus Christ, of the Fall of Man, of the Resurrection of the last Judgment, of Anti-Christ, and of the State of Souls after Death. This is in General the Subject of every one of the Books of *St. Irenæus*: and they that peruse them will find several other passages relating to some weighty Articles of our Religion.

There are for Example, many excellent Paragraphs concerning the Holy Scriptures, and among others, one in Book 2. Chap. 46, and 47. There are very considerable passages touching the Eucharist in Book 3. Chap. 19. Book 4. Chap. 32, and 34. and in Book 5. Chap. 4. Where he proves the Resurrection of the Body against the *Valentinians*, because it is not credible, that being nourished with the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, it should remain in Corruption: He mentions the Three Persons of the Trinity (p). In many places of his Works, and almost as often as he speaks of the Word he establisheth his Divinity, Eternity (q) and Equality with the Father (r).

In the Second Book (s), he Treats at large concerning the Faculties of the Soul; he conceives that it is distinguished from the Body, and that it is of a different Nature; he there refutes the *Metempsychosis*, or Transmigration of Souls out of one Body into another, and proves that those of the just shall subsist Eternally. But he seems to have believed, as well as *St. Justin*, that they are immortal only through Grace, and that those of the wicked shall cease to be, after they have been tormented for a long time. He maintains also another particular Opinion, that the Souls assume the Figure of their Bodies, but this word Figure may be understood of some peculiar Quality of the Soul.

(p) *Of the Trinity.* Lib. 1. c. 2. lib. 3. c. 20. lib. 4. c. 25, 37, and 75. and lib. 5.

(q) *His Divinity and Eternity.* Lib. 1. c. 19. lib. 2. c. 18, and 48. lib. 3. c. 6. In all these places, and several others, he says, that the Word is truly God. Lib. 2. c. 43, and 56. and lib. 3. c. 20. he says, that the Word is, and was always co-existent with the Father.

(r) *And his equality with the Father.* In the fourth Book, ch. 8. he says, that the Son is the measure of the Father, because he comprehends him. He seems to have said something contrary to this, lib. 2. where he says, that the Father is greater than the Son, that he knew not of the day of Judgment; And in another place he says, that the Father is invisible and the Son visible. But as to the first passage, there is no more difficulty in it than in that of *St. John*, and he speaks there of Jesus Christ considered as a Man. And the second ought to be understood after the same manner, as we have explained a like passage of *St. Justin*. It is yet more favourable to us, because he says that the Son makes the Father visible, *Visibile Patris Filius*. Which shews, that the Father and the Son are of the same nature.

(s) *In the second Book.* Lib. 2. c. 51, etc. principally in the 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, and 64. where he speaks of the Immortality of the Souls of the Just. See likewise Chap. 37, and 73. of the fourth Book, and Lib. 5. c. 32.

He Discourseth in many places of the Fall of the first Man, and of the lamentable Consequences of his Sin (t), *St. Irenæus* he teacheth that to repair this Loss, and for the Redemption of Mankind, the Word was made Man, and that it is through Grace, that he hath merited for us by his Passion, that all Men may be saved (u). As for the State of Souls separated from their Bodies, he determined that they were conveyed into an invisible place, where they expected the Resurrection of the Body, and that the Just after having Reigned with Jesus Christ on Earth, during the space of a Thousand years, and enjoyed temporal Pleasures, should enter into Heaven, to possess Eternal Happiness (x). He imagined also, that our Saviour descended into Hell, to preach the Faith there unto the Patriarchs, and to the ancient just Men, as well Jews as Gentiles, and that they that believed at his Preaching should be reckoned in the number of the Saints (y). Moreover he maintained some other particular Opinions; he believed for Example, that Jesus Christ lived above Fifty years upon Earth (z), and that as Man. He was ignorant of the Day of Judgment &c. He approves the Judgment of *St. Justin*, that the Devil knew not his Condemnation before the coming of Jesus Christ (aa). He asserts, that the Saints shall understand by little and little, those things whereof they had no knowledge in their Entrance into Happiness (bb). Lastly, he imagines that God sent *Enoch* to the Angels (cc), whom he conceives to be corporeal. The ancient Propagators of Christianity ought to be excused for these sorts of Opinions, there being scarcely one of them that had not admitted some Notions almost like these.

The Style of *St. Irenæus* (as far as we can judge by that part of his Works, which as yet remains) is succinct, clear and strong, but not very sublime: He declares himself in his Preface to the First Book; *That the Elegancy of a polite Dissertation ought not to be sought for in his Works, because residing among the Celts, it is impossible but that he should utter many barbarous Words; that he did not affect Discourse with Eloquence nor Ornament, and that he knew not how to persuade by the force of his Expressions, but that he wrote with a vulgar Simplicity.* He takes more pains to instruct his Reader, than to divert him, and he endeavours more to convince him by the Matters which he propounded, than by the manner of Expressing them. It cannot be doubted, but that he was a very profound Scholar in all sorts of Knowledge, as well prophane as Sacred; he perfectly understood the Poets, and Philosophers (dd); there was no Heretick of whose Doctrine and Arguments he was ignorant, he had an exquisite knowledge of the Holy Scriptures; he retained an infinite number of things, which the Disciples of the Apostles had taught by word of mouth: Lastly, he was exceeding well versed in History and in the Discipline of the Church, so that nothing can be more literally true, than what is attested of him by *Tertullian*, *Irenæus omnium Doctrinarum Curiosissimus explorator*. Moreover, his Learning was accompanied with a great deal of Prudence, Humility, Efficacy and Charity, and it may be justly affirmed, that he wanted nothing that was necessary for the Qualification of a good Christian, an Accomplished Bishop, and an able Ecclesiastical Writer. However, the Learned *Photius* had reason to take notice of one defect, which is common to him, with many other ancient Authors; that is, *That he weakens and obscures (if we may so term it) the most certain Truths of Religion, by Arguments that are not very solid (ee).* It were easie to

(t) *Of the lamentable consequences of his Sin.* Lib. 3. c. 20, 33, 34, and 35. and in several places of the fifth Book.

(u) *That all men may be saved.* Lib. 3. chap. 18, 20, 22, and 33. Lib. 4. chap. 5.

(x) *To possess eternal happiness.* Lib. 5. c. 31, 32, etc.

(y) *Number of the Saints.* Lib. 4. c. 39, and 45.

(z) *Above fifty years upon Earth.* Lib. 1. c. 40, etc.

(aa) *Before the coming of Jesus Christ.* Lib. 4. c. 78.

(bb) *Whereof they had no knowledge in their Entrance into happiness.* Lib. 2. c. 47.

(cc) *To the Angels.* Lib. 4. c. 30.

(dd) *The Poets and Philosophers.* It is certain, he understood *Homer* very well; since he collects several Verses taken out of different places, to describe the carrying away of *Cerberus*, lib. 1. And as for the Pagan Philosophers, he knew them so very thoroughly, that in the second Book, ch. 11. he discovers all that the *Valentinians* had borrowed from each of them. We need only read over his first Book to be sufficiently persuaded, that he had very particularly applied himself to know all the Opinions of the Hereticks. One sees by the Histories which he cites as well in his Books, as in his Letter to *Victor*, how well he was versed in History, and in the Discipline of the Church.

(ee) *Arguments that are not very solid.* Phot. Cod. 120. *Esi in aliquibus Ecclesiasticorum dogmatum certa veritas spuritis rationibus fuscari videtur.*



produce some Instances of this defect, but it seems to me *St. Irenæus*. to be more expedient to leave them to the Judgment of the Readers of his Works.

*Erasmus* first published the ancient Version of the Five Books of *St. Irenæus*, which was at first Printed at *Basil*, in the Year 1526. A Second Edition was likewise set forth at the same place by *Frobenius* in 1528. afterwards in 1533, 1545, 1548, 1554, 1560, in *Folio*, and in 1571. At *Paris* in 1528, and 1563. in *Octavo* by *Petit*, in a very fair Character, and by the same Printer in 1567, again in *Octavo*. These Editions were followed by those of *Galassius* Minister of *Geneva*, in the Year 1570.

Lastly, *Fenardentius* a Professor of Divinity of the Faculty of *Paris*, a Learned Man in his time undertook this Work, and Printed at *Paris* by *Nivelle*, in 1575 and 1576, the Five Books of *St. Irenæus*, Revised and Corrected in many places, from an ancient Manuscript, and Augmented with Five entire Chapters, which were found in his Manuscript at the end of the Fifth Book. He has added at the end of every Chapter several Notes, which he judged to be necessary for the better understand-

ing of this Author; they are for the most part useful and Learned, but there are some which exceed the due Limits, that a Commentator should prescribe to himself, whose Design ought not to be, to make Ostentation of his Learning, or to Treat of matters of Controversie, but barely to explain the Sense of his Author. The Second Edition of *Fenardentius*, Printed at *Colen* in the Year 1596, and afterwards in 1630, and at *Paris* in 1639. is better than the former, because it contains the Greek passages of *St. Irenæus*, which are extant in the Works of *St. Epiphanius*, and some other ancient Writers. To these may be added, those that are Collected by *Hal-loixius* from the Writings of *St. Joannes Damascenus*, in a Manuscript of the Cardinal *de la Rochefoucauld*. I am of Opinion, that it would be useless to make a new Edition of the Works of *St. Irenæus* at least until the Greek Text shall happen to be found; for to Compose one from the Version, that we now have in our Possession (as *Hal-loixius* proposes) would be a Business scarce of any manner of use.

## Victor, Polycrates, Theophilus of Cefarea, and Bachillus of Corinth.

*St. Jerome* places *Victor* amongst the Ecclesiastical Writers, because he wrote some little Pieces about the day of the Festival of *Easter*, which he believed ought not to be celebrated upon any other day but a *Sunday*. *Eusebius* mentions but one *Roman* Synod published in the Name of *Victor*.

*Polycrates* Bishop of *Ephesus* wrote a Letter against the Opinion of *Victor*, wherein he pretended that we ought to celebrate this Festival upon the 14th day after the appearance of the Moon in *March*, upon what day of the Week soever it fell. *Eusebius* cites part of this Letter written in the name of *Polycrates*, in the 24th Chapter of the 5th Book of his History, wherein he asserts, that *St. Polycarp*, and several other Disciples of the Apostles celebrated the Feast of *Easter* on the same day, as was generally observed in *Asia*, that is to say, the Fourteenth day after the appearance of the Moon in *March*, upon what day soever it happened. This difference, as we have already observed, raised some divisions amongst the Churches, and exercised the Pens of the most Learned

Bishops. The Bishops of *Palestine*, *Narcissus* of *Jerusalem*, *Theophilus* of *Cesarea*, *Cassius* of *Tyre*, and *Clarus* of *Ptolomais*, wrote a Letter in the name of the Council, wherein, after they had proved that they derived this Custom from the Apostles, they gave Orders to have their Letter solemnly published, and declared, that they celebrated *Easter* after the same manner as the Church of *Alexandria* did. *Bachyllus* Bishop of *Corinth* wrote also a Letter in the name of the Bishops of *Achaia* upon the same Subject, and in *Eusebius's* time the Letters of the Bishops of *Pontus* of the Province of *Osroene* were extant. But all these Books are lost, and we have nothing that is ancient upon this Subject, except the Fragments of a Letter of *St. Irenæus*, and that of *Polycrates* cited by *Eusebius*, lib. 5. c. 4. All these Letters were writ towards the end of the reign of *Commodus*, or the beginning of that of *Severus*. There goes indeed under the name of *Polycrates*, a Book Entitled *The Passion of blessed Timothy*, mentioned by *Sigebert*, and published by *Stapulensis*, but it is a supposititious Work, and never mentioned by the Ancients.

## Several Writers, of whom nothing remains, and who were little known amongst the Ancients.

Here lived at this time several Writers, whose Works were extant in *Eusebius's* time, who mentions these that follow, lib. 5. cap. 27. *Heraclitus* upon *St. Paul*; *Some Books* of *Maximus* upon that common Question among the Hereticks, *From whence proceeds Evil*; and *About the Creation of Matter*; *The Commentaries* of *Appion*, and of *Candidus* upon the *Hexameron*; *Sextus's Book* concerning the *Resurrection*; A Treatise of one *Arabianus*, and the Writings of several others, whose time, says *Eusebius*, we are not able to find out, there being no Traces or Signs of it; and lastly, the Discourses of several Authors, whose Names we don't so much

as know, who, tho' they were Orthodox, and of the Church, as appears by their Explication of the Scriptures, yet they were for the most part unknown, and without Reputation, because their Books carried not the Names of their respective Authors. To these we must add a certain Person named *Judas*, who composed a Dissertation upon the seventy Weeks of *Daniel*, wherein he has composed a Chronology that reaches down to the tenth year of the Emperor *Severus*, and would persuade the World, that Anti-Christ was then at hand. So much had the Persecution, raised against the Christians at that time, troubled the Church.

## SERAPION of ANTIOCH.

*Serapion* the eighth Bishop of *Antioch* was advanced to this Dignity in the tenth year of the Emperor *Commodus*, in the year of our Lord 191. He wrote a Letter to *Caricus* and *Pontius* against the Sect of the *Montanists*, a Fragment whereof *Eusebius* has cited,

wherein he opposes the Authority of *Apollinarius* Bishop of *Hierapolis*, and the Subscriptions of two Bishops of *Thrace* (a) to the *Montanists*. There was also in the time of *Eusebius* another Letter of his addressed to *Domnius*, who of a Christian turned Jew, to reduce him from his

(a) THE Subscriptions of two Bishops of *Thrace*.] These Subscriptions occasioned *Baronius* to imagine, that a Council was held on this Subject; but they are only the Subscriptions of the Letters of two Bishops of *Thrace*, who

wrote to the *Asiatics* concerning this new Sect, (as the Church of *France* had done) and therefore there is no necessity of saying that there was a Council assembled upon this occasion.

Apostacy,



Apollonius, and a Book concerning the Gospel falsely attributed to St. Peter. Eusebius cites a Fragment of this Book, by which it appears, that the Subject and Occasion which induced Serapion to write it, was a Contest that arose in the Church of Rhossus in Cilicia about the truth of that Gospel, that Serapion happening to be there, permitted them to read it, but that afterwards being convinced, that those Persons who defended it, were secret Hereticks, and that Marcion, who was the principal Asserter of it, received it from some Hereticks named the Docetæ, (who believed that Jesus Christ

did not really suffer, but only in appearance) he wrote this Letter to them, till he could go to see them himself, to acquaint them with the fallacy and errors of that Gospel.

St. Jerome takes notice, that in his time there were some short Epistles of the same Author, that were conformable to his austere rigid way of living; but they are wholly lost. This Bishop governed the Church of Antioch till the first year of the Emperor Caracalla, and the year of our Lord 203. Antoninus succeeded him, and was the ninth Bishop of Antioch after the Apostles.

## R H O D O N.

Rhodon, tho' he was of Asia, studied at Rome, and had Tatian for his Master. He wrote many Books, and amongst the rest a Treatise against the Heresie of Marcion, dedicated to one Callistion. He likewise wrote a Piece upon the Hexameron. St. Jerome attributes to him a Book against the Montanists, a Fragment of which, as he supposes, Eusebius has cited. But since Eusebius says nothing of its being written by Rhodon, and since it is certainly of a later date, we may be sure that it cannot be his. So that we have nothing of Rhodon's left, save only a passage or two cited by Eusebius, taken out of his Book against the Heresie of Marcion, wherein he observes, that this Heresie in his time was divided into several Sects; that one Apelles acknowledged but one Principle, but that he rejected the Prophecies; that some others, as Potitus and Basilicus acknowledged two, and others introduced three Natures.

He also tells us, that he had a Conference with Apelles, and that he himself being convinced of several Errors in their Conference, said, That we are not obliged to examine what we believe, and that all those who place their hope in Jesus Christ crucified, would be saved; that the question about the Nature of God was exceeding obscure; that he in truth believed there was but one Principle, but that he was not assured of it, and that the Prophecies were contrary one to another. Lastly, Eusebius adds, that Rhodon says in this Book, that he was Tatian's Disciple at Rome; that Tatian had written a Book concerning the most difficult Questions of Scripture, promising to explain them, but that having never done it, he himself endeavoured to perform it. And this is all we know of this Author; he flourished under the Emperors Commodus and Severus.

## P A N T Æ N U S.

Pantænus, a Stoick Philosopher, born in Sicily (a), about the beginning of the Reign of the Emperor Commodus, presided (b) over the celebrated School of Alexandria, where from the time of St. Mark the Founder of that Church, they had always a Divine that was eminent for his Learning and Piety, to explain the Holy Scriptures, and to instruct them in Human Learning.

He was obliged for a time to leave this Employment, to undertake another far more excellent. For the Indians having sent to the Bishop of Alexandria to furnish them with a Divine to instruct them in the Christian Religion, Demetrius sent Pantænus thither, who undertook this Mission with Joy, and behaved himself very worthily in it. 'Tis reported, that he found that the Indians had already some Tincture of the Christian Religion, which had been infused by St. Bartholomew the Apostle, and that he met with the Gospel of St. Matthew amongst them, written in Hebrew, which that Apostle had left there (c).

After Pantænus was returned to Alexandria, he resumed the Government of the School of that City, which in his absence he in all probability had committed to the care of his Disciple St. Clement a Presbyter of Alexandria. He continued to explain the Holy Scripture publicly

under the Reign of Severus, and Antoninus Caracalla, and as St. Jerome tells us, was more serviceable to the Church by his Discourses, than by his Writings. Nevertheless he published some Commentaries upon the Bible, where he has discovered, as Eusebius says, the Treasures of the Scripture. We may judge after what manner he explained the Sacred Text, by the like performance of St. Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and the rest that were brought up in that School. They abound in Allegories, they find Mysteries and Instructions in every thing, and scarce ever follow the literal Sense, and fill their Annotations generally with a great deal of Learning. A Man ought to have abundance of Wit and Eloquence to keep up this way of writing Commentaries, and to render it advantageous and entertaining to the People, otherwise it will degenerate and grow flat and tedious. The Commentaries of Pantænus are all lost. We only know, that he was The Author of that Rule, which has been ever since followed by all the Interpreters of Prophecies; that the Prophets often express themselves in indefinite terms, and that they may make use of the present time, instead of the past and future. Theodorus has related this Opinion of Pantænus, but he speaks of it, as if he had rather said it than writ it.

(a) Born in Sicily.] Some have thought that he was an Hebrew, but they are mistaken, for St. Clement speaking of the Master he had in Ægypt, who was our Pantænus, lib. 1. Strom. calls him the Sicilian Muse, which shews that he was a Sicilian, for otherwise he would as soon have called him the Attick Muse. That Master of his, whom he calls an Hebrew, was another Person that instructed him in Palestine.

(b) Presided.] Eusebius, Lib. 5. c. 10. and St. Jerome in

Catalogo.

(c) Which that Apostle had left there.] St. Jerome tells us, that Pantænus brought it with him, and that it was in his time preserved in the Library of Alexandria. I cannot easily prevail with my self to believe this Story, and indeed I should rather believe, that this was the Gospel according to the Hebrews, which the Nazarenes owned, which might pass for that of St. Matthew; for why should St. Bartholomew leave an Hebrew Book with Indians.



## St. CLEMENT of ALEXANDRIA.

**S**aint Clement (a), a Presbyter of Alexandria, and Disciple of Pantænus (b), was after him, or rather at the same time with him, Master of the School at Alexandria, and Catechist of the Catechumens (c), belonging to the Church of that City. He flourished under the Emperors Severus, and Antoninus Caracalla, and it plainly appears, that he lived till the Reign of Heliogabalus, or Alexander Severus, that is, till about the year two hundred and twenty from the Birth of Christ (d). As he was endowed with extraordinary Learning, and a singular Talent in Writing, so he composed several considerable Works, which discover great Industry and Study. This is plain by the Catalogue which is left us of them, by Eusebius and St. Jerome. 'The Eight Books of Stromata; Entituled the Commentaries, or Stromata of Titus Flavius Clemens, concerning true knowledge; Eight Books of Hypotyposes, or Instructions, an Exhortation to the Gentiles, quoted in the Seventh Book of the Stromata; Three Books commonly called the Pedagogue; and a Book Entituled, *What rich Man can be saved*; a small Treatise concerning Easter; a Discourse of Falting, another of Slander; an Exhortation to Patience, written to the Catechumens; a Book Entituled, *The Ecclesiastical Rule*, against the Jews, dedicated to Alexander Bishop of Jerusalem. Besides these Books, St. Clement in his Second Book of the Pedagogue, Chap. 10. tells us, that he wrote a Book of Continence, and in his Third Book, Chap. 8. a Book concerning Marriage. Of these Works we have still Three remaining that are very considerable, The Exhortation to the Gentiles, the Pedagogue, the Eight Books of the Stromata, and the little Tract Entituled, *What rich Man can be saved*, which Joannes Matthæus Cariophylus, Arch-Bishop of Iconium, published from a Manuscript of the Vatican Library, whence Father Combefis made a new Version which he set forth, together with the Original Greek, in the last Volume of his Supplement to the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. [It was Printed also at Oxon. in Twelves 1683. Doctor Cave says, that it was published formerly under Origen's Name, being Printed by Michael Gheislerus, with Origen's Commentaries upon Jeremiah.]

The Exhortation to the Gentiles, is a Discourse written to convert the Pagans from their Religion, and to persuade them to embrace that of Jesus Christ. In the beginning of it, he shews what difference there is between the Design of Jesus Christ, and that of Orpheus, and those ancient Musicians, who were the first Authors of Idolatry, by telling us that these drew in Men by their Singing, and the Sweetness of their Musick, to render them miserable Slaves to Idols, and to make them like the very Beasts, and Stocks and Stones which they adored; whereas Jesus Christ, who from all Eternity was the WORD of God, always had a compassionate Tendernefs for Men, and at last took their Nature upon Him, to free them from the Slavery of Demons; to open the Eyes of those that were blind, and the Ears of those that were deaf; to guide their Paths in the way of Justice; to deliver them from Death and Hell; and to bestow on them everlasting Life; to put them in a Capacity of leading a Heavenly Life here upon Earth; and lastly, that God made himself Man, to teach Man to become like unto God. Having thus represented the Advantages of the Christian Religion, he exhorts them in a few Words, to embrace Vertue, Justice, Temperance, and to imitate the example of Jesus Christ, that so they may become worthy of eternal Salvation. He afterwards shews the Falshood of the Pagan Religion: First, by discovering the Infamy, and Van-

nity of their Mysteries, which he innumerares and describes exactly. Secondly, by shewing the Original of Idolatry, and after what manner Men first invented those false Deities. 'Some, says he, contemplating the Stars, and admiring their Courses, deified them, so the Indians adored the Sun, the Phrygians the Moon, and others gathering with pleasure the Fruits that grew out of the Earth, made a Deity of Corn, which they call Ceres, and another of the Vine, and that they call Bacchus. Others dreading Punishments, Afflictions, Miseries and Calamities, invented particular Deities, who were either the Instruments of sending them upon Mankind, or else of diverting them from Men: Some Philosophers following the Fancy of the Poets, made Deities of the Passions, such as Love, Hope, and Joy; and others placed the Vertues in the Rank of Gods, representing them by external shapes: Hesiod and Homer in their Accounts of the Generation of the Gods, and Descriptions of their Actions have given rise to a new sort of Theology. Lastly, the common People have made Gods of those, from whom they have received any considerable Benefit. After having thus discovered the Original of Idolatry, he shews the Folly of it, by proving that the principal Gods, as Jupiter, Mars, Vulcan, Æsculapius, &c. were Men like others, and that we know their Country, their manner of Living and Employments, and that we may see their Sepulchres to this day: That the Poets have set down their Loves, their Wounds, and their Crimes: That the wisest of the Heathens have owned the Falshood of these Deities: That the several Religions of the Pagans destroy one another: That it is a strange kind of Blindness, to adore Statues as real Deities. Then he goes on to the principal Design of his Work, which is to exhort Men to adore the true God, and to embrace the Religion of Jesus Christ: he shews that the wisest of the Philosophers, as Plato, Cleanthes, Pythagoras, and Zeno, have confessed that there was but One true God; and that even the most ancient Poets, as Aratus, Hesiod, Euripides and Orpheus, have been obliged to acknowledge the same; and that the Sibyls, the Prophets, and the Books of Scriptures teach only the Worship of one God. Afterwards he is very earnest to persuade Men to embrace the Christian Religion, in Consideration of the great Advantages that it carries along with it, towards the Attainment of eternal Salvation, which they cannot otherwise hope for, and for preserving themselves from eternal Torments, which they cannot possibly avoid, but by believing in Jesus Christ, and by living conformably to his Laws. 'If you were permitted, says he, to purchase eternal Salvation, what would you not give for it? And now you may obtain it by Faith and Charity. There is nothing can hinder you from acquiring it, neither Poverty, nor Misery, nor Old Age, nor any other State of Life: Believe therefore, in one God who is God and Man, and receive eternal Salvation for a recompence. Seek God, and you shall live for ever. Thus he concludes with a long Exhortation, wherein he most earnestly presses Men to quit their Idolatry and Vices, and to live and believe as the Christians do.

The Second Book entituled the Pedagogue, is a Discourse entirely of Morality. It is divided into three Books. In the first he shews, what it is to be a Pedagogue, that is to say, a Conductor, Pastor, or Director of Men: He proves that this Quality chiefly and properly belongs only to the WORD incarnate. He says, that it is the Part of the Pedagogue to regulate the Manners, conduct the Actions, and cure the Passions. That he preserves Men

(a) S. Clement.] He was called Titus Flavius Clemens: St. Epiphanius, in the Heresie of the Secundians, says, that he was called Atheniensis by some, and Alexandrinus by others, which has been the occasion that it was generally believed that he was of Athens, and that he was called Alexandrinus from the name of the Church whereof he was a Priest, but his Country is not certainly known. He was of the Sect of the Stoicks.

(b) Disciple of Pantænus.] St. Clement had several Masters, as he tells us himself, Lib. 1. Stromat. p. 274. He says that he had two in Greece, one of Cælosyria, and the other of Egypt. And two others in the East, whereof one was an Assyrian, and the other of Palestine, and descended from the Hebrews: But that at last he found out one in Egypt, who was more excellent than all the rest. This last was Pantænus, whom he often mentions in his Book of Institutions. We do not know who were the other four. Baronius believes that the Assyrian was Bardesanes, and he of Palestine, Theophilus of

Cæsarea, but Bardesanes was not properly an Assyrian, and Theophilus of Cæsarea was rather St. Clement's Companion than his Master. Valesius thinks with greater probability, that Tatian was the Assyrian, and Theodosius the Hebrew, under whose Name there is a Fragment of the Institutions at the end of the Works of St. Clement.

(c) Catechist of the Catechumens, &c.] Eusebius, Book 5. Chap. 10. and Book 6. Chap. 6. and St. Jerome in his Catalogue. We have already said, that Pantænus left the School of Alexandria to his Care when he went to preach to the Indians, and it is probable, that after his return they both taught in the same School.

(d) About the year two hundred and twenty from the Birth of Christ.] It is generally believed that he died about the year 200 from the Birth of Christ, but he must needs have lived longer; for Pantænus who was his Master lived to this time, and the Ancients assure us that he survived him. He wrote his Stromata in the time of the Emperor Severus.

from



from Sins, and heals them when they have been already guilty. That the *WORD* performs these Functions by forgiving our Sins, as he is God, and instructing Us as he is Man, with great Sweetness and Charity. That he equally informs Men and Women, the Learned and the Ignorant, because all Men stand in need of Instruction, being all Children in one Sense. Yet however, that we must not think that the Doctrine of the Christians is childish and contemptible: But that on the contrary, the Quality of Children, which they receive in Baptism, renders them perfect in the knowledge of Divine Things, by delivering them from Sins by Grace, and enlightning them by the Illumination of Faith: And that so we are at the same time both Children and perfect Men, and that the Milk wherewith we are nourished, being both the Word and the Will of God, is a very solid and substantial Nourishment. That the *WORD* guided the Jews in the Old Testament by Fear; but that after it was Incarnate, it has changed this Fear into Love. That Reproaches, Afflictions, and Punishments, which the *WORD* makes use of to chastise Men, are not Signs of his bearing any hatred towards them, but Effects of his Justice, and of the Care which he takes to correct them: That it is the same God, the Creator of the World, who is both good and just, that punishes and shews Mercy: That he is good upon his own Account, and just as to Men: That Reproofs and Chastisements are for their good; that there are two kinds of Fear, the Fear which Children have of their Father, or Subjects of their King, and the Fear which Slaves have of their Master. That both these Sorts of Fear are profitable to Men, but that the first is by much the most perfect. That the *WORD* inclines Men to good by its Exhortations, and prevents them from sinning, by its Threatnings: That he performed the Function of a *Pedagogue* by *Moses* and the Prophets, and that he is at last come himself to give Men suitable Remedies to their several Miseries, and to conduct them according to the Dictates of right Reason. That the whole Life of a Christian is a continued Series of Actions, conformable to Reason, and that Sin is produced by the going out of that Way.

In the 2d. and 3d. Books of the *Pedagogue*. St. *Clement* descends to the Recapitulation of human Actions, and gives Rules for Temperance and Christian Modesty. In the former of these he shews, that the End and Design of Eating, ought not to be Pleasure but Necessity, and that therefore we must avoid Excess both in the Quantity, and the Quality of our Meat. That Wine is not to be drunk but with great Moderation, and that young Persons particularly ought wholly to abstain from it. He finds great Fault with Luxury in Household-stuff and Moveables. He is of Opinion, that vocal and instrumental Musick, ought to be banished from the Christian Festivals, and that we should only celebrate therein the Praises of God. He is against immoderate Laughter, and uttering such Words as are unseemly. He requires that exact Modesty be observed in the Countenance, and in Discourse; he reprehends those who put Crowns and Garlands upon their Heads, and who perfumed themselves with Balm. He allows but little Sleep, and that in such Beds, that are neither too stately nor too delicate. That it is not lawful to marry but with a Design of begetting Children; That we should not make use of Cloaths, but for the sake of Decency. He declaims against Luxury of Apparel, against precious Stones, against fantastical Dresses in Men or Women, and against publick Baths. He describes and inveighs against all these things better than ever *Juvenal*, or any of the ancient Satyrists had done before him. He intermixes his Satyr with several curious Instructions, and descends to Particulars like a Casuist. He passes in the next place to the Precepts of Vertue opposite to the Vices he has been reprehending: He shews, that there is none but the Christian, who is truly rich. That he ought to live in an entire Frugality. That he must not make use of any Exercises, and Pleasures, no farther than is absolutely necessary for his Health. He adds moreover divers Instructions, more particularly suited to the Women, to persuade them to carry themselves always civilly and modestly, and more especially in Churches. Lastly, he makes a Collection of several Places of Scripture, which relate to Morality, and the Conduct of our Life, and concludes by exhorting Men to hearken unto, and to obey the Precepts of Jesus Christ, their supreme and sovereign *Pedagogue*, to whom he addresses a

Prayer, praising him with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, and returning him Thanks for making him a Member of S. *Clement* his Church. These Books are very profitable for those that study Morality, and if the Casuists of our Times had perused and considered them well, they had not fallen into that damnable Remissness, wherein they have suffered themselves to be overtaken: They might also be very useful to all Christians, and I much wonder that no Person has undertaken to translate them in this Age, wherein several Pious and Learned Men, have employed their Time and Labour in rendring intelligible to all People the most excellent Writings of the Fathers, by translating them into our Language with a Clearness of Expression, and Exactness of Style not to be imitated. But if any would undertake the Translation of the *Pedagogue*, he must leave out several Passages, that are not fitting to be read by every Body, and accommodate some other Places to the Manners and Customs of our Times.

The Books Entituled *Stromata* (e) are so called, because they contain several choice Thoughts (f) collected from divers Places, and joyned together, so as to make a Variety somewhat like that in *Turkey-work Carpets*. Let us see how St. *Clement* speaks of his own Work in the Beginning of his Fourth Book. 'These Books, says he, are stored with Varieties, as their Name imports; we here pass on continually from one thing to another, and we often mention things that are foreign to our Subject. He afterwards compares this Work to a Meadow, a Tract of Land, or a Garden, wherein one may find all sorts of Herbs, Flowers and Fruits, of which we may gather what we please. 'But not (as he himself says in another place) to those beautiful Gardens, where the Trees and Plants are ranged only to please the Sight; but rather to a thick and shady Mountain, where the Cypresses, the Linden-trees, the Laurels, the Ivy, the Apple-trees, the Olives, the Fig-trees, and other kinds of Trees, both fruitful and barren are mixt together. He says, that he has observed this Method designedly, that so he might not clearly discover our Mysteries to those who were not yet Initiated, and yet so as others might comprehend them, and might thence make their advantage; as, says he, the Fruit-Trees of this Mountain, whereof we but just now spake, are concealed from those who would rifle them, whereas the Labourer who understands them, may pluck them up, and make a Garden, or a pleasant Forest. Do not therefore expect, says he, in these Books, either Order or Politeness; since our Design was to conceal, and, if I may so say, to embroyl things, that so, none but the Intelligent, and those who will take the Pains to inform themselves, may be able to comprehend them: So that as St. *Clement* has not observed any Method in these Books, but intermixed several Notions all along of Philosophy and Religion, it is a difficult matter to make such an Abridgment of them, as we have given of the Book of the *Pedagogue*. However, we shall endeavour to give an Account of the principal Matters, which he there Discourses of.

In the First Book, after having shewn how advantageous it is, for Persons of Ability to compose Books, he proposes the Subject of his, saying that they shall contain the principal Verities of Religion mixt, or rather conceal'd under the Maxims of Philosophy. Thence he takes occasion to refute those who find fault with Philosophy; to shew the Profit and Advantage of it; to discourse of the use that may be made of it: And he concludes by shewing that the Philosophy of the *Hebrews* is the most ancient of all, justifying this Truth by a most curious and exact Chronology.

In the Second Book he treats of Faith and its Effects, which are Repentance, Hope and Fear; he proves that Faith is necessary; that it is not in us by Nature, but by Will; that it is God's Gift, but so as to depend upon our own Free-will; that true Repentance consists in doing no more that which we are troubled for having done already; that there are two kinds of it, the First is that of those, who turned to the true Faith, to efface the Sins they committed, whilst they were Heathens; the Second is that of those, who have fallen after their Conversion, but yet have an Opportunity of obtaining Forgiveness, provided they are heartily sorry for their Sin; but that those who often fall into the same Sin, and by that means make a Circle of repenting and sinning, are like to those who have no Faith: And that it is only a seeming, and

(e) The Books entituled *Stromata*.] This Book was called, as *Eusebius* tells us, The *Stromatic Commentaries* of *Titus Flavius Clemens* concerning the *Gnosticks*, according to the True Philosophy; This Title is at the end of the first Book, opposing the false *Gnosticks* to the True ones, which are the sober and discreet Christians.

(f) Choice Particulars.] The Word *στροματίους* properly signifies a Sheet of Linnen, or a Bag to enclose Pieces of Tapestry; it likewise signifies a certain Fish with Speckles on the Back. It is here taken for that neat mixture we see in Tapestry, and it imports as much as *Miscellaneous Commentaries* or *Discourses*. *Ruffinus* translates it, *Opus varii contextum*; *Plutarch* wrote a Book with this Title, and *Origen* wrote another after St. *Clement*.



no true Repentance, in those who ask Pardon for those very Sins which they never intend to reform. Upon occasion of Repentance he Discourses of Sin. He says that Men commit it freely, and that they are purified from it by Faith and Charity. That the Fear of God is very profitable for us, that it instructs us, that it causes us to avoid Sin, and that it incites us to Love. He commends Charity, Temperance and Hospitality. He condemns those that plunge themselves in sensual Pleasures: And proposes to them the Example of the Martyrs who suffered Fire, Torments, and Death it self for the defence of Justice and Truth. Afterwards he Discourses of Marriage, and defines it to be a lawful Conjunction between a Man and a Woman, for the Propagation of Children. He approves of it, and shews its advantages, telling us that it is never lawful to leave the Woman, in order to Marry another, upon any Pretence whatever.

He continues in the Third Book, to speak against the Incontinence of the *Nicolaitans*, *Carpocratians*, *Valentinians*, and several other Hereticks, and he defends Marriage against the *Marcionites*, against *Tatian*, and the other Hereticks that blamed it, tho' he prefers Virginity before it as a greater good; *Provided*, says he, *that it be kept merely for the Love of God, and for the observing his Commands*. He maintains that Marriage is indissoluble, he does not entirely condemn Second Marriages, but blames them. He occasionally tells a Story of *Nicholas* one of the Seven first Deacons, who is supposed to be the Author of the *Nicolaitans*, who having a handsome Wife, and being accused of Jealousie, brought her, as they say, before the Apostles, and gave her leave to Marry whom she pleased of them. But he excuses *Nicholas*, and says, that those who boast of being his Disciples, have put a wrong Construction upon this Action, as well as upon his Words: That he was informed, that he never had any Commerce with any other Woman, but his Wife: That his Daughters remained Virgins, and his Son was very Chast. He says that the Apostles *St. Peter*, and *St. Philip* were Married, and that they had Children: That even *St. Philip* married his Daughters, and he adds also, that *St. Paul* had a Wife, wherein he is mistaken.

[Tho' it is uncertain whether *St. Paul* was ever Married, yet it is a rash thing to say positively he was not. *St. Clement* alledges a Tradition in this Matter, which might easily be conveyed entire down to his time. It is plain, that the true *Yoke-fellow*, *Philip*. 4. 3. was a Woman; which others of the Ancients understood of his Wife, besides *St. Clement*. His Expositulating with the *Corinthians*, and asserting that he had a Power to lead about a Sister, or a Wife as well as *St. Peter* or any of the Apostles, may as well prove, that *St. Paul* justified his own Practice, as that he thought the thing simply lawful: especially since he is there making a Defence for himself. The Question however is very far from being certain in the Negative, and therefore at least ought to be left undetermined.]

In the Fourth Book he treats of Martyrdom, and Christian Perfection. He shews the Excellency of Martyrdom, and exhorts Christians to undergo it, confuting the Hereticks, who held that Martyrdom was no Virtuous Action: He makes the perfection of Christianity, to consist in the Love of God and our Neighbour. He would have us love Sinners, and yet detest their Sin; that we should do good out of a principle of Love and not for Fear. 'For that Man, says he, that abstains from Evil only out of a slavish Fear, is not good voluntarily, but for Fear-sake; and he who would not have abstained but in Consideration of the Recommendation, cannot be said to be just with a good Heart. 'For in the one 'tis Fear, and in the other the hope of a Reward, which renders them Just, or rather, which makes them appear so to the Eyes of the World. He says that God inflicts Punishments upon Men for Three Reasons. First, that the Man whom he Chastises may become better. Secondly, that those who are to be saved, may take warning by these Examples. Thirdly, lest he should be despised by Men, if he did not avenge Affronts and Injuries done to himself.

In the Fifth Book, after having shewn that the way of instructing by Allegories and Symbols was very ancient, not only among the Jews, but also among the Philosophers, he proves that the Greeks took the greatest part of the Truths, which are in their Books, from the Barbarians, and principally from the Hebrews. This Book is full of Citations from the Poets, and the heathen Philosophers.

In the Sixth Book, he speaks again advantageously of Philosophy. Afterwards he begins to draw a Character of the *True Gnostick*, that is to say, to give the *Idea* of a

Christian, that is perfectly Good and Wise. These are the principal strokes of his Picture. The *True Gnostick* has the Command over his Passions. He is exactly Temperate, and allows his Body no more than what is necessary. He loves God above all Things, and the Creatures for Gods-sake, and the Relation they bear to him, and nothing is able to separate him from this Love. He bears with Patience all unfortunate Accidents. He makes it his Business to know all things which relate to God, without neglecting human Learning. His Discourses are regular and to the purpose, full of Sweetness and Charity. He is never overcome with Anger. He prays continually by Charity, that unites him to God; First, begging of him the Remission of his Sins; and then the Grace not to sin any more, but to do Good. Afterwards *St. Clement* enlarges upon the Source or Spring, from whence this *Gnostick* derives this true Knowledge, and compleat Science. He says that it is the Holy Scripture, the Law and the Prophets, and in particular the Decalogue which he briefly explains, and Lastly, the Doctrine of Jesus Christ foretold by the Prophets, preached throughout the World, and received notwithstanding all the Contradiction of Kings, and the great Men of this World, who opposed it with all their Might.

In the Seventh Book, he goes on to describe the Virtues of his *Gnostick*; he says that he employs himself entirely in honouring God, in loving him, in understanding, hearing and imitating his WORD, which was made Man for our Salvation; that he does it not only upon certain days, but during the whole Course of his Life; that the Sacrifices by which he Honours him, are the Prayers and the Praises which he offers up at all times and in all Places; that he is Gentle, Courteous, Affable, Patient, Charitable, Sincere, Faithful and Temperate; that he despises the good things of this World, and that he is ready to suffer every thing for Jesus Christ; that he does nothing either out of Ostentation, or Fear, or the Desire of being rewarded, but out of pure Love to the Goodness and Justice of God: Lastly, that he is entirely Holy and Divine. Afterwards *St. Clement* Answers several Objections of the Greeks and Jews, who affirmed that the multiplicity of Heresies ought to hinder Men from the embracing the Religion of Jesus Christ. To which he Answers, that this multitude of Sects is likewise to be found among the Heathens, and the Jews; that it was foretold by Jesus Christ, that such a thing should happen among the Christians. That it ought not to make us forsake the Truth, but rather on the contrary to seek after it, with the greater Care and Diligence. That there is an infallible Rule to distinguish Truth from Falshood; that this Rule is the Holy Scripture, which being an incontestable Principle serves for a Proof of whatever we say. That it must be Confessed, that the Hereticks make use of it as well as the Catholics. But then first they do not make use of all the Sacred Books. Secondly, those which they do use are corrupted. Thirdly, they chiefly urge ambiguous Passages, which they explain according to their own Fancy, by departing from the true Sense, and keeping only to Terms. Hence he takes occasion to condemn in general all Hereticks, who rejecting the Tradition of Jesus Christ, and his Apostles, and forsaking the Faith of the Church, have made themselves the Authors of particular Sects, by inventing new Doctrines, and corrupting the Truth. He says, that there is but only One Catholick Church, which is more ancient than all the Assemblies of the Hereticks, that it was founded by Jesus Christ, who dyed under *Tiberius*, and established it in the World by the Apostles, before the end of *Nero's* Reign. Whereas there was hardly so much as one Heresie older than *Adrian's* Time, and that they all bore the Name of their Author, or that of the Places and Countries where they first appeared, or from the Doctrine they taught, or the things which they honoured, which sufficiently discovers their Falshood and Novelty. He concludes by making the Description of these Books of the *Stromata*, and by promising to begin another Subject in the following Book.

The last Book in our Editions, is a Collection of Logical Principles, which contains nothing that regards the Christian Religion, or that is worth giving an Account of. *Photius* observes, that in his Time there were some Editions, where this last Book was Entituled; *What rich Man can be saved*: And that it began with these Words. *Those who make pieces of Oratory*. But *Ensebius* distinguishes that Book from the *Stromata*.

*St. Clement* of *Alexandria*, does not start at all from the Doctrine of the Church in those Works of his, whereof we have already given the Abridgment. He does not only mention Three Divine Persons, but he invokes them



St. Clement of Alexandria. them as One only God (g). Besides he uses the Name of the most Holy Trinity. He says that the WORD, which was from the beginning in God, which is God, and equal to God, by which he created the World, and instructed all Men, did at last become Man to save us by his Doctrine, by his Example, and by his Death. It is true, in another Place he says, that the Nature of the Son is the most Perfect, the most Excellent, and that which approaches nearest to Almighty God, words which would seem to imply as if he believed, that the Nature of the WORD was different from that of the Father: But we know well enough, that the Ancients had not yet made so exact a Distinction between the Terms Nature, and Person, and that they often took one for the other. And indeed his way of Discourting of the Excellency of the WORD, in this and other Places, sufficiently declares that he did not believe, that he was of a different Nature, taking the word Nature in the same Sense as we at present do. For he says that the WORD is God, that it is without Beginning, that he is equal to the Father, that he is in the Father, that he created all Things, &c. Expressions which clearly discover what his Opinion was concerning the Divinity of the WORD.

Book IV. He seems however to follow the way of speaking of some of the Ancients, in saying that the WORD is visible, that he may be known, and that it is by him that we know the invisible Father, of whom he is the Image; but it is an easie matter to Accommodate these Expressions to the Doctrines of the Church, as we have shewn in our Critical Remarks upon several Authors already.

Book VII. dy. He says, that the Blessed Mary remained a Virgin after she brought forth. He holds that the Demons sin- ned through Incontinency. He acknowledges Adam's Fall, and the Punishment of his Sin, which all Men have incurred. But he seems not well to have understood the Nature of Original Sin. 'Tis true, that in the passage commonly alledged from him against Original Sin, he contradicts the Opinion of those who affirmed, that the Generation was Corrupted. But he speaks after such a manner as would make us think, that he did not believe Original Sin, or at least, that he never considered it. Let them tell us, says he, how an Infant that is but just born has prevaricated, and how he who has already done nothing, could fall under Adam's Curse, &c. He often ex-

Book III. horts Men to do good by the hopes of Eternal Happiness, and dissuades them from Evil, by the Fear of Everlasting Punishments, without speaking at all of the Opinion of the Millenaries. He holds, that without Faith in Jesus Christ none can be saved: But he says, that Jesus Christ, and the Apostles preached the Gospel in the Limbs to just Persons, as well Gentiles as Jews, that they might obtain this Faith, wherein they were before deficient. He ascribes much to Free-Will, he believes that our Salvation, and Faith which is the beginning thereof depends upon our selves, though not without the Assistance of

In Protrep. Divine Grace (h). He speaks nobly of the Necessity p. 54. and Efficacy of Baptism. ' Baptism, says he, is called Sequenti- Grace, Illumination, Perfection, Washing, by which bus. Book 1. Name it is called, because it cleanses us from our Sins; Ped. Chap. it is called Grace because it remits the Punishment due 8. and 9. for our Sins; Illumination because it enlightens us with Book 3. the Illumination of Faith; Perfection because it makes Chap. 11. us perfect. And Afterwards, pag. 95. These Bonds of and 12. Sin are immediately broken by the Faith of Man, and Lib. 1. the Grace of God; Sins are remitted by this admirable Stromat. p. Remedy of Baptism, and we immediately cease to be 3. 11. lib. Sinners; from being Blind as we were before, we be- 3. p. 444. come clear-sighted, for what is taught to the Gatechu- Lib. 6. p. mens is purely Instruction to guide them to that Faith, 661. In which is thus internally conveyed by the Holy Spirit. Protrep. p. We have given an account of the difference that he 53. and p. d. makes between the Remission of Sins committed after lib. 1. cap. Baptism, and that which is obtained by Baptism. We 9. have shewed that he allowed but one Repentance after Baptism, and that he rejects the Repentances of those Persons who often relapse into the very same Sins, as things of no value; that he approves of Marriage, and

(g) As being One only God.] Lib. 1. Pedag. Cap. 8. Unus est universorum Pater, unum etiam verbum universorum, & spiritus sanctus unus, qui & ipse est ubique. And Book 3. Chap. 12. ' Let us praise the Father and the Son, says he, the Son because he is our Pedagogue and our Master, together with the Holy Ghost who alone is the Whole, in whom are all Things, and by whom all Things are one, to whom be Glory for ever and ever.

And again Book 5. pag. 544. The Father is not without the Son, neither the Son without the Father. And Pag. 598. after having quoted some Words of Plato, he understands them of the Trinity; For, says he, the Holy Ghost is the Third, and the Son, by whom all things were made, is the Second.

(h) Though not without the Assistance of Divine Grace.]

believes it indissoluble; that he blames Polygamy, and even second Marriages. He speaks but little of the Eu- charist, and what he says of it is very obscure, because of Alex- he endeavours to conceal this Mystery from those who were not Baptized. But he declares expressly in the Se- cond Book of the Pedagogue, Chap. 2. that the Bread and Wine are the Matter of it, and condemns the Hereticks who used any thing else besides Bread, and Wine ming- led with Water. He observes that in several Churches, after the Eucharist was distributed, it was left to the li- berty of each of the Faithful, to take a part of it. He often cites Apocryphal Books, as the Gospel according to the Egyptians, the Book of Hermas; yet in the mean time he only allows the Four Gospels to be Canonical. He admits of the Authority of Tradition, and that of the Church. These are the Opinions of St. Clement upon the Principal Articles of our Faith, which are con- formable to the Doctrine of the Church, in all the main Points, and different only in some Things of lesser Con- sequence.

But this cannot be said concerning his Work of In- stitutions, which according to the Testimony of Photius contained several Errors, even contrary to what he had taught in his other Works. Let us see what this Learn- ed Critick says of the Matter. The Hypotyposes, says he, were written upon some Passages of the Old and New Testament, which he explains and interprets briefly; but though he has in several places very Orthodox and true No- tions, yet in others he has some that are very Erroneous and Fabulous; For he says that Matter is Eternal, and he feigns Eternal Ideas produced by the Decrees of God; he places the Sun in the number of Created Beings; he holds the Me- tempsychosis; he pretends that there were several Worlds before Adam; he fancies Eve to be produced from Adam after an infamous manner, and different from that which is set down in the Scripture; he imagines, that the Angels having had to do with Women, begat Children of them; he thinks that the WORD was not really and truly Incarnate, but only in Appearance; he feigns two WORDS of GOD, the one Superior and the other Inferior, this last was that which appeared unto Men; he adds, that this WORD is not of the same nature with the WORD of GOD, that it was not the WORD of the Father that was incarnate, but a certain Vertue and Power of GOD proceeding from the WORD, which being a Spirit entered into the Souls of Men. He endeavours to prove these Opinions by Scripture. In a word, these Eight Books are full of such sort of Errors and Blasphemies; whether it be the Author of this Book that has written them, or whether it be any other who puts them out under his name. The intent and design of the whole Work appears to be an Explication of Genesis, Exodus, the Psalms, the Canonical Epistles, and Ecclesiasticus. The Author observes that he was the Disciple of Pantænus.

If this Work was so full of Errors, as there seems no reason at all to doubt after the Testimony of Photius who had seen it, it must needs have been composed by St. Clement, before he was thoroughly instructed in the Christian Religion, and had altogether quitted the Opini- ons of Plato; which seems very probable, for we can- not say that he was not the Author of these Books, which are attributed to him by all Antiquity, and there is no likelihood that they were falsified by the Hereticks in so many places. Besides that these are the Opinions of one who would accommodate the Platonick Philosophy to the Christian Religion, or rather of one who was half a Platonist and half a Christian. However among the An- cients these Books have been had in sufficient esteem and reputation. Eusebius cites several Passages out of them. In the First Book, Chap. 12. of his History he brings one out of the Fifth Book, where it is said that Cephas, Mat- thias, Barnabas, and Thaddæus, were of the number of the Seventy Disciples of Jesus Christ. The same Eusebi- us in the Second Book, Chap. 1. produces another pas- sage taken out of the Sixth Book, where he says that Pe- ter, James, and John, (though they were prefer'd by Jesus Christ to the other Apostles) did not dispute about Precedency, but chose with one consent St. James the

Lib. 5. Stromat. pag. 547. Nam neque fieri potest ut sine li- bero animi arbitrio & instituto consequamur, neque universum est positum in nostrâ voluntate, quale sit id quod est eventurum. Gratiâ servamur, sed non absque bonis operibus. Et oportet quidem cum naturâ apti simus ad bonum, ad id aliquod adhi- bere studium. Oportet mentem quoque habere bonam, & qua nullâ retardetur penitentiâ à boni consequutione. Ad quod maxi- mē divinā opus est gratiâ, rectâque doctrinâ, castâque & mundâ animi affectione, & patris ad ipsum attractione. And Lib. 4. pag. 518. he says, that it is God which gives us Continence. Pag. 530. he says, that it is Grace that enables us to run our Course without any impediment. Pag. 495. he says, that it is the Power of God which makes us resist Tempta- tions.



Just to be Bishop of *Jerusalem*. And another out of the *S. Clement* seventh Book, where he says, that these three Apostles had the Spirit of Knowledge, which they communicated to the seventy Disciples. In the 9th Chapter there is another Passage taken from the seventh Book, where he says, that *James* the Brother of *John* by his Constancy converted his Accuser, and that they were both beheaded for the Faith of *Christ*. In the 15th Chapter, he says, that *St. Clement* in his sixth Book of *Institutions* affirms, that *St. Mark* composed his Gospel by the Direction of *St. Peter*, and that this Apostle approved of it when it was finish'd. Lastly, *Eusebius* in the sixth Book 14th Chapter tells us, that *St. Clement* in his *Institutions* explains all the Books of the Old and New Testament, not omitting even those of which many Persons doubted, as the Epistles of *St. Jude*, *St. Barnabas*, and the Revelation of *St. Peter*: That he says that the Epistle to the *Hebrews* was written by *St. Paul*, and translated by *St. Luke*: That *St. Paul* would not put his Name to it, because he was hated by the *Hebrews*. He sets down the Order of the Gospels; he says that the Gospels of *St. Matthew* and *St. Luke* were first written, that *St. Mark* composed his at *Rome* at the Instance of the faithful, and by *St. Peter's* Order, and that *St. John* writ his the last, at the Desire of his Friends, to explain what was most spiritual in *Jesus Christ*, the others having sufficiently spoken of his Body.

The famous *Valesius* has observed, that we have still a very considerable Greek Fragment of this Work at the end of *St. Clement*, Entitled, *An Extract of the Oriental Doctrine of Theodotus*. For it contains those very Errors, concerning *Christ's* Person, which *Photius* has observed in the *Hypotiposes*; and the Author says towards the end, that *Pantenus* was his Master. It is also likely, that the other Fragment which follows, which is a Collection of Words and Expressions of Scripture, is likewise taken out of these Books, for besides that it is found with the Works of *St. Clement*, it is written after that manner in which *Eusebius* and *Photius* acquaint us, that the Work of *St. Clement* was composed, and it appears that it is the very same Design.

There is also another considerable Fragment of *St. Clement* taken from his Book, *What rich Man can be saved*, in *Eusebius*, Book 3. Chap. 23. where he tells us a famous Story of *St. John*. He says, that this Apostle coming to a City of *Asia*, recommended to the Bishop a young Man who seemed to have very good parts: That this Bishop presently took care of him, and having sufficiently instructed him, he baptiz'd him; but afterwards neglecting to look after him as before, this young Man grew lewd, and became the Ring-leader of the Robbers; that *St. John* returning some years after, demanded of the Bishop the Trust which he had committed to his Charge, and let him know, that he required this young Man from him. The Bishop telling him that he was utterly lost, and that he was become the Head of the Thieves, this Holy Apostle being extremely concerned at this unfortunate Accident, immediately took horse, caused himself to be taken by the Robbers, and to be brought before their Chief, who remembering him, immediately fled; but *St. John* running after him, made him acknowledge his fault, promised him to obtain for him *Christ's* Pardon, and brought him

back along with him, and having put him into a Course of Repentance, he did not leave him till he was reconciled to the Church. We have this Book entire in the last of *Alex. S. Clement* Volume of the Supplement of the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, translated by *Giffenius*, and the Greek Text published by *Cariophylus*: 'Tis an excellent Discourse, wherein *St. Clement* explains the Words of *Jesus Christ* to the young rich Man recorded by *St. Mark*, Chap. 10. And it shews, that in order to Salvation, 'tis not necessary for any one absolutely to quit his Possessions and Riches, provided he makes a good use of them. Upon occasion of this Question, he discourses of Love towards God, and towards our Neighbour, and of Repentance. By the way he says something of the Advantage there is in having a Director, to reprehend us severely for our Faults, and to give us suitable Remedies for our Amendment. And it was to shew the Efficacy of Repentance, that he told this Story of *St. John*. We find under the name of *St. Clement*, in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, some Explications upon several Passages of the Old Testament, and Commentaries upon the Canonical Epistles. If these Fragments are really his, they must be taken from his Books of *Institutions*, which is not very improbable, because they have a near Relation to what *Photius* says of the *Institutions*, and besides they have the Genius of *St. Clement*.

There is no doubt but *St. Clement* was a Person of extraordinary Qualifications. *St. Jerome* makes no scruple of saying that no Man had ever more Knowledge than this Father; and it is certain, that of all the Ancients, there is none whose Books are so full of prophane Learning as his (i): He even shews too much of it for a Christian Writer, and we may say that he was more a Philosopher than a Divine, though he was by no means ignorant of our Religion, and perfectly understood the Holy Scriptures. But he is much more emphatical upon the Moral than upon the Doctrinal Part of Christianity; and he explains almost all the Passages which he cites, after an Allegorical manner in Imitation of *Philo Judaeus*. He writes always without Method and Coherence. His Style is careless; which may be particularly observed in his *Stromata*. For in his Exhortation to the Gentiles, and his Pedagogue, he writes more floridly, as *Photius* has observed, and he is all along buoyed up with a certain Magelick Gravity which is very delightful.

The Works of *St. Clement* have been printed in Greek at Florence in the year 1550 for *Torrensis*, by the Care of *Petrus Victorius*. They were translated by *Gentianus Hervetus*, which Translation was printed at Florence by the same Person in the Year 1551; at Paris in 1566, 1572, 1590, 1592, and in 1612; at Basil in 1556, and with *St. Irenaeus* in 1560, and 1566; at Amsterdam in 1613. *Silburgius* afterwards took Pains upon this Author, and having collected the Observations and Corrections of several Learned Persons, caused it to be printed in Greek by *Commelinus* in the year 1592, in Folio. Afterwards it was published in Greek and Latin by *Heinsius*, who revised the Translation, and added some new Observations, and caused it to be printed in Greek by the same *Commelinus* in the year 1616. This Edition was followed by those of Paris in the year 1629, and 1631, which is the best of all; That of 1641 is not so Fair and Correct.

(i) *Whose Books are so full of prophane Learning as his.* I believe the Reader will not think it tedious to read the following Passage of *Gentianus Hervetus* concerning the Learning of *St. Clement*. Do you desire, says this Author, to read Histories that are very ancient and very curious? Read *St. Clement* who understood all ancient History so perfectly well, that one would think him to have been ignorant of nothing that had pass'd in the World. Have you an Esteem and Veneration for the Verses of the ancient Poets and the Answers of the Oracles? You cannot put too high a Value upon *St. Clement*, who quotes Passages from several ancient Poets, whose Works we have lost. Would you be willing to know the Rites and Ceremonies which were observed in the Sacrifices of the Heathen Gods? Read *St. Clement*, who discovers the most hidden Mysteries of the Pagans. Besides, is there any one among the Christians who has any respect for the Superstitions of the Heathens, who commends their Manners and Customs (and I wish to God there were no such Persons left, but if there be any) they may disabuse themselves by reading *St. Clement*, who clearly makes out the Fallhood of the Pagan Religion, so that after having read it, they cannot but be ashamed of their Folly. Have you

a mind to understand the Opinions and Maxims of the ancient Philosophers? Read *St. Clement*, who discourses of the Original of Philosophy, of all the Sects of Philosophers, and of their Doctrine, yet so as he always prefers the Philosophy of the Christians before all others, and proves by invincible Arguments, that This is That which is only Divine, whereof God himself is the Author. Would you know the Tenets of the Hereticks who infested the Church in its Infancy? *St. Clement* explains them concisely, and confutes them very solidly and substantially. Do you seek for Testimonies against the Hereticks of our Times? *St. Clement* will furnish you with several. Have you a Design to correct that abominable Corruption of Manners in this present Age? There is no Author that reproves Vice more severely, that exhorts more powerfully to the practice of Vertue, and that gives better Rules and Instructions for leading a Christian Life. Lastly, have you a mind to re-establish the ancient Discipline of the Church? You cannot have too high an Esteem for the Learning and Sanctity of *St. Clement*, who being a Priest carried himself, and lived after so holy a Manner, that it were very much to be wished, that there were more Persons in this Age like him.

Miltiades;



# Miltiades; The two Apollonii; And two Anonymous Authors, who wrote against the Heresies of Montanus and Artemo.

**T**IS not known neither what was the Country, nor the Profession of *Miltiades*; he wrote a Book against the *Montanists*, wherein he particularly maintains, that a Prophet ought not to speak in an Ecstasie or Fury (a). *Eusebius* affirms, that he has left evident Proofs of his Skill, and the Pains which he took in the Study of the Holy Scripture, in those Books which he wrote against the Gentiles and the Jews, each of which was divided into two Volumes. And that besides these Discourses, he wrote an Apology for the Christian Philosophy, Dedicated to the Governors of the Provinces (b). This Author lived under the Emperor *Commodus*.

There were at the same time two different Authors, both of which were called *Apollonius*. The false is a Greek Author, who wrote against the Sect of the *Montanists*, wherein he confutes their last Prophecies step by step, and censures the Practice and Manners of those Hereticks. *Eusebius* gives us a Fragment of it in *Book 5. Chap. 18.* where he describes the Exorbitances of *Montanus* and his Prophetesses; he accuses them for taking Sums of Money and Presents. He particularly reprehends two Persons of this Sect, who boasted of their being Martyrs. Besides, *Eusebius* observes, that *Apollonius* says in this Book, that it was forty years since *Montanus* invented his Prophecies; that he makes mention of *Thraseas*, who was a Martyr in his time, and that he mentions a Tradition, that *Jesus Christ* had given Orders to his Apostles not to go out of *Jerusalem* for twelve years.

The second *Apollonius* was of *Rome*, a Senator of that City, if we may believe *St. Jerome* (c). He was accused in the time of the Emperor *Commodus* for being a Christian, and was brought into the Judgment-Hall before *Perennis* the *Præfectus Prætorio*. His Accuser was condemned (d) according to the Law of the Emperor, which punished the Accusers of the Christians with death, and *Apollonius* was sent back to justify himself before the Senate; where he appeared, and made a very eloquent Oration in Defence of his Religion, tho' notwithstanding that he was condemned to Death, because there was an ancient Law which ordained, that those Christians, who were once judicially accused for their Religion, should not be acquitted if they did not forsake it. *St. Jerome* says, that he composed this Oration to present to the Senate. But *Eusebius* assures us on the contrary, that he spoke it before them. But whether he wrote it with a design to speak it, or that the Christians had taken care to preserve it, it was extant in *Eusebius's* time among the ancient Acts of the Sufferings of the Martyrs.

The same *Eusebius* gives us a Fragment of an Anonymous Author against the Heresie of *Montanus*. This by some is attributed to *Apollinarius*, and by *St. Jerome*, sometimes to *Rhodon* and sometimes to *Apollonius*. Tho', it was not written by either of these Authors, but by one more modern, who lived, as we have said, after the death of *Montanus* and his Prophetesses. It was divided into five Books. *Eusebius* relates some Passages taken from the first, second, and third. In that which is taken from the first Book, the Author describes the furious Transports of *Montanus* and his Prophetesses, and those who pretended to prophecy. In the Passages taken from the second Book, he says, that *Montanus* and *Maximilla* killed themselves; that *Theodotus* likewise threw himself down headlong; and that very holy Bishops, as *Zoticus* of *Comana*, and *Julian* of *Apamia*, being willing to convict the Prophecies of *Maximilla* of Imposture, were hindered by some who favoured that Sect. He adds, that *Maximilla* foretold, before she died, Wars and Persecutions, and yet that after her Death both Church and State enjoyed perfect Peace and Tranquility. In the Passage taken from the third Book, he says, That the Martyrs,

of which they boast, cannot justify themselves, since even the *Marcionites* likewise have made the same Pretences: But that the Martyrs of the Church do carefully avoid communicating with those of this Sect, as has been practised in the City of *Apamia* by the Martyrs named *Alexander*, and *Caius*, who were of *Eumenia*. Moreover in the following Chapter *Eusebius* relates a Passage taken from the same Book, where he says, that all the Prophets which have been since the time of the New Testament, such as *Agabus*, *Judas*, *Silas*, the Daughters of *Philip*, *Quadratus*, were not agitated by the same Spirit of Prophecy as *Montanus* and *Maximilla*, whose false and lying Prophecies were made in a sudden Heat; accompanied with Lewdness and Impudence, which took its Rise from Ignorance, and ended in involuntary Folly: But that in the ancient Prophecies, nothing like this was to be found. That since the time of *Maximilla* and *Montanus*, there has not been any Person of this Sect, who could boast of being a Prophet, whereas the true Gift of Prophecy ought to be always in the Church.

The other Author, whereof *Eusebius* gives us a Fragment without naming him, in the fifth Book of his History, Chap. 28. had written a Discourse against the Heresie of *Artemo*, who believed, that *Jesus Christ* was only a meer Man. It is related in this Fragment, that those of this Sect affirmed, that till *Victor's* Days the true Apostolical Doctrine was preserved, but that it was corrupted from the time of *Zephyrinus*. 'Which possibly may be somewhat probable, (says this Author) if what they assert had not been first confuted by the Holy Scripture; and secondly, by the Writings of those Christians who were more ancient than *Victor*, such as *Justin Martyr*, *Miltiades*, *Tatianus*, *Clemens*, and several others that maintain in their Discourses the Divinity of *Jesus Christ*. For who can be ignorant of the Writings of *Irenæus* and *Melito*, who have taught, that *Jesus Christ* was God and Man at the same time. And even those Hymns and Psalms written by the Faithful since the beginning of Christianity, extol the Word of God, attributing Divinity thereto. So that since the Doctrine of the Church has been preached for so many years, how can they say, that till *Victor's* time the whole Church was of their Opinion? Are they not ashamed to invent this Calumny against *Victor*, who knew very well that *Theodotus* the Currier, who was the first Author of the Sect of those that deny the Divinity of *Jesus Christ*, was turned out of the Church by *Victor* himself? For if this Bishop had been of the same mind with *Theodotus*, how comes it to pass that he excommunicated him upon the account of his Doctrine? And what probability is there, that *Zephyrinus*, who succeeded *Victor*, and continued in the See of *Rome* for ten years, should make an alteration in the Doctrine of the Church? And thus it is that this Author confutes the General Principle of all Hereticks that ever were, or ever shall be, giving us an infallible Rule to convince them, which has been, and shall always be, the Custom in the Church of God. For there was never any Age, wherein the Hereticks did not say, that the Church had changed its Doctrine, nor was there ever any time wherein they were not confuted first by Scripture, and secondly by Tradition, that is to say, by the Testimony of Authors, who lived before the Rise of those Heresies. *Eusebius* adds another Fragment from the same Author, where he speaks of the Penance of a Confessor called *Natalis*, who suffering himself to be abused by *Asclepiodotus*, and *Theodotus* the Goldsmith, the Disciple of *Theodotus* the Currier, was tormented for several Nights as a Punishment for his Fault, and afterwards did publick Penance for the same in the Pontificate of *Zephyrinus*, and so was reconciled to the Church. To conclude, in this last Passage he describes the Character of

(a) *In an Ecstasie or Fury.*] This is taken from the Author against the Heresies of the *Montanists*, in *Eusebius*, Book 5. Chap. 17. and the meaning of it is, that true Prophets ought never to deliver themselves in a Fury, nor to be out of their right Senses, as the *Montanists* were. This likewise is the Rule which *St. Chrysostome* gives for distinguishing the false Prophets from the true. *Homil. 29. in Ep. 3. ad Corinth.* And *St. Jerome*, in his Preface upon *Nahum*, *Non enim loquimur in Ecstasi, ut Montanus, & Prisca, Maximillaque delirant, sed quod Prophetat liber est visionis intelligentis.* *St. Jerome* here uses the Term *Ecstasie* in the same sense with the Anonymous Author.

(b) *To the Governors of Provinces.*] *Προς τὸς κομμικὸς ἀρχόντας.* *Eusebius* and *St. Jerome* understood these Words of Emperors;

but since there was but one in this Author's time, it is more natural to explain this Expression by *Governors of Provinces*.

(c) *If we believe St. Jerome.*] *Eusebius* does not say, that *Apollonius* was a Senator, but *St. Jerome* affirms it in his Catalogue to *Magnus*. We cannot tell whether he knew it certainly, or whether it be only by Conjecture that he says so. But it is likely, that it was upon the account of his being a Senator, that the *Præfectus Prætorio* sent him back to the Senate to be tryed there.

(d) *His Accuser was condemned.*] It was his Slave, if we may believe *St. Jerome*, and 'tis very probable, for he was condemned to have his Bones broken, the ordinary Punishment of Slaves.



these Hereticks, and he says, that they have corrupted the Scriptures, and overthrown the Rule of Faith; that when we object to them any Passages of Scripture, they try whether they can make thereof any Compound or Disjunctive Syllogisms; that they study Geometry and Logick, and that they pervert the simplicity of the Faith taught in the Holy Scriptures, by their false Subtilties,

which is the Common Character of all Hereticks. We do not know who this Author is, nor what was the Title of his Book (e): But this Fragment set down by Eusebius plainly discovers, that he was a Learned Man, and well skilled in the Controversie, and understood how to Reason closely against the Hereticks, and to give admirable Rules for their Conviction.

(e) We do not know who this Author is, nor what was the Title of his Book.] Nicephorus calls it the *Labyrinth*, and Theodoret, Lib. 2. *Hæret. Fabul.* confirms this Title. Photius,

Cod. 48. attributes the Book of the *Labyrinth* to Caius, and others ascribed it to Origen.

## TERTULLIAN.

**T**ertullian (a) was a Native of *Africa*, of the City of *Carthage* (b). His Father was a Centurion in the Troops which served under the Proconsul of *Africa* (c). And there is no doubt to be made, but that he was at first a Heathen (d), but it is not known when, nor upon what occasion he was entred into the Church (e). He flourished chiefly under the Reigns of the Emperors *Severus*, and *Antoninus Caracalla* (f), from about the year of our Lord 194, till towards the year 216. And it is very probable, that he lived several years after, since St. *Jerome* relates, that it was reported in his time, that he lived to an extream old Age (g). But we do not exactly know the time of his Death.

The Books that he wrote to his wife sufficiently shew, that he was a Married Man, but we cannot gather from thence when he was Married. The Learned are divided as to this matter, some pretending that he married his Wife before he was a Christian, and that he left her after he embraced Christianity; others believing, that he was not Married till after he was Baptized. Which has been the occasion that some have found a difficulty in clearing this Point, which at first sight seems to be of no great moment, whether, as it is commonly believed, that *Tertullian* was ordained a Priest within a little time after his

Conversion; if he married his Wife after he was Baptized, and afterwards remained with her, it would seem that it might be concluded from thence, that in his time it was lawful for Priests to Marry. And this is that which has made *Pamelinus* say, that *Tertullian*, before he was ordained Priest, made a Vow of Continence to his Wife. But because it appears in the Books which he directed to her, that he still lived with her when he wrote them, the Author of the Life of *Tertullian* and *Origen* has been obliged to say, that he might maintain *Pamelinus's* Opinion, that these Books were written by *Tertullian* immediately after his Conversion: Though it is more probable, that *Tertullian* was not Married till after he was Baptized (h), and that he did not write these Books to his Wife till he was old (i), a little before he fell into the Errors of the *Montanists*.

There is no Passage in his Writings from whence it can be concluded, that he was a Priest of the Catholick Church (k); but St. *Jerome* affirms it so positively (l), that there is no reason to question it. It is commonly believed, that he was a Priest of the Church of *Rome* (m): But being of *Carthage*, and having almost always remained there, he ought rather to be called a Priest of the Church of *Carthage*, than of *Rome*. He was not so happy

(a) *Tertullian.*] He was called *Q. Septimius Florens Tertullianus*, which distinguishes him from the Consul *Tertullus* and *Tertullian* the Martyr.

(b) *And of the City of Carthage.*] He testifies as much himself in his Book *De Pallio*, c. 2. and in his *Apology*, c. 9. *Witness*, says he, *the Troops of our Country*, speaking of the Troops under the Proconsul of *Carthage*. St. *Jerome* confirms the same in his *Chronicon*, and in his Book of *Ecclesiastical Writers*.

(c) *And says, that his Father was a Centurion of these Troops, which was no very considerable Employment.*] *Eusebius* seems to say, that *Tertullian* was a Roman, and a Person of Quality. *Hist. l. 2. c. 2.* Ταῦτα Τερτυλλιανὸς τῶν Ρωμαίων ἑαυτοῦ πατρὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαίου ἐστὶν ἐκείνου καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Ρωμαίου καὶ ἀρχαίου. What he says of *Tertullian's* being well skilled in the Roman Laws, has made some believe, that he was a Lawyer, and indeed there is a Lawyer of the same Name: But it is certain, that he is a different Person from our *Tertullian*, and *Eusebius* does not say, that he was a Lawyer, but that he was well versed in the Roman Laws. What *Eusebius* adds of his Country and his Extraction, is by no means to be maintained, if we do not understand it of the Roman Writers; and that the Sense must be, that *Tertullian* was one of the most Excellent of all the Latin Authors. *Ruffinus* has given this Sense to this Passage of *Eusebius* by translating it, *Inter nostros Scriptores admodum clarus*. *Pamelinus* says, that *Tertullian* was a Lawyer, but he brings no good Argument for it, relying only upon the Authority of *Trithemius*, who is a modern Author.

(d) *But that he was at first a Heathen.*] He himself says, speaking to the Heathens in his *Apology*, *We have been likewise of your Party; Men are not born Christians, but they become so*. And in his Book *De Spectaculis*, and in that concerning the Resurrection of the Flesh, chap. 19. and 59. he says, That he had assisted at those Sights and Spectacles, and that he had spent part of his Life in Lewdness.

(e) *But it is not known when, nor upon what occasion he was converted to the Church.*] *Pamelinus* says, that he was converted by the Answer of an Oracle, and Father *George* of *Amiens* affirms, that it was by a Vision, but neither of these are to be credited.

(f) *And Antoninus Caracalla.*] St. *Jerome* affirms, that he flourished under these Emperors, and this appears by his Writings; some have said, that he flourished about the year 160, but they are mistaken.

(g) *To an extream old Age.*] St. *Jerome*, in his Book of *Ecclesiastical Writers*, says, *Usque ad decrepitam aetatem vixisse fertur*.

(h) *That he was not Married till after he was Baptized.*] His Wife was a Christian; and he does not say in any place of his Works, that she was converted with him, or that she had converted him; it is therefore more probable, that he Married her after he was a Christian. For there is no like-

lihood, that while he was a Heathen, he should Marry a Christian Woman; and if she had been converted with him, or that she had converted him, he would without doubt have taken some notice of it in the Books which he wrote to her.

[His urging St. *Paul's* Authority and Command in his second Book to his Wife, when he advises her to marry a Christian if ever she married again, is a strong presumption, that if he married after his Conversion, his Wife was a Christian at that time.]

(i) *Till he was pretty well advanced in Years.*] These Books are composed in the form of a Last Will or Testament; In the first, he exhorts his Wife to preserve her Continency after his Death; a sign that she had but little regard of it in his Life time. In the second, he tells her plainly, that it is a Duty to endeavour to maintain that Continency in their Widowhood, which they could not preserve in their Married Estate: Which shews, that *Pamelinus's* Opinion is nothing but a groundless Supposition. These Books were written by *Tertullian* towards the end of his Life, as may be proved. First, by the manner of the Composition, which is in form of a Last Will or Testament. Secondly, because a Man seldom troubles himself to write to his Wife, what he would have her do after his Death, but till he is in years. Thirdly, because though *Tertullian* was not a thorough-paced *Montanist* when he wrote those two Books, yet he seems to be leaning very much that way.

(k) *There is no Passage in his Writings from whence it can be concluded, that he was a Priest of the Catholick Church.*] There is a Place in his Book *De Anima*, c. 9. whence it may be concluded, that he preached in the Church of the *Montanists*, and that they related to him strange Visions. But as all the *Montanists* talked after this rate in their Assemblies, it cannot certainly be concluded from hence, that he was a Priest; and we have only the Authority of St. *Jerome* for it.

(l) *But St. Jerome affirms it so positively.*] In his Treatise of Ecclesiastical Writers, *Cum usque ad mediam aetatem Presbyter Ecclesia premanisset, ad Montani Dogma delapsus est*.

(m) *It is commonly believed, that he was a Priest of the Church of Rome.*] That which makes it believed that he was a Roman Priest, is what St. *Jerome* says of his falling into the Error of the *Montanists*, because he was provoked by Envy, and the Injuries which he received from the Clergy of that Church. But there is no necessity for all this that he should be at *Rome*, since there was a sufficient Intimacy and Correspondence between these two Churches, so that it might be easily known at *Rome*, what was said and done at *Carthage*, and though he had been then at *Rome*, yet it would not have followed, that he was Priest of that Church: None of the Ancients affirm it, but on the contrary, *Optatus* calls him a *Carthaginian*, as he calls *Zephyrinus Urbicus*, that is, the Bishop of *Rome*: And also *Victorinus Patavienensis*. The *Prædestinatus* of *Sirmondus* calls him plainly, a Presbyter of *Carthage*.



*Tertullian.* as to preserve this Dignity to the end of his days, for after having continued in the Church for about 40 or 45 years, he separated from it in the beginning of the Third Century (a), to follow the Sect of *Montanus* and his Disciples.

As to the Reasons of his Separation, some have said, that it was Jealousie that carried him to this Excess, because *Victor* was Preferred before him to the See of *Rome*; Others say, that he was angry because he could not get the Bishoprick of *Carthage*, which he put in for, and that this made him take up such a Resolution; And lastly, others have assigned different Reasons (o), which are yet less probable; But this is rather to divine, than to give the Reasons of *Tertullian's* Change: Which are no where grounded upon the Testimony of any ancient Writer. That which has the most likelihood, is what is related by *St. Jerome*, that the Envy which the *Roman* Clergy bore him, and the Outragious manner wherewith they treated him, exasperated him against the Church, and induced him to separate from it. And besides, the extraordinary Austerity which appeared in the Sect of the *Montanists*, suited very well with his violent and severe Temper, which caused him to carry every thing to Extremities. And it was for this reason that he was so enraged against the Catholics, and that he treated the Church with such Fury, after his Separation from it. It does not appear by his Books, that he ever afterwards returned from his Error, and none of the Ancients have affirmed it; but on the contrary, they have all spoken of him, as of a dead Man out of the Communion of the Church. It would therefore be a thing altogether against common Sense to imagine, as some have done, that he at last returned into the Bosom of the Church.

And this is an exact Abridgment of *Tertullian's* Life; let us now proceed to his Writings, and begin by examining the Order, according to which they were Composed, that so we may afterwards make a more exact Judgment of them. And by considering them in this manner with relation to the order of Time, they may be divided into two Classes: The first, comprising those which he composed whilst he was still a Catholic; And the second, those which he wrote after he was a *Montanist*. They are easily distinguished, because he never fails in his later Books, of speaking of the Holy-Ghost of *Montanus*, of the Prophecies of the *Montanists*, and of their extraordinary Fasts, of declaiming against Second Marriages, and against the Absolution which is granted by the Catholics to those who fall into Sin after Baptism; or lastly, of railing against the Catholics whom he calls *Psychici*, that is to say, *Carnal* and *Sensual*. But we must con-

(n) *In the beginning of the Third Century.*] The Epocha of his Change is certain, for we may easily fix it, because he says in his Book against *Praxeas*, that this Heretick being come to *Rome*, hindered the Bishop of that Church from acknowledging the Prophecies of *Montanus*, that he wrote against him at that time, and had obliged him to revoke his Opinion, that afterwards he acknowledged the *Paraclet*, or Comforter. Now it is very likely, that *Victor* was this Bishop that rejected the Prophecies of *Montanus*; For *Tertullian* says, that *Praxeas* hindered him from consenting to these new Prophecies, by urging the Authority of his Predecessors, who could be no other than the Popes *Anicetus* and *Eleutherus*, in whose time these new Prophecies of *Montanus* first began to appear: So that *Tertullian* could not be turned till after the Pontificate of *Victor*, who was Pope from the Year 193, to the Year 201. He was a *Montanist* when he composed the Books against *Marcion*, which were written in the Year 207. So that *Pamelius*, who fixes his Change in the Year 210, is mistaken.

(o) *Have assigned different Reasons.*] *Baronius* is the Author of the first Opinion, *ad An. 201, n. 9.* *Pamelius*, in his Life of *Tertullian*, of the second. And there are others besides, who have assigned other Causes for his Change, which are all groundless.

(p) *His Book of the Apology for the Christian Religion was written about the Year 200, from the Birth of Christ.*] It is very likely that it was Composed about this time. *M. Allix* pretends, that it was not written till the Year 211, but his Reasons are but weak. He says, that he alludes in the 47th Chapter to the Book of *Prescriptions*; but though he here makes use of the term *Prescribe*, it does not thence follow, that this Book was Composed after that of the *Prescriptions*. The second Reason is taken from an Eclipse seen at *Utica*, in the Year 210, to which, says he, *Tertullian* alludes in the 20th Chapter; but he does not speak at all in this place of any particular Eclipse. The last and principal Reason of *M. Allix* is, that in the 4th Chapter of the *Apology*, he speaks of *Severus* as if he were dead. *Severus*, says he, *A Prince of great Constancy, has been lately abolished by his Authority the Papien Law, which ordains, that one should have Children before the Age in which the Julian Law gives permission to Marry.* But this might be said of *Severus* whilst he was yet living, and it is likely that he abolished this Law (if yet he did abolish it at all, for it was rather *Constantine* that did it) in the

der them more particularly, and examine in what Years the several Books were written.

It is evident, that *Tertullian* wrote his Book Of *Penance*, whilst he was yet a Catholic; for therein he expressly confutes one of the Principal Errors of the *Montanists*, by proving, that those who have committed Sins after their Baptism, may obtain Absolution from the Church, provided they do Penance. *Erasmus* questions, whether this Book be *Tertullian's* or no, because it is written more politely than his other Books; and the Authority of *Erasmus* has made *Rhenanus* reject this Discourse; though since 'tis quoted under *Tertullian's* Name by *St. Pacianus* an Author of the Fourth Century, there seems no reason to question its being *Tertullian's*: Besides, the difference of the Style is not very considerable, and it is no wonder that *Tertullian*, when he was a young Man, and newly Converted, should write a Book, upon which he bestowed so great pains, more politely than usual.

His Book of *Baptism* was written about the same time: For it is not only free from all the Errors of the *Montanists*, but even what he says, That Baptism is reserved to the Bishops, and that it is never permitted to Women to Teach or to Baptize, is expressly contrary to their Discipline.

Besides, we have no reason to doubt, but that he composed the Discourse of *Prayer* whilst he was yet a Catholic: For speaking therein concerning Fasts, he says, That there is no Solemn Fast among the Christians, but that which is before *Easter*; which is contrary to the Discipline of the *Montanists*, who observe several *Lents*. Besides, he cites in this Treatise the Book of the *Pastor*, which he rejected after he was a *Montanist*. We cannot exactly tell in what Year these Books were written, nor which of the three were Composed first.

His *Apology for the Christian Religion* was wrote about the year 200 (p), in the beginning of the Persecution under the Emperor *Severus*. It is commonly believed, that he wrote it at *Rome*, and Address'd it to the Senate: But it is more probable, that it was composed in *Africa* (q), and indeed he does not address himself to the Senate, but to the Proconsul of *Africa*, and the Governors of the Provinces.

The Books concerning *Patience*, and the *Exhortation to the Martyrs*, may have been written about the same time: But that to *Scapula* was not composed till some years after, as well as the *Two Books to the Nations*.

Afterwards, as he began to incline towards the *Montanists*, he wrote about the year 202, or 203, the Discourses concerning *Publick Sights and Spectacles*, and of *Idolatry* (r). This is the last of the two, the other being

beginning of his Reign. But what we read in the 5th Chapter, *Who are those that have made Laws against the Christians, 'tis neither Adrian, nor Vespasian, nor Antoninus, nor Severus,* might prove that he wrote after the Death of *Severus*; but we must read *Verus*, as it is in the later Editions, and not *Severus*.

(q) *It is more probable that it was composed in Africa.*] *Pamelius* and several Authors are of Opinion, that he wrote his *Apology* at *Rome*, and that he addressed it to the Senate. But there is not one Passage in this Book, that gives any ground for this Conjecture. On the contrary, this Book is Addressed to the Chief Governors of the Cities. *Tertullian* speaks of *Rome* and the *Romans*, as not being in their City, nor with them. In Chap. 21, 24, 35, and 45. he speaks of the Proconsul, and there was not any at *Rome*. As to what we say, that it was not Addressed to the Senate, but to the Governors of the Provinces, the beginning of the *Apology* does evidently shew: Which is this. *Si non licet vobis Romani Imperii Antistites, in aperto & in ipso vertice civitatis Presidentibus ad judicandum palam dispicere, & coram Examinare quid sit liquidum causa Christianorum, si ad hanc solam speciem Auctoritas vestra de Justitia Diligentia in publico aut timet, aut erubescit inquirere. Si denique domesticis indiciis nimis onerata secta hujus infestatio obruit viam defensionis, &c.* Those which he calls *Imperii Antistites* are the Governors and Proconsuls, and that which follows plainly shews it, for he says, that they preside in *vertice civitatis*, which does not signify the City of *Rome* which is always called *Urbs*, and what he adds, that it belongs to them to examine the Cause of the Christians, to try them, and to receive Informations against them, does evidently prove, that he speaks of the Governors of Places. Secondly, he does not mention so much as one word of the Senate in the whole Book. Thirdly, he speaks of the Proconsul, as of the Supreme Magistrate, Chap. 45. Lastly, he always calls those to whom he Addresses this Work *Præsides*, a Title which properly agrees to the Governors of the Provinces.

(r) *The Discourses concerning publick Sights and Spectacles, and of Idolatry.*] In the 5th Chapter of the Book concerning *Idolatry*, he alludes to the Joy at the Birth of *Geta*; He speaks in his Book concerning *Publick Sights and Spectacles*, Chap. 7. of the City of *Rome*, like a Person who was not there, so that this Book could not be made at *Rome*, as has been believed.



quoted Chap. 13. He was not yet a thorough-paced *Tertullian. Montanist*, but he began to embrace their Opinions, though he had not yet openly left the Church. He still kept the same Opinions when he composed his Books *Of the Ornament, and Dresses of Women* (f): And two Books Dedicated to his Wife. His Book of *The Testimony of the Soul* has no certain *Epocha* (t); but as we do not find therein any Foot-steps of the Errors of the *Montanists*, we may believe that it was written by *Tertullian* before he separated from the Church.

And these are all the Works that can be attributed to *Tertullian* whilst he remained Orthodox, all the others being certainly written after his returning *Montanist*. His Books against *Marcion* are the first of these last kind of Books (u); The *Epocha* of them is certain; for in the first Book, chap. 15, he says, That he writ it in the 15th year of the Emperor *Severus*, that was the 207th after Christ. In the first of these Books he promises his Book of *Præscriptions* (x): So that although this be a very excellent Discourse, and that it contains nothing but what is *Catholic*, yet it must be confessed that he composed it when he was a *Montanist*, unless we should say, that he kept it by him for some time unpublished: However it be, it was composed when he wrote his Book concerning the *Flesh of Jesus Christ*, wherein he refers to the Book of *Præscriptions* in the second Chapter.

The Book concerning the *Soul* was written after the Books against *Marcion*, which are cited in the second Chapter, but before the Book concerning the *Resurrection of the Flesh*, where he quotes his Book concerning the *Soul*, and also that concerning the *Flesh of Jesus Christ*. So that this is the Order of the Books composed by *Tertullian* after those against *Marcion*. The Book of *Præscriptions*, of the *Soul*, of the *Flesh of Jesus Christ*, of the *Resurrection of the Flesh*; these were all composed from the year 207, to the year 210.

His *Scorpiacus* (y), his Book *De Coronâ* (z), and that *De Pallio* (aa), were written about the same time, but we do not know the year. In his Book *De Coronâ*, he says, That he had composed a Treatise concerning the *Confessions, and Sufferings of the Martyrs*. *Baronius* believes, that it is the *Scorpiacus* which he means: But I believe, it is rather that Book concerning *Flight in time of Persecution*. For his *Scorpiacus* was written against Hereticks, whereas that which he intended, when he wrote the Book *De Coronâ*, ought to have been against the Pastors, who withdrew themselves in time of Persecution.

The Book against the *Jews* was written towards the

(f) His Books of the Ornament and Dresses of Women.] The Latin Titles are, *De cultu Muliebri, & de habitu Muliebri*.

(t) His Book of the Testimony of the Soul has no certain Epocha.] It was written after his Apology, as may be concluded from the 5th Chapter.

(u) His Books against Marcion are the first of this last sort.] It is evident that he was a *Montanist*, when he composed the Books against *Marcion*; this appears by the 28th Chapter of his First Book, by the 24th of the Third Book, by the 22d of the Fourth Book, and by the 15th of the Fifth Book. In the Fourth Book, Ch. 22. he calls the Catholics *Psychici*.

(x) He promises his Book of Præscriptions.] Lib. 1. cap. 1. *Alius libellus hunc gradum sustinebit adversus Hæreticos, etiam sine tractatu Doctrinarum revincendos, quod hoc sit de Præscriptione novitatis*; We may affirm, that it was written before, and that he only publish'd it then, that he might confirm some Arguments in his Books against *Marcion*. Which has given occasion to some, to think that this Book was written by *Tertullian*, whilst he was yet Orthodox, because he speaks so advantageously for the Church against Novelties. But he makes use of the very same Principles, in his Book against *Marcion*, and against *Praxeas*. The Catalogue of the Hereticks, where he puts the *Montanists* in the Number of Hereticks, is not *Tertullian's*; so that Reason, which might contribute to make it believed, that he wrote his *Præscriptions* whilst he was a Catholic, is of no consequence.

(y) The Book entitled *Scorpiacus*.] This Book of *Scorpiacus* was written after the Books against *Marcion*, as may be seen by the 5th Chapter.

(z) The Book *De Coronâ*.] It was written upon occasion of a Donative granted by the Emperors *Antoninus Caracalla*, and *Severus*, to the Soldiers, about the Year 209.

(aa) The Book *De Pallio*.] *Scaliger* pretends that this was his first Work; and *Salmasius* on the contrary says, that it was written when he was made Priest. The first believes, that the Cloak was a Habit for all Christians. And the second maintains, that it was only a Habit for the Priests; but both of them are mistaken, for the Christians and Priests wore both long and short Garments indifferently, according to the Customs of the Places where they were. The Cloak was a Habit for Philosophers, and such as made Profession of a more austere Life than ordinary. What is said in the second Chapter of his Book *De Pallio*, that the triple Virtue of the Emperor had

end of the Reign of *Severus*, in the year 209, as appears by what he says of the State of the Roman Empire in the seventh Chapter (bb). We do not certainly know the time when those Books were written against *Praxeas*, against *Hermogenes*, and against the *Valentinians*, but only that they were written by *Tertullian* when he was a *Montanist* (cc). Neither can we give any account of the time of his writing the following Treatises in Defence of the *Montanists* against the Church; His Discourse of Chastity, of Fasts, of Monogamy, his Exhortation to Chastity, of Flight in time of Persecution, and that wherein he proves, That Virgins ought to be veil'd. *St. Jerome* adds to these, Six Books of *Extasie*, and a Treatise against *Apollonius*, which are lost.

I have now nothing to consider, but the small Treatise addressed to *Scapula*, which we certainly know when it was written, for it was after the Death of *Severus* under *Antoninus Caracalla*, about the year 213 (dd). And the two Books to the *Gentiles* were composed about the same time (ee). And this is the Chronology of all the Works of *Tertullian*.

There are some others which are falsely attributed to him: And amongst these we are to reckon the small Catalogue of *Heresies*, which is at the end of the Book of *Præscriptions*. For first of all, it is of a different Style. Secondly, it was not to be found in the old Manuscript of *Agobardus*, which is the most ancient Manuscript of *Tertullian's* Works, nor in another old Manuscript, which *Rhenanus* made use of for the first Edition of *Tertullian*. Thirdly, in those Manuscripts where it is to be found, it is separated from the *Præscriptions*, and sometimes instead of being at the end, it is placed in the beginning, and so *Trithemius* both saw, and quoted it. Fourthly, the *Præscriptions* have a Conclusion before this Catalogue, wherein *Tertullian* does not promise to make such an Abridgment of the *Heresies*, but to write against them all separately. Fifthly, 'tis the Work of some Author that lived after *St. Epiphanius*, from whom he borrows the History of *Marcion*, and perhaps he may have taken from *St. Jerome* what he says concerning the *Jews*.

There goes likewise under *Tertullian's* name a Letter concerning *Jewish Meats*, but it is of a quite different Style, and the places of Scripture are there quoted after another manner than they are in *Tertullian's* Works, which plainly shews, that it is none of his: 'Tis a Letter of a Pastor to his Church, written in the time of Persecution. *St. Jerome* attributes to *Novatian* a Letter concerning *Jewish Meats*, which in all probability is this very Treatise that bears the same Title.

entirely routed the Barbarians, and procured Peace and Tranquility to the People, can no otherwise be understood, but of the latter end of the Reign of *Severus*, who enjoyed a most profound Peace after he had defeated all his Enemies, and taken in as Partners in the Governments, his two Sons *Caracalla* and *Geta*, and this is what *Tertullian* calls *Triplex Imperii Virtus*, as when he says, *Barbari exclusi*, he alludes to the Wall which *Severus* caused to be built in *Britain*, to put a stop to the Incursions of the Barbarians.

(bb) What is said concerning the State of the Roman Empire, in the Seventh Chapter.] He ascribes in this place the flourishing Condition of the Empire, the *Germans* beaten back, the *Britains* hemmed in and secured, the *Moors* besieged by the Roman Legions, &c. Which agrees to the time of the Emperor *Severus*, though this cannot be understood, but of the latter end of his Reign, when after he had Conquered all the Barbarians, he caused that Wall to be built, which we just now mentioned, and dispersed the Roman Legions about the Frontiers of the Empire, as *Dion. Cassius* observes.

(cc) We do not certainly know the time when these Books were written against *Praxeas*, &c.] It is evident, that the Book against *Praxeas* was composed after he was a *Montanist*, *supra*. In his Book against *Hermogenes*, he accuses this Heretick of pretending to be Married, &c. which is a Reproach exactly agreeable to the temper of the *Montanists*; And in the Book against the *Valentinians*, he commends *Proclus* or *Proculus* a famous *Montanist*. This Book was written after his Book against *Hermogenes*, for he observes there, that he had already written against this Heretick.

(dd) About the Year 213.] *Severus*, says he, the Father of *Antoninus*, had some regard for the Christians.

(ee) The two Books to the Nations composed about the same time.] In the First Book, Chap. 17. he alludes to the Titles of *Antoninus Caracalla*, who caused himself to be called *Parthicus*, and *Germanicus*; and in the same place, Chap. 9. he says, That there was not yet elapsed 300 Years from the Death of *Jesus Christ* to his own time, which shews, that the Third Age was then already advanced. Besides, that these Books were written since his Apology, which is the Subject of this, and which he here enlarges, and polishes, and puts into order in these two Books, wherein we may find several Phrases and Expressions taken from the Books which he wrote after he was a *Montanist*.

There



*Tertullian.* There is likewise attributed to *Tertullian*, a Book concerning the *Trinity*, which is none of his: For besides the difference of the Style, that Author mentions the Heretic of *Sabellius*, which was after *Tertullian's* time. *St. Jerome* observes, that *Novatian* writ a Book of the *Trinity*, wherein he had made an Abridgment of *Tertullian's* Book; and he adds, that several Persons attributed *Novatian's* Book to *St. Cyprian*. The Book of the *Trinity*, whereof we speak, might possibly be this Abridgment of *Novatian*, especially since *Ruffinus* observes, that *Novatian's* Book was corrupted by the *Macedonians*, which agrees with this Treatise whereof we speak, in which there are Errors concerning the Divinity of the Holy-Ghost.

There pass also under *Tertullian's* Name several Poems, which are no more his, than they are *Virgil's* or *Homer's*. The Poem called *Genesis*, seems to be that which *Gennadius* attributes to *Salvian* Bishop of *Marseilles* (ff), that concerning the *Judgment of God* was, perhaps, composed by *Verecundus* (gg) an *African* Bishop, mentioned by *Isidorus Hispalensis*, in the seventh Chapter of his first Book of *Illustrious Men*. In the Poem against *Marcion* (hh), there are some Opinions different from those of *Tertullian*. There is likewise a Poem to a *Senator* in *Pameli's* Edition, one of *Sodom*, and one of *Jonas* and *Ninive* in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, of which we do not know the Authors; the first is Ancient, and the other two seem to be written by the same Author. Besides, *St. Jerome* affirms, that *Tertullian* writ several other Treatises, which were lost in his time, and amongst others, a Book *Of the Habits of Aaron*, whereof this Father speaks in his Letter to *Fabiola*. He quotes likewise a Book *Of the Circumcision*, another *Of those Creatures that are Clean, and of such as are Unclean*, a Book concerning *Extasie*, and another against *Apollonius*; *Tertullian* himself cites several other Treatises of his own composing, as in his Book *Of the Soul*, a Discourse concerning *Paradise*, and in his Book *Of the Testimony of the Soul*, chap. 2. a Discourse *Of Destiny*; and in another place, a Book concerning *The Hope of the Faithful*, and another against *Apelles*. He had also composed a former Work against *Marcion*, which being lost in his own time, he was obliged to write a new one. Lastly, he wrote the Discourses *Of Baptism*, *Of Publick Sights and Spectacles*, and that wherein he proves, *That Virgins ought to be veil'd*, in Greek.

But we have said enough of *Tertullian's* Works as to what relates to Criticism and Chronology, we will now look upon them with relation to what they contain. And considering them thus, we may distinguish them into three Classes: The first, comprizing those which were written against the Gentiles. The second, those which were made against Hereticks. And the third, those which relate to Discipline and Manners. The first Book of this first Class is his *Apology against the Gentiles*, wherein he shews the Injustice of those Persecutions and Sufferings which they inflicted on the Christians, and the Falseness of those Accusations which were laid to their Charge; and at the same time proves the Excellency of their Religion, and the Folly of that of the Heathens. He begins, by shewing that there is nothing more unjust or opposite to the very Intent and Design of Laws, than to condemn without understanding, and to punish without considering whether there be any just ground for such a Condemnation. And yet that this is put in practice every day against the Christians, that they are hated, condemned, and punished, merely upon the account of their being Christians, without ever considering, or giving themselves the trouble to be informed what it is to be a Christian. That there are indeed some Laws made by the Emperors, which forbid Men to be Christians, but that these Laws are unjust, subject to Alteration, made by evil Emperors, and contrary to the Opinions of the justest and wisest amongst them. He afterwards confutes the Calumnies which were spread abroad against the Christians, as that they used in their Night-meetings to cut a Child's Throat, and to devour it, and that after they had put out the Candles, they had filthy and abominable Conversations amongst themselves. He shews, that there is not only so much as the least Proof of these Crimes

*Tertullian.* alledged against them, but that their Life, their Manners, and the Principles of their Religion, were directly opposite to these Abominations. 'We are, says he, beset daily, we are continually betrayed, we are very often surprized and oppressed, even in the very time of our Meetings; but did they ever find this Child dead, or a dying? Was there ever any one that could be a Witness of these Crimes? Has ever any one of those who have betrayed us discovered these things? Besides, he presses the Heathens further, by shewing, that these Crimes were frequently committed amongst themselves, that they have slain Children in *Africa* in honour of *Saturn*, and that they have sacrificed Men in other places, that their Gods have been guilty of a thousand shameful and abominable Practices; whereas the Christians are so far from killing a Child, and drinking its Blood, that they do not so much as eat the Flesh of those Beasts that have been strangled, and that they are such inveterate Enemies to all kinds of Incest, that there are several amongst them who preserve their Virginity all their Lives. After having thus confuted those Calumnies which were set on foot, on purpose to render the Christians odious; he gives an Answer to that Objection which was made to them, That they did not own the *Pagan* Deities, and that they did not offer up Sacrifices to them for the Prosperity of their Emperors; from whence they concluded, that they were guilty of Sacrilege and Treason. He answers in a word, that the Christians did not pay any Honour to the Gods of the Heathens, because they were not true Gods, and he appeals, for a Testimony of this, to the Consciences of the wisest of the Heathens themselves. He evidently demonstrates, that their pretended Gods were Men, and for the most part Criminals, that were dead, and that their Images cannot be adored without the greatest Folly and Madness in the World, that even the wisest of the Heathens despised them. He occasionally confutes what has been objected by some to the Christians, that they worshipped an Asses Head, and adored Crosses. And from thence he takes occasion to explain the Doctrine of the Christians. 'We adore (says he) One only God, the Creator of the World, who is Invisible and Incomprehensible, who will recompence Good Men with Everlasting Life, and punish wicked Men with Eternal Torments, after he has raised them from the Dead. He proves this Truth by the whole Creation, which so evidently demonstrates that there is a God: 'That it is (says he) the greatest Wickedness that can possibly be conceived, not to acknowledge him, of whom 'tis impossible that we can be ignorant, even by the very Dictates which Nature inspires into all Men, which oftentimes cause them to invoke the True God, as when we say, *If God thinks good, if God pleases, God sees us*, and the like. And this he calls, The Testimony of a Soul that is naturally Christian: *Testimonium anime naturaliter Christiane*. Lastly, by the Antiquity of the Books of *Moses* which are more ancient than all the Writings of the *Greeks*, and by the Authority of the Prophets, who foretold those things that were to come to pass. Then after having proved the Unity of God, which the Jews acknowledge as well as the Christians, he goes on to that Faith of *Jesus Christ*, which is peculiar to the Christians: He says, that the Christians do not look upon him as a mere Man, but as God, who is the *WORD* of God, begotten of the same Substance, that he is thus God and the Son of God, and that his Father and He are One; that the *WORD* coming down into the Womb of a Virgin, (as was formerly foretold) took Flesh upon him, and was born God-Man: He only desires them to consider it as a Fable like theirs till he has proved it by invincible Arguments: Which he presently does by the Authority of the Prophets, who have plainly foretold *Jesus Christ* by the Miracles which he wrought, by that extraordinary Eclipse which happened at his Death, that is taken notice of in the very Records of the Heathens; and lastly, by his miraculous Resurrection. 'And all these Things (says he) are authorized by the Testimony of *Pilate*, who being already a Christian in his Heart, wrote them to *Tiberius Caesar*, and the *Caesars* had then been Christians, if it had been possible either that the World could subsist without Emperors,

(ff) Which *Gennadius* attributes to *Salvian* Bishop of *Marseilles*.] In Catalog. cap. 87. In morem Græcorum de principio *Genesis* usque ad conditionem hominis composuit versu Hexametris. This is true of that Poem ascribed to *Tertullian*.

(gg) Perhaps that which was composed by *Verecundus*.] *Isidore*, de *Viris illustribus*, cap. 7. *Verecundus Africanus Episcopus studiis liberalium Literarum disertus edidit carmine dactylo, duos modicos, brevesque libellos, quorum primum de resurrectione, et judicio scripsit, alterum de penitentia*. The Poem concerning *Judgment* is also concerning the *Resurrection*. *Garcias* says, that he had seen the Poem concerning *Penance*, and he repeats the first Verse of it, which is written after the same

manner as the beginning of this Poem concerning *Judgment*; but yet there are some Passages, which seem to come from a later Author than *Verecundus*, who, as it is believed, lived in the Fifth Century.

(hh) In the Poem against *Marcion*.] *Tertullian*, in his Book *De Anima*, chap. 57. says that it was not the Soul of *Samuel*, but only a *Pantasm*, which the Witch raised up; and the Author of the Poem in his third Book supposes, that it was *Samuel* himself that was raised, to acquaint *Saul* what was to befall him. *Tertullian*, in his Book of *Prescriptions*, makes *St. Clement* to succeed *St. Peter*, but this Author places him the Fourth, making two Popes of *Cletus* and *Anacletus*.



or that the Emperors could be Christians. He adds to these Proofs, that of the Establishment of the Church notwithstanding Persecutions; and that which may be drawn from the Confession of the Heathen Gods, that is to say, the *Dæmons* who submitted themselves to *Jesus Christ*, and were against their Wills driven out of the Bodies of those that were possessed only by the Name of *Jesus Christ*. And here he makes a Digression, to prove, that the *Romans* owed not their Greatness and Prosperity to their Gods; from whence he concludes, that the Christians are not guilty of Treason, since the Gods, whom they will not own, have not any Power to succour and preserve the Emperors. But, (says he) we Invoke for their Prosperity the Eternal, the True, and the Living God, who gave them their Life and their Empire, who alone has Power over them, and who alone is above them; and after whom they are the Chiefest. They are Great, only because they acknowledge themselves Inferior to him, *Ideo magnus est, quia Cælo minor est*. 'Tis this God to whom the Christians pray with their whole Hearts, for all the Emperors, that he would grant them a long Life, a peaceable Reign, a faithful Council, valiant Soldiers, an obedient People, and in a word, all that a Man and an Emperor can possibly desire. He adds, that the Christians have greater Obligations upon them for the Performance of this, than other Men. First, because the Holy Scripture enjoins them to it; and Secondly because being persuaded that the World should end together with the *Roman* Empire, they desired to retard those Calamities which were to happen at the end of all Things, by praying for the Preservation of the Empire. That it is true, that the Christians do not swear by the *Genii* of the *Cæsars*, nor by their *Health*, which is more precious than those *Genii* who are only *Dæmons*, and that they do not solemnize the Festivals of the Emperors, but that this is only for fear of falling into Idolatry. That in other things they are more obedient, and better Subjects than other Men, though they have the Power in their hands, if they had a mind to defend themselves. We have been (says he) but a little time in the World, yet we are to be met with in all places; you may find us in the Cities, in the Villages, in the Armies, in the Courts of Justice, in the Senate, and in the Markets. We have left you your Temples alone to your selves. What Wars might not we be capable of undertaking? And with what Resolution might not we carry them on, though we had not near so many Troops as you; we, who die daily with so much Joy, were it not a Law amongst us to suffer our selves rather to be killed, than to kill others. *Sed non apud istam Disciplinam magis liceret occidi quam occidere*. But how could the Heathens object, That the Difference of Religion could cause any disturbance in the Commonwealth, or make Parties and Factions? He says, that the Christians have no Ambition, nor Pretensions in this World, as they are Christians, are so far from forming any Parties against the Government, that they think upon nothing less than State-Affairs. And that he might persuade the whole World of this Truth, see the Description which he makes of the Christians of his time, and of their Assemblies. We make up (says he) a Body that is united by the Bond of the same Religion, the same Discipline, and the same Hope. We assemble our selves, and compose, if I may so say, a Body of an Army, to force Heaven by our Prayers, and this Violence is very acceptable to God. We pray not only for our selves, but also for the Emperors; for their Ministers, for the Magistrates, for the good of the State; for the Peace and Quietness of the Empire; and lastly, for the retarding the end of the World. Besides, we assemble our selves to read the Holy Scriptures according to our different Wants and Necessities, for our Instruction, and Information in our Duty. These Sacred Oracles are of signal Use for the preserving our Faith, the confirming our Hope, and the regulating our Manners, by the Meditation upon its Precepts. And 'tis in these Assemblies that the necessary Exhortations and Reproofs are to be expected. The Judgments which are there delivered, are given with all the Equity and Circumspection imaginable; because those who pass Judgment are verily persuaded, that Almighty God takes notice of them. Their Censures are all Divine, and 'tis a great Presumption of God's future Judgment against any One, when he has committed any Sin, for which he deserves to be separated from the Communion of Bread, and from Prayer, and the Assembly of the Faithful; and in a Word, to be deprived of all manner of Communion of holy Things. Those who preside amongst us, are the most Ancient, and such whose Probity is very well known; and this Honour is not to be purchased for Money, but it is bestowed upon pure Virtue, for all those Concerns which relate to God, are not to be valued at a Price. If we have any kind of Treasure,

it is not to be look'd upon as a Blessing that is any ways dishonourable to our Religion, as if it was to be purchased upon any Account. Every one contributes according to his Ability what Alms he pleases, and when he pleases, which yet is commonly done Monthly. None are compelled; every one gives freely what he will. These Contributions are the Contributions of Piety, for we do not employ them in making merry Meetings, or in other unnecessary Expences: But to maintain and bury Orphans, and poor People, to relieve old Men and infirm Persons, to assist the faithful who are exiled into the Islands, or condemned to work in the Mines, or confined in Prison, for having embraced the Faith of *Jesus Christ*. We all call our selves Brethren, not only because we are all Brethren by the Right of Nature, but because we all acknowledge One and the same God for our Father, because we have all one and the same Spirit which sanctifies us: And lastly, because all things are common amongst us, but our Women. Our Feasts are called *Agapæ*, that is to say, Entertainments of Love and Charity. They were not instituted for debauched Parasites, but for the Entertainment of the Poor, being assured that God has a more especial Regard for them. And if the Reason of the Institution of these Feasts is wholly Sacred, the Consequences of them are equally so. There is nothing here to be seen, that is any ways contrary to Civility and Modesty. They do not sit down at Table, till they have refreshed and nourished the Soul by Prayer, they eat no more than what is necessary to suffice Nature, and they drink no more than what is fitting and convenient for chaste and regular Persons; they take care not to glut themselves, so as to hinder their rising in the Night to worship God. They discourse of such things as are profitable, because they look upon themselves, as in the Presence of God, who is a Witness of every thing that we say. The Supper is concluded with Prayer, and they do not break up in a Tumult or Disorder; but they retire regularly and with great Modesty, as it is not hard for such Persons to do, who take greater care to nourish their Souls, with that holy Discipline, in which they are instructed, than their Bodies with the Viſuals which they eat. After having thus described the Assemblies of the Christians, he shews, that those Calamities and Misfortunes which happen in the World, are unjustly attributed to them, as if they were the Cause of them. He maintains, that 'tis these are the Men who divert and prevent them, and that they are very far from being any ways the Occasion of attracting them. He concludes, by proving that we admire those Virtues in the Philosophers, which are discernable in a much more excellent and higher Degree in the Christians.

The *Two Books to the Nations* are almost of the very same Subject with the *Apology*. And *Tertullian* repeats therein the greatest part of the things which he had said before in his *Apology*, but he puts them in another Order, explaining and enlarging upon them: So that the Difference between these two Books is this, that the first is written with Heat, and without much Study; and the second is a methodical Treatise, and composed with great Consideration. The *Second Book to the Nations* was written against the false Gods of the Heathens, wherein he gave an exact Account of the Deities of the several prophane Religions, and shewed how exceedingly foolish a thing it is to own them; but this Book is so imperfect, and there is so little Coherence in all that we have extant of it, that it cannot be of any great advantage to us.

In the Book of *The Testimony of the Soul*, he enlarges upon one Proof for Religion, which he had advanced before in his *Apology*, that the Soul does naturally, and even against its Will, acknowledge, that there is but one God, and that there is another Life after this. He proves it by those Notions which Nature hath inspired into us, and which are so deeply engraven in our Minds, that nothing is able to efface them: So that they often come from a Man, when he thinks of them the least. As when one says without any Reflection, *God grant it, what pleases God, God help me, good God, &c.* Expressions that manifestly suppose, that the Soul is penetrated with the knowledge of a God, as the Fear which we naturally have of Death, the Desire of leaving behind us a Name to Posterity, and that Compassion which we have for the Dead do evidently suppose, that there is another Life after this. Now these Notions being natural to the Soul, and to be found in every Body, it must necessarily follow, that they come from God. And this is the Subject which *Tertullian* enlarges upon very ingeniously in this little Treatise.

The Book to *Scapula*, was composed to dissuade the Governor of *Africa* from the Persecution which he had raised against the Christians. He begins, by representing to him, that the Christians rather wished for Martyrdom, than



*Tertullian.* than feared it; and that therefore it was not out of any Apprehension he had of them, that induced him to direct this Discourse to him, but the earnest Desire which he had for the Salvation of the Heathens, because the Religion of the Christians obliges them to love their Enemies, and to endeavour to convert them from the Error wherein they are at present. He afterwards tells him, that the Christians adore that God whom Mankind knows by Nature; he represents to him, that it ought to be left to the free Direction of Men to embrace that Religion, which seems to them to be most agreeable to Truth: That another Man's Religion does neither hurt nor good to any body: That it is not an Act of Religion to constrain Men

*This must be owned to have been a great piece of Ingenuity in a Doctor of the Sorbon when the Persecution of the Hugonots was at the height in France.*

to embrace a Religion, which they ought to chuse voluntarily. *Non est Religionis cogere Religionem, quæ sponte suscipi debet, non vi.* He adds, that the Life of Christians is

unblameable; that they pay an entire Obedience to the Emperors; that they were never found engaged in a Party with the Rebels. 'They are (says he) Enemies to no Man, and least of all to the Emperor, very well knowing, that it is their God who has established him, they love, honour, and respect him, most heartily wishing his Preservation, and that of the Empire, as long as the World shall continue; We therefore honour the Emperor after that manner, which is lawful for us, and which only can be of advantage to him; that is to say, as a Man who is next under God, and who has received from God every thing that he has. We likewise offer Sacrifices for his Safety, but they are the Sacrifices of Prayer: For God does not stand in need of Incense, nor of the blood of Victims. After having thus vindicated the Christians from the Crime of High-Treason, he dissuades *Scapula* from the Persecution against Christians, by the Examples of those who have been punished for persecuting of them, and likewise by the Examples of those who have had so much moderation, as to permit them to enjoy their Liberty and Tranquility. And these are the Books written by *Tertullian*, in defence of the Christian Religion against the Gentiles.

There is but one Book of his against the *Jews*, wherein, first, he proves, that the Law of *Moses*, and its Ceremonies, were established but for a time, and that they were to cease at the coming of *Jesus Christ*. And secondly, that the Messiah expected by the Jews, and foretold by the Prophets is already come, and that this is *Jesus Christ*. Which he evidently makes out from the Prophets, who foretold the Time of his Coming, and the Circumstances of his Life and Death. He observes, that the Original of the Jews mistake arose from their confounding his last Coming, wherein he will appear in great Power and Glory, with his first Coming, wherein he was seen in great Humility, and took upon him the mean Condition of other Men.

Although the Book of *Prescriptions* against the Hereticks is not, in the Order of Time, the first that *Tertullian* has written against them, yet it is so, as to the Order of the Matters which it contains; because it is designed against all Heresies in general, whereas the others are only against some particular Heresie. This Book is entitled, *Of Prescriptions*, or rather, *Of Prescription against the Hereticks*; because herein he shews, that their Doctrine is not to be admitted by reason of its Novelty. Before he enters upon the Matter, he endeavours to obviate the Scandal of those, who admire, how there could be any Heresies in the World, how they could have been so great and so powerful, and how it comes to pass, that so many considerable Persons in the Church, have been seduced to embrace them, by shewing that Heresies have been foretold, that they are necessary Evils for the Tryal of our Faith, and that we must not judge of Faith by Persons, but of Persons by their Faith; *Ex personis probamus fidem, an ex fide personas?* After having given this necessary Caution, he lays down the first Principle of Prescription. 'We are not allowed, says he, to introduce any thing that is new in Religion, nor to chuse by our selves, what another has invented. We have the Apostles of our Lord for Founders, who were not themselves the Inventors, and Authors of what they have left us; but they have faithfully taught the World the Doctrine which they received from *Jesus Christ*. Heresies have risen from Philosophy and human Wisdom, which is quite different from the Spirit of Christianity. We are not allowed to entertain our Curiosity, nor to enquire after any thing that is beyond what we have been taught by *Jesus Christ* and his Gospel, *Nobis curiositate opus non est post Christum Jesum, nec inquisitione post Evangelium.* And when we have once believed, we are to give Credit to nothing any farther than as we have already believed. And here it is, that he an-

swers the Objection of the Hereticks, who urged this Passage of Scripture, *Seek, and you shall find*: by telling us, that it is not permitted to seek when we have once found, that it would be a Labour to no purpose, to seek for Truth amongst all the Heresies; and lastly, that if it be permitted to seek, it is after having admitted the Rule, that is to say, the principal Articles of Faith, which are contained in the Creed. But as the Hereticks did often alledge the Holy Scripture, in Defence of themselves; he proves that the Church was not obliged to enter into a Discussion of those Passages which they quoted; that this way of confuting them is very tedious, and difficult, because they do not acknowledge all the Books of the Scriptures, or else they corrupt them, or put a false Interpretation upon them; which renders the Victory that is to be obtained over them uncertain and difficult. He says then, that it is to better purpose to understand perfectly, who it is, that is in Possession of the Faith of *Jesus Christ*; who those Persons are, to whom the Scriptures were committed in Trust; and who are the first Authors who have given an Account of our Religion. He goes back even to *Jesus Christ*, who is the Source and Original of this Religion, and to the Apostles who received it from him. He shews that it is impossible, that the Apostles should preach any other Doctrine, than that of *Jesus Christ*, and that all the Apostolical Churches should embrace any other Faith, than that which the Apostles had delivered to them; from whence he concludes, that it must of Necessity follow, that that Doctrine, which is conformable to that, which is found to be the Faith of all the Churches, must be That which was taught by *Jesus Christ*: and that on the contrary, That which is opposite thereto, must be a novel Doctrine. He farther confounds the Hereticks by the Novelty of their Opinions. It is evident (says he) that the most ancient Doctrine is that of *Jesus Christ*, and by consequence that alone is true, and that That on the contrary, which had not any Date 'till after his Ascension, must be false and supposititious. Having laid down this infallible Rule, he proves the Doctrine of the Hereticks to be of a later Date than that of the Church, because the Authors of the Heresies were after the Establishment of the Church, from which they have separated themselves. That the several Sects of the Hereticks cannot reckon their Original from the Time of the Apostles, nor shew a Succession of Bishops, from their Times, as the Apostolical Churches can, with whom they do not communicate. That though they could pretend to such a Succession, yet the Novelty of their Doctrine condemned by the Apostles, and the Apostolical Churches would convince them of being Cheats and Impostors, and that what they have added, taken away, or changed in the Books of the Holy Scripture, does farther discover, that they invented their Doctrine, after these Books were composed. That lastly, their Discipline and Conduct, which is absolutely human, and earthly, without Order, and without Rule, renders them every way contemptible. I have exactly set down the Reasonings of *Tertullian* in this Work; because, as he himself observes, they are not only proper to confute the Heresies that were in his Time, but also to disprove all those that sprang up afterwards, or that should arise hereafter, even to the end of the Church.

I shall not enlarge so much upon the Works which were written against those Heresies which are now extinct. The most considerable, is, that which he composed against *Marcion*, which is divided into Five Books. This Heretick maintained that there were two Principles, or two Gods; the one Good, and the other Evil; The one Perfect, and the other Imperfect; that this last is the God whom the Jews worship, who created the World, and delivered the Law to *Moses*; whereas the first is the Father of *Jesus Christ*, whom he sent to destroy the Works of the Evil one; that is to say, the Law and the Prophets, which *Marcion* rejected. He affirmed likewise, that *Jesus Christ* was not clothed with true Flesh. And by consequence, that he did not suffer really, but only in appearance. These are the Errors which *Tertullian* confutes in this Work. In the first Book, he shews that the unknown God of *Marcion*, is only a Fantastical and Imaginary Being. In the second he proves that That God the Creator of the World, whom the Jews worshipped, is the only true God, and the Author of all Good. After having demonstrated this Truth by invincible Arguments, he resolves those Difficulties which are raised by the *Marcionites* against God's Conduct in the Old Testament. He explains for Example, Why he has permitted Sin? Why he suffers Sinners? Why he punishes Men so severely? Why he seems sometimes to alter his Conduct and Design, &c. In the third Book he shews, that *Jesus Christ* is the Son of God, who is the Creator of the World, and the Author of the Law, that he has been foretold by the Prophets, and that he took upon him true Flesh, by taking



upon him our Nature. In the fourth Book he shews, *Tertullian*, that it is the same God, both in the Old and in the New Testament. He reconciles the pretended Contradictions alledged by *Marcion*, and shews that the whole Life of Jesus Christ was foretold, and figured in the Old Testament. That Jesus Christ has explained and confirmed the Prophets, and perfected the Precepts of the Law. In a word, he proves at the end of this Book, that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, the Creator of the World, by the Doctrine of the Prophets, by his own Doctrine, by his Inclinations, by his Virtues, by his Opinions; and lastly, by his Resurrection. In the last Book, he shews from the Epistles of *St. Paul*, that it is the same God, that is preached both in the Old, and in the New Testament, and that Jesus Christ is the Son of the Creator of the World. There are in this Book two difficult Passages concerning the Eucharist, which have given Subject to very great Disputes; of which I shall not speak in this Place, contenting my self to refer the Reader to those, who have discoursed of them at large, that so I may pass on to the other Works of *Tertullian*.

After having maintained the Unity of God against *Marcion*, he defends the Trinity of Persons against *Praxeas*. This Heretick came from *Asia*, to diffuse the Poison of his Error in *Rome*; he was naturally of a very unquiet and uncassie Temper, and besides was vainly puffed up with the false Opinion of being a Martyr, which Quality he took upon him, because he was for a short time imprisoned for the Faith. Being come to *Rome*, under the Pontificate of *Victor*, he prevented this Pope from acknowledging the New Prophecies of *Montanus*, besides he made him, if we believe *Tertullian*, revoke the Communicatory Letters which he had granted to the Montanists. He began to divulge his Heresie in the City of *Rome*, and afterwards went into *Africa*, where he made some Profelytes; but he was convinced by a Catholick (which without doubt must be *Tertullian*) and obliged to put down in Writing a Recantation of his Error. So after he had concealed his Doctrine for some time, he published it anew, and *Tertullian*, who had confuted him before, whilst he was yet a Catholick, wrote against him, after he fell into the Error of the Montanists. He establishes in this Book, the Distinction of the WORD, and the Trinity of Persons against the Heresie of *Praxeas*, who acknowledged but one Person in God, making no Distinction between the Father and the Son, and by consequence maintained, that the Father made himself Man, and suffered for Us. *Tertullian* opposes to him the Rule of Faith, which obliges us to acknowledge only one God in three Persons, which are all three of the same Substance, and have all one and the same Power, and that it was the Person of the Son who was incarnate, and died for Us. He shews that this Trinity of Persons, does no ways prejudice the Unity of the Godhead, as the Unity of the Godhead does no ways hinder the Trinity of Persons. That the Son is of the Substance of the Father, and that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father by the Son. That the WORD which was from all Eternity in God, and who did, as it were, come out of him to create and govern the World, as a Person subsisting, who nevertheless has not a different Substance from that of the Father, so that it does not follow from hence, that we believe two Gods, and two Lords; that is the Son, and not the Father, who made himself Man, without ceasing to be God, and that the Properties of human Nature, are only to be found in Jesus Christ. In a Word, he explains very handsomely in this Treatise, the Faith of the Church, concerning the Mysteries of the Trinity and the Incarnation. It must be owned, that in some Places he expresses himself after a manner, not very agreeable to that which has been used in the following Ages (ii). But we must pardon these kind of Expressions in the Ancients, who wrote before those Terms, which they made use of, were fixt and limited to a certain Sense.

(ii) He expresses himself after such a manner as is not very agreeable to that which has been made use of in the following Ages. He says first, that the WORD was begotten of the Father, when God created the World; but he acknowledges at the same time, that he was in God, and a Person distinct from the Father from all Eternity. And so the whole Ambiguity lies in the Term of *Generation*, which he does not understand of the Eternal Procession of the Son, but of a certain Prolation or Emission without, which he supposes was done at the Instant of the Creation of the World, because it is by the WORD that God Created it, and doth still govern it. And this appears evidently in *Tertullian's* Book, and we ought not to wonder, if in his Book against *Hermogenes*, he says, that there was a certain time, when the Father was not the Father, and when he began to be the Son, because he believed that he had not the Quality and Name of Son, 'till this World was Created, though he was in God before, and

But it is a difficult Matter to excuse him, where he seems to assert, as well in this Book, as in other Places of *Tertullian's* Works, that God had a Body, or rather that he was Corporeal. Yet there are some Authors that vindicate him from this Error, and this has occasioned a Question, which is so common, and if I may say it, so trivial, that I do not think it necessary to say any thing of it in this Place.

*Hermogenes* was another *African* Heretick, who maintained that matter was Eternal, And that God did not create it when he made the World, but that he only made use thereof, to form things as we see. He sucked this Error from the Philosophy of the Stoicks, and defended it by Syllogisms, connected according to their Methods of Reasoning, which made *Tertullian* say in the Treatise which he composed against him, that the Philosophers were the Patriarchs of the Hereticks. He there discovers the Fallacies of the Sophisms of this Heretick, and shews that our Religion teaches us, that God created even that Matter, whereof he made the World.

The Book against the *Valentinians*, is rather a Satyr and Raillery, than a serious Confutation of the Extravagant Sentiments of these Hereticks. *Valentinus*, the first Author of this Sect, separated from the Church out of spite, because hoping to be Elected a Bishop, by reason of his Wit and Eloquence, he was put by to prefer another Person, who had suffered for the Faith of Jesus Christ in times of Persecution. After he had separated from the Church, he invented, or rather revived an old Opinion, according to the Principles of which, he feigned a Succession, and imaginary Generation of a kind of Deities. His Disciples renned upon this Notion, and formed quite different Systems. But all these Fancies were impertinent and ridiculous, so they took great care to conceal them, lest if they should discover them, all the World should be presently sensible of their Extravagancy: 'Tis this which *Tertullian* upbraids them with. 'If you teach the Truth, says he to them, why don't you discover it? It persuades by teaching, and it teaches by persuading; it is not ashamed of shewing it self; on the contrary, 'tis ashamed of nothing, but of being concealed. You reproach us for our Simplicity; it is true, we love it, because it is by this means, that we know, and make known the will of God. But 'tis no wonder that the Hereticks should blame this Simplicity, and should so carefully conceal their Principles; for they were so extravagant, that the bare Discovering of them would be sufficient to render them ridiculous: 'Tis this which *Tertullian* does in this Work. 'I undertake, says he in this Book to discover to the Eyes of all Men, the hidden Myttery; but though I profess to relate the Opinions of these Hereticks, without making a particular Confutation, yet I hope I shall be pardoned, if I cannot forbear censuring them in some Places. What I do is nothing but a Sport before a real Combat, I shall rather shew them where I could strike them, than lay them on. But if there be found some Passages that may excite Laughter, 'tis because the very Subject causes it. There are many things which deserve to be jeered and ridiculed at this rate, lest if we should confute them seriously, we should seem to lay too great Strefs upon them. Nothing is more due to Vanity than Laughter, and to Laugh, does properly belong to the Truth, because it is pleasant, and to sport with its Enemies, because it is certain of the Victory.

And these are all the Books which are particularly against the Hereticks; there are others, in which *Tertullian* likewise confutes some Errors, and defends some Catholick Truths, though they were not written against any Hereticks in Particular. Such are the following Books.

The Book of the *Flesh of Jesus Christ*, wherein he proves against the Hereticks *Marcion*, *Apelles*, and *Valen-*

distinguished from the Father from all Eternity. Secondly, he says, that the Father is invisible, and the Son visible; but in that sense which we have explained, that is to say, that the Son who has always render'd himself visible to Men by taking several Forms, under which he has appeared to them; and lastly by making himself Man. Thirdly, He seems in some Places to insinuate, that even the WORD, as it is the WORD, is inferior to the Father; but this must be understood of an Inferiority, which the Divines call of *Original*, that is to say, (as he explains it himself) because he has received all from the Father, for he says expressly in several Places, that the Father and the Son are of one, and the same Substance. Fourthly, He sometimes makes use of the Word *Substance*, to signify the *Person Subsisting*, which is an usual thing amongst the Ancients before the Council of *Nice*, and even amongst some of them after it.



*Tertullian.* tinus, That Jesus Christ took upon him true *Flesh*, like to ours, in the Womb of the Virgin.

The Title alone of the Book of the *Resurrection of the Flesh*, is enough to discover, that it was written against the *Sadducees*, and against the Hereticks who denied the Resurrection.

The *Scorpiacus*, so called, because it is a Remedy against the Poison of Hereticks, like Scorpions, defends the Necessity and Excellency of Martyrdom against the *Gnosticks*.

The Book of the *Soul*, written against the Opinions of the Philosophers, and the Hereticks, treats at large of the Nature of the Soul, and its Qualities. But it is full of false Principles and Errors. He pretends that the Soul is Corporeal, and that it takes a certain Form of a Body, though it be invisible; he confutes the Opinion of *Plato*, concerning Reminiscency, or the Faculty of Remembling; and *Pythagoras's* Transmigration; he affirms, that the Soul does not come from Heaven, but that it is formed with the Body, and that as the Body of the Parents produces a Body, so their Soul produces a Soul. That all Souls, and even those of the Martyrs, which some have excepted, are disposed of after Death, in a certain Subterraneous Place, where they receive Refreshment, and Torment, according to the Good or Evil which they have done: And that they expect the Resurrection, and the Day of Judgment, which will render them entirely happy, or entirely Miserable to all Eternity. There are likewise in this Treatise, some other particular Opinions; as for Instance, that the Soul and Breath are the same thing; that that which is unreasonable in the Soul, comes from the Devil; that every Soul has its *Demon*; that all Dreams are not vain.

The Book of *Baptism* is divided into two Parts; the First relating to *Doctrine*, and the Second to *Discipline*. In the First he defends the Necessity and Efficacy of the Sacrament of Baptism against the Hereticks called *Caiannites*; he proves that the Waters of Baptism do procure to us Forgiveness of our Sins, and of the Punishment which they deserve. 'What can there be, says he, more miraculous, than to see that by washing the Body by an external Baptism, we efface at the same time, the Mortal Stain of the Soul, and when that Stain is once taken away, the Punishment is likewise remitted to us? He afterwards discourses of the Imposition of Hands, and of the Unction which followed after Baptism, to make the Holy Ghost descend upon the Faithful, and to draw down upon them the Blessings of Heaven. 'We do not receive, says he, the Fulness of the Holy Ghost by Water; but it prepares us for receiving it by washing us from our Sins. And as St. *John* prepared the Way of the Lord, so the Angel which is present in Baptism, prepares the Way for the Holy Ghost, by the Absolution of our Sins, which we obtain by Faith, which is confirmed and sealed by the Invocation of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. When we come out of the Font we are anointed; and this Unction, which is performed on our flesh, is profitable to our Soul, as external Baptism has a spiritual Effect, which is to deliver us from our Sins. Afterwards, there is the Laying on of Hands, to draw upon us the Holy Ghost, and this most Holy Spirit descends voluntarily from Heaven, into purified and blessed Bodies. In the Second Part, he discourses of several Questions concerning Baptism, which relate to Discipline. The first is concerning the Baptism of St. *John*, whether it were from Heaven, or from Earth? He says, that it was from Heaven, because it was ordained by Heaven: However, that it did not bestow any thing that was Heavenly, but that it made way for Heavenly things, by bringing us to Repentance; and that it neither conferred the Holy Ghost, nor Remission of Sins. The second, is concerning the Necessity of Baptism, upon which he starts a considerable Objection, taken from what there might seem that the Apostles, of whose Salvation no doubt can be made, were never baptized. To this he answers, that possibly they might have been baptized, though we find no mention of it; and in the second place, that that Familiarity which they had with Jesus Christ, the Greatness of their Faith, and the Ardency of their Charity, might supply in them the Defect of Baptism, since Jesus Christ has promised the Remission of Sins, and Salvation to those Persons who had Faith, though they were not baptized. That nevertheless, there is no doubt to be made, but that at present, Baptism is necessary to Salvation, and that tho' formerly a Man might be saved only by Faith in one God, yet that now we must believe in Jesus Christ, and that it was necessary, that this Faith should be sealed by Baptism, that Jesus Christ had made a Law for it, and prescribed the Manner, saying, *Go and teach all Nations, Baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost*. And that this Sentence of the Gos-

pel: *If a Man be not born again of Water, and the Holy Ghost, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven*, does *Tertullian* invincibly establish the Necessity of Baptism.

The third Question is, Whether one may baptize more than once? He says expressly, that there is but one Baptism, that it never ought to be reiterated. He excepts however the Baptism of Hereticks; *Who*, says he, *are not able to give it, because they have it not. And therefore it is, that we have a Rule among us to Re-baptize them*. He adds, that Martyrdom is a kind of second Baptism, which is instead of the Baptism of Water, when any Person has not received it, and which repairs it, when that Grace is lost, which it conferred.

The fourth Question, is concerning the Minister of Baptism: He says, the Bishop has Power of Administring it, and after him the Priests and Deacons; nevertheless, with his Permission, to set a higher Value on the Priesthood. That in Case of Necessity, any Man may administer it, and that we should be Guilty of the Loss of a Soul, if we did not afford it that Grace, whereby it may be saved; there are none but Women, to whom he seems absolutely to prohibit the Administring of Baptism, in any Circumstance whatsoever.

The fifth Reflection, is concerning the Condition of those who are to receive Baptism. He says, that it is not to be Administred rashly, and that it is good sometimes to put some Stop to it, that those who receive it may be the better disposed. He would chiefly have this Discipline observed in respect to Infants, and though he supposes that they are capable of receiving Baptism, yet he will not allow them to be baptized without Necessity. 'What Necessity is there (says he) to expose God-fathers to the Hazard of answering for those whom they hold at the Fonts; since they may be prevented by Death, from being able to perform those Promises which they have made for the Children, or else may be disappointed by their evil Inclinations. Jesus Christ says, indeed, *Hinder not little Children from coming to me*; but that they should come to him as soon as they are advanced in Years, as soon as they have learnt their Religion, when they may be taught whither they are going, when they are become Christians, when they begin to be able to know Jesus Christ. What is there that should compel this innocent Age to receive Baptism? And since they are not yet allowed the Disposal of Temporal Goods, is it reasonable that they should be entrusted with the Concerns of Heaven? For the same Reason (he farther says) it is proper to make those who are not married wait for some time, by reason of the Temptations which they have to undergo till they are married, or have attained to the Gift of Continency. Lastly, (he says) Those who shall duly consider the great Weight and Moment of this divine Sacrament, will rather be afraid of making too much haste to receive it, than to defer it for some time, that so they may be the better capable of receiving it more worthily.

The sixth, is concerning the proper time for Administring of Baptism. He says, that it may be done at any time; but that the solemn Days for performing it, are the Times of *Easter* and *Pentecost*.

Lastly, he says, That those who are desirous to dip themselves Holily in this Water, must prepare themselves for it by Fasting, by Watchings, by Prayers, and by sincere Repentance.

And this is what the second Part contains, wherein there are but two Errors, the first whereof concerning the Baptism of Hereticks, is common to him, with several others; and the second, which relates to the Baptism of Infants, is particular to him alone, and we shall not find any of the Ancients speaking after the same manner.

The Book of *Penance* is the First of those which relate merely to the Discipline of the Church; therein he distinguishes two sorts of Penance; the first is that which is performed before Baptism; and the second is that of those, who being so unhappy, as to fall into Enormous Sins after Baptism, do recover themselves by a laborious Penance. In the First Part, he shews the Necessity there is of proving and preparing Ones self, for a long time, for the Reception of this Grace of Baptism, by a true Repentance. He fears not to say, that Baptism is to no purpose, if we have not repented of our Sins, and amended them, and that it is great Presumption to imagine, that having led a disorderly Course of Life till the very Day of Baptism, we should be made Holy all of a sudden, and that we should cease from Sinning immediately after we have received this Sacrament. 'Can it be believed, says he, that the Reformation is made just at the time when we are absolved? No certainly; it is



Tertullian.

Tertullian.

made at the time when the Pardon is yet in suspense, and that we are afraid still of the Punishment, though we had not as yet deserved to be delivered from our Sins, that we might be in a Capacity of deserving it. When God still threatens us, and not when he has pardoned us.---I confess that God grants Remission of Sins, to those who receive Baptism, but they must take Pains to be made worthy of it; for who would be so bold, as to confer this Sacrament on a Person, of whose Repentance he has any reason to make a Doubt. You may impose upon the Minister, and so procure Baptism, by false Pretences; but God, who knows the Hearts, keeps his own Treasures himself, and does not grant his Grace, but only to those that are worthy of it; so that none can imagine that he may sin more freely, because being yet but a Catechumen, he shall receive the Remission of his Sins in Baptism; for this Sacrament is the Seal of Faith, and Repentance is the Beginning and Stamp of Faith. Lastly, We are not washed from our Pollutions by Baptism, only that we might sin no more, but because we have our Heart already purified: *Quia jam corde loti sumus*. The Second Part of this Treatise, is of Penance after Baptism, called *Exomologesis*. He declares at first, that he finds it difficult to discourse of this Second Repentance, which is the last Hope that remains to those who have committed any Crimes, that is to say, Enormous Sins after Baptism: Lett, says he, by treating of this new Means of recovering our selves from Sin, which God offers to us; it might seem as if we would open a Way for Sinning afresh. However, he says, that God foreseeing Man's Infirmities, and the Devil's Temptations, was willing, that though the Gate of Remission was shut, and the Grace of Baptism refused for ever to those who had forfeited their Baptismal Innocence; they should yet have one Remedy left, which is a Second Repentance, but that it is granted to them but once. He afterwards describes the laborious Exercises of this publick Penance, called *Exomologesis*. 'Tis, says he, an Exercise instituted to humble and abase the Sinner. It makes him lead a Life that is proper to prevail with God for Mercy; it makes him lie in Sack-cloth, and upon Ashes, entirely to neglect his own Body; it overwhelms his Mind with Grief and Sorrow; it reduces him to drink nothing but Water, and to eat nothing but Bread, and to take no more than what is necessary for his Sustainance; it obliges him to prolong his Prayers, and to feed them, if I may so say, by Fastings: It causes him to break out into Sighs, Groans and Tears, to cry Day and Night to the Lord, to cast himself at the Priest's Feet, and to prostrate himself before God's Favourites. Lastly, To conjure all his Brethren to pray to God for him, and to appease his Wrath by their Prayers. After having thus described the Fatigues of this *Exomologesis*, he shews the Necessity of it, and reproves those who were ashamed to embrace it, when they had committed Sins after Baptism.

His *Book of Prayer*, is a Discourse partly Moral, partly Ecclesiastical; for in the First Part, he explains the *Lord's Prayer*; and in the Second, he discourses of some particular Ceremonies, used in the *Prayers* of the Christians. First, he advises the Christians to be reconciled to their Brethren, to free their Minds from all sort of Trouble and Passion, to purify their Hearts from all Sin, before they betake themselves to Prayer; Secondly, He says that the Christians do not use to wash their Hands before Prayer, but that in Praying, they commonly lift their up towards Heaven. Thirdly, That it is not necessary to take off our Cloaks when we Pray, nor to sit always after Prayer. Fourthly, That we ought to pray with a modest Countenance, lifting our Hands towards Heaven. Fifthly, That our Voices must be low, that we must not speak louder than is necessary, to be heard. For, says he, it is not the Sound of our Words that God gives ear unto; but he regards the Intention of our Heart. Sixthly, That when we fast in private, and for the sake of Devotion, we must not abstain from the *Kiss of Peace*, as when it is a solemn Fast against the time of *Easter*. Seventhly, That the Stationary Days, that is to say, those Days when several of the Faithful continued in Prayer and Fasting till Three a Clock in the Afternoon; we must not abstain from assisting at the ordinary Prayers, as if it was necessary to break our Fast, as soon as we have received the Body of Jesus Christ. Your Station, says he, will be more solemn. Receive the Lord's Body, and keep it, and so you shall be Partakers of the Sacrifice, and you will perform your Devotion the better.

In his Book concerning *Idolatry*, he shews, that the Crime of Idolatry is not only committed by Sacrificing to Idols, but also several other ways, of which he gives us a very pretty Account. He pretends, that all those

Workmen who make Pictures, representing the False Gods; that the Astrologers, who have given to the Planets the Names of the Heathen Gods, and who attribute to them any Power and Efficacy; Professors of Rhetorick, who commend the Gods of the Heathens; the Merchants, that furnish Commodities for the Adorning the Temples, and offering Sacrifices to the Gods, are all guilty of Idolatry. He maintains, that it is not lawful for the Christians to Feast on those Days which the Pagans Solemnize in Honour of their Gods, nor to adorn their Houses with Torches and Laurels, in Honour of their Princes and Magistrates; that they may be allowed to go to the Weddings of their Kinsfolks, though Sacrifices be offered there; but that this is only to satisfy that Duty to which we were obliged, upon the Account of our Relation. That it is likewise lawful for Servants to follow their Masters to the Sacrifices, and for Christians to render to Heathen Emperors that which is their Due. But that they ought not to accept of Offices, nor bear Arms, at least, that they cannot do it without countenancing or Idolatry. Lastly, He does not acquit those of Idolatry, who attribute the Name of God to the pretended Deities of the Heathens, or who swear by their Name, whether it be through Custom or otherwise. And all this is grounded upon this most certain Principle, That all those who any ways favour the Wicked in their Vice, or contribute to Wickedness in any manner whatsoever, are themselves guilty; but *Tertullian* seems to stretch it a little too far in some Particulars, and to lay too great a Stress upon the Rigour of Things which might be excused: As for Example, To bear Arms for the Defence of the Empire, to Adorn their Houses with Torches and Laurels, in Honour of their Princes, and to make use of some ways of Speaking that are Customary, though they may have some Affinity to Idolatry.

And to the same purpose, defending in his Book *De Corona Militis*, the Action of a Soldier, who had refused to put a Crown upon his Head; he maintains that it is absolutely prohibited to the Christians to Crown themselves, and even to bear Arms. He speaks in this Discourse very advantageously of Custom and Tradition, and relates several remarkable Examples of Ceremonies, which he pretends to be derived from Tradition. To begin, says he, with Baptism, when we are ready to enter into the Water, and even before we make our Protestations before the Bishop, and in the Church, That we renounce the Devil, all his Poms and Ministers; afterwards we are plunged in the Water three times, and they make us answer to some Things which are not precisely set down in the Gospel; after that they make us taste Milk and Honey, and we bath our selves every day, during that whole Week. We receive the Sacrament of the Eucharist, instituted by Jesus Christ, when we Eat, and in the Morning-Assemblies, and we do not Receive it, but from the Hands of those that preside there. We offer Yearly Oblations for the Dead, in Honour of the Martyrs. We believe, that it is not lawful to Fast on a Sunday, and to pray to God kneeling. From *Easter* to *Whitsontide* we enjoy the same Privilege. We take great Care not to suffer any Part of the Wine and Consecrated Bread to fall to the Ground. We often Sign our selves with the Sign of the Cross; if you demand a Law for these Practices, taken from the Scripture, we cannot find one there; but we must answer, That 'tis Tradition that has established them, Custom that has authorized them, and Faith that has made them to be observed.

The Book concerning *Flight in time of Persecution*, is a further Mark of the Extream Rigour of *Tertullian*, for there he maintains, That it is absolutely Prohibited to Fly in time of Persecution, or to give Money not to be Persecuted.

The Book *De Pallio*, is a small Treatise, wherein he endeavours to prove, that he had reason to quit the *Toga*, or the long Roman Gown, and to wear a Cloak; he shews therein a great deal of Wit and Learning, and it seems as if he Composed it, rather to shew what he was capable of saying upon so trivial a Subject as this is, than seriously to defend the Action.

In his Book concerning *Publick Sights and Spectacles*, he dissuades the Christians from those Sights and Spectacles, shewing how these Pleasures are both shameful and dangerous to those who have Renounced the Poms and Pleasures of the World, and Idolatry.

There is no need of giving the Reasons why he wrote those Books concerning the *Ornaments and Dresses of Women*, since the Titles themselves do sufficiently shew against what Abuse they were written: So likewise the Title of the Book, that *Virgins ought to be Veiled*, does discover the Subject; but we are not to understand it only of Virgins Consecrated to God; for *Tertullian's* Design



*Tertullian.* Design is to prove, that young Women should be Veiled, that is to say, that they should have their Face covered in the Church: Which he undertakes to prove, contrary to the Custom of his Country, where only married Women were veiled. And upon this Account he speaks against this Custom, and maintains, that it cannot prescribe against Truth; which is true, when it relates to Doctrine, but not when it concerns only a Matter of Discipline, which is but of little Consequence.

In the First Book written to his Wife, he Exhorts her not to Marry again; and in the Second, he Advises her, that in case she will Marry again, to take a Christian for her Husband.

The Treatise of *Patience* is an excellent Exhortation to the Practice of this Virtue: In which Discourse, *Tertullian* sets forth with a great deal of Eloquence, all the Motives and Arguments, which might induce Christians to Patience, and dissuade them from Impatience.

The Discourse directed to the *Confessors*, whom he calls Martyrs, according to the ancient way of speaking, is likewise a very powerful Exhortation to those who were in Prison upon the Account of the Religion of Jesus Christ, to encourage them to bear with Patience their Chains and Torments, and to persevere with Constancy to the End; nothing can be more Pathetical and Moving than this little Discourse.

I have now nothing more to do, but to speak of those Books which *Tertullian* Composed against the Church, in Defence of the *Montanists*, and they are Four: His Book of *Modesty*, of *Monogamy*, an *Exhortation to Chastity*, and a *Treatise of Fasts*. In his Book of *Modesty*, he endeavours to prove against the Church, that it has no Power to Remit the Sins of Fornicators and Adulterers, and that when Men are once fallen into these Crimes after Baptism, they cannot be any more admitted into the Communion of the Church, how Penitent soever they may be. In his Book of *Monogamy*, and the *Exhortation to Chastity*, he absolutely condemns second Marriages, as being Adultery. Lastly, In his Discourse of *Fasts*, he commends the Excessive Fasts of the *Montanists*, who made several *Lents*, observing the Stationary Fasts, as if they had been expressly enjoined, making them to continue till Night, and not eating upon those Days any thing but Bread and Fruits, nor drinking any thing but Water. In all these Books, excepting his Book of *Exhortation to Chastity*, he formally attacks the Church, and the Catholics, whom he calls *Psychici*, and speaks every where very advantageously of *Montanus* and his Prophetesses, believing that the Holy Ghost had inspired them to set up and establish a more perfect Discipline. For as to what relates to the Rule of Faith, that is to say, to the principal Doctrines of Religion, *Tertullian* and the first *Montanists* were of the same Opinion with the Church: And therefore it is, that in this Book against *Praxeas*, he says, that he always believed in One only God, in three Persons, and that he still believes it more firmly, since he has been instructed by the *Paraclete* or Comforter: And in his Book which he wrote, to prove that *Virgins ought to be Veil'd*, he says, that excepting the Rule of Faith, which is immovable, and can no ways be changed, Manners and Customs that relate to Matter of Discipline may be reformed and altered. That it is this which the *Paraclete* has done by the Ministry of *Montanus*, who has instructed Men in a much more perfect Discipline than that which the Apostles had taught them, that Justice was with him in the Cradle while he was an Infant: That the Law and the Prophets were as it were the Infancy, that the Gospel was as it were the Youth, but that there was no complete Perfection to be found, but in the Instructions of the Holy Ghost, who spake by *Montanus*; for *Tertullian* and the first *Montanists* do not believe that *Montanus* was the Holy Ghost, but only that the Holy Ghost had inspired him, and sent him to Reform and Perfect the Discipline of the Church; and they did not attribute this Privilege only to *Montanus*, but also to several of his Disciples, and principally to Women; and they would have it believed, that there were among them several Persons who had Revelations, and prophesied Things to come. These Persons were sometimes strangely agitated, sometimes they fell into an Extasie. This Sect gave a respectful Attention to all that they said, either while they were thus agitated, or after they came to themselves, as it was believed that these were so many Revelations, of which it was not lawful to make any doubt; they allowed them to speak in their Assemblies when they would, and they believed that they had more Power and Authority than Priests and Bishops. And this was the Reason that there was but very little Order and Rule observed in their Assemblies. But as to

other things, they practised a very severe and austere Discipline; they for ever condemned not only those, who after their Baptism had committed Murder or Idolatry, but also those who had fallen into Fornication and Adultery, to lye under a perpetual Excommunication; They imposed new Fasts, and observed them very strictly, eating nothing but Bread and Fruits. They Condemned second Marriages; and they believed that it was not lawful to flee in Times of Persecution. As soon as ever this Sect appeared in the World, it deluded a great many Christians by that outward Shew of Perfection and Sanctity which it carried along with it. For on the one hand, the Austerity of their Lives added Weight and Credit to their Revelations; and on the other hand, their Revelations caused their Discipline to be embraced. Several good Men were immediately brought into the Snare, and in a short time we find the Churches of *Phrygia*, and afterwards other Churches divided upon the Account of these new Prophecies. Even the Bishop of *Rome* himself was imposed upon by them, and granted them Communicatory Letters, which he presently Revoked, being sensible of his Error. The Christians of the Church of *France* were more circumspect as to this Matter, and wrote to Pope *Victor* and the Churches of *Asia* concerning these new Prophecies, giving such a Judgment of them as was very discreet and agreeable to the Faith; as *Eusebius* tells us: But we do not certainly know what it was that they wrote, though it is very likely that they disapproved of these new Revelations, wishing nevertheless, that they would treat with Gentleness and Moderation, those who had suffered themselves to be surprized by Error, that so they might be induced to return into the Bosom of the Church. At length the Bishops of *Asia* having met together several times, to examine these new Prophecies, considering of what Consequence it was to put a Stop to their farther Progress, Condemned them, and Excommunicated as well those who were the Authors of them, as those that followed them. And this is all that I thought necessary to say concerning the Sect of the *Montanists*, and the Condition in which it was in *Tertullian's* time. We will now return to our Author, and speak of his Genius, his Style, and the Judgment that ought to be passed upon his Writings.

He was of a very quick, sprightly, and sharp Temper, but he had not all that Exactness and Clearness that might have been wished. There is very often more Glittering than Solidity in his Reasonings: He rather strikes and dazzles by his bold Expressions, than convinces by the Force of his Arguments. His Thoughts are far fetch'd, and sometimes lofty enough; the Turn which he gives them is high, but not very natural. He oftentimes stretches things too far. He is warm, and transported almost upon every thing. He is full of Figures and Hyperboles. He was very well furnished with Knowledge and Learning, which he sufficiently knew how to make use of to good purpose. His Excellency consisted in Satyr, his Jest is very ingenious and biting. He attack'd his Adversaries very cunningly, and overthrew them by a multitude of Reasons; which are interwoven, and, as it were, linked one within another. Lastly, If he does not persuade by his Reasonings, he at least forces Consent by that pompous way of Expression whereby he sets them out. His Style is Concise, his Expressions Emphatical, and there are in his Writings almost as many Sentences as Words. Yet *Lactantius* had reason to take notice of three considerable Defects in him. 'Tertullian, says he, was very well vers'd in the fine Learning, but his Style is neither fluent, nor polite, but very obscure. *In loquendo parum facilis, parum comis, et multum obscurus.* These three Faults in Style are common to him, with the greatest part of the *African Writers* (kk), but we may say, that they are in a very high Degree in *Tertullian*, and that there is not any Writer, whose Style is more harsh, less polite, and more obscure than his. All his Works are subject to these Defects, some more, and some less. He is more clear and concise in his Polemical Discourses, more obscure and harder in his common Places; as in the Book *De Pallio*, which is one of the obscurest Pieces of Antiquity. His Book of *Penance* is the most Polite of all. The most excellent, and the usefulest of his Works, are his *Apology*, the *Præscriptions*, his Books of *Penance*, of *Baptism*, of *Prayer*, and his *Exhortation to Patience*, and to *Martyrdom*.

After what we have said already, it is an easie matter to judge the true Character of *Tertullian*; But it is not so easie to determine, whether he be more to be commended, or Blamed: For first of all, if we were to make a Judgment, in relation to the Service which he did the Church, it would be difficult to say, whether he has done

(kk) These three Faults in Style are indeed to be found in the greatest part of the *African Writers*.] We must except *Minutius*, *St. Cyprian* and *Lactantius*, they had quite worn off that

way of Writing, though *St. Cyprian* still retains some relish of it.



*Tertullian.* more Hurt or Good. For on the one hand, he vigorously defended its Doctrine against several Hereticks, he maintained in some of his Works very considerable Points relating to Discipline; and lastly, he all along Establish'd an excellent Morality: But on the other hand, besides that he always had several Errors, he formally oppos'd the Discipline of the Church after he separated from it. And if we judge in the second Place by the Temper of the Man, there is so much of Good and Ill in it, that we cannot tell which of the two ought to carry it. Lastly, If we make a Judgment of him by his Style, we cannot tell whether he is to be Commended for what he has that is Great and Surprising, or to be Blamed, because of its other Defects and Imperfections. And thus Learned Men have always been, and are still extremely divided (II) in the Judgments which they have given, and which they still give of this Author; which makes me believe, that it is better to commend the Good, and to blame what is amiss, than to pretend to make an absolute Judgment, which would be always subject to a thousand Disputes.

In the last place, to speak briefly of the Editions of *Tertullian*, there has hardly been any Author, oftner Printed, and upon whom more Persons have bestowed their Pains. For which, two Reasons may be given, the Corruption of the Manuscripts, and his Obscurity, and these two Reasons are likewise the cause one of the other; for his Obscurity induced the Transcribers, who did not understand him, to alter some Words, that they might make such a Sense as they themselves understood: And the Corruptions of these Transcribers have been so far from clearing his Meaning, that they have rendered it still more Obscure; Which has been the occasion that this Author has given so much Trouble to all those that have hitherto set out any Editions of any part of his Works.

(II) And thus Learned Men have always been, and are still extremely divided.] We shall here set down some Judgments made by the Ancients and Moderns concerning *Tertullian*: St. Cyprian, by the Relation of St. Jerome, who was told it by a Priest that had heard it from a Secretary of St. Cyprian's, used every day to read something of his Works; and when he called for his Book, he said, Give me my Master. And in truth St. Cyprian has imitated him, and has borrowed a great many things from him. He has likewise compos'd the greatest part of his Works with the same design as *Tertullian*; as his Book of Idolatry, in imitation of *Tertullian's* Apology. His Books *De Disciplina & habitu muliebri, de zelo & livore, de Oratione Dominica, de opere & elemosynis*, were written in imitation of those of *Tertullian* upon the same Subject. Eusebius says of *Tertullian*, that he was one of the ablest of the Latin Writers, and that he has obtained a great Reputation in all the Churches.

*Lactantius* passes the Judgment which we have already related, which is not very advantageous to him. St. Hilary says in his Commentary upon St. Matthew, that the Error into which he fell, has taken away the Authority of his Books, which deserved Approbation. *Consequens error hominis detraxit scriptis probabilibus Auctoritatem.*

St. Jerome speaks sometimes very advantageously of him, as in his Catalogue, where he calls him a Man of a quick and sharp Wit; and in his Epistle to Magnus, he says that there was not any Author, who had more Learning and Subtily; but in other places he reprehends his Errors and Defects. In his Apology against *Ruffinus*, he says, I commend his Wit, but condemn his Heresies: and in his Book against *Helvidius*, who oppos'd to him *Tertullian's* Authority, he makes this Answer, *What I have to say to you concerning Tertullian, is, that he is not of the Church. Ecclesia hominem non esse.*

St. Austin commends *Tertullian's* Style, and always condemns his Error; in his Book *De Genesi ad Literam*, he says, that *Tertullian* having an excellent Apprehension, did sometimes discover the Truth, and that he could not forbear sometimes to establish it even against his own Opinions.

*Vincentius Lirinensis* gives a Character of *Tertullian* in these Words; *Tertullian*, says he, was among the Latins what Origen was among the Greeks, that is to say, the first and the most considerable Man they had. In a word, Is there any Author more knowing and better vers'd, both in Ecclesiastical and Profane Learning? Has he not compriz'd in his vast and prodigious Memory, all the Philosophy of the Sages, the Maxims of the different Sects, with their Histories, and what else appertained to them? Did he ever undertake to attack any thing, which he has not almost always, either pierced by the Vivacity of his Wit, or overthrown by the Force and Weight of his Reasonings? and who can sufficiently extol the Beauties of his Discourse, which is so well guarded, and linked together by a continual Chain of Arguments, that he even forces the Consent of those whom he cannot persuade; His Words are as so many Sentences. His Answers are almost so many Victories, as has been sufficiently experienced by the Marcions, the Apelles's, the Praxeas's, the Hermogenes's, the Jews, the Gentiles, the Gnosticks, and a great many others, whose Blasphemies he has silenced by great numbers of Books that have been as so many Thunderbolts which have reduced them to Ashes. And yet though he has had all these Advan-

*Rhenanus* was the first who published *Tertullian's* Works, which were first Printed at *Basil* in the year 1521. *Tertullian.* from two Manuscripts which he had got out of two Abbeys in Germany; and the second time in the year 1528. I have a great Esteem for the Arguments and Notes, which this excellent Person, who was very well vers'd in all Parts of Learning, and in Ecclesiastical Antiquity, has put at the beginning of the greatest part of *Tertullian's* Works: And I think that no Man has laboured more successfully than he in the Explication of this Author; and that *Rigaltius* has very well observed, that *Rhenanus* wanted nothing to have made his Work compleat, but more Manuscripts. Yet his Notes have been Censured by the Spanish Inquisition, and they have been put at *Rome* in the *Index Expurgatorius*, because of some Remarks which were a little too free upon the Abuses that were common in his time: But this ought not to diminish the Esteem we ought to have for him. We likewise find Editions of *Tertullian*, printed at *Basil* in the years 1525, 1536, 1539. But they are plainly Copies of the first Edition, wherein nothing is altered but the year. The third Edition of *Rhenanus* is the best, it was Printed at *Basil* in Folio in the year 1550. In this Edition, there are some Books corrected by *Gelenius* out of a Manuscript from England. The fourth was likewise Printed at *Basil* in 1562. The fifth is of *Paris*, Printed by *Guillard* in 1545. The sixth was Printed upon a very curious Letter in the year 1566, at *Paris* in two Volumes in Octavo, for *Volchelus*, and *Audoenus Parvus*. *Laurentius de la Barre* set forth a new Edition of *Tertullian*, Printed at *Paris* in 1580. Then *Pamelius* Published *Tertullian* with new Commentaries: His first Edition was in the year 1579, Printed at *Antwerp*. It was followed afterwards by that of 1583, Printed at *Paris* for *Sonninus*; and it was afterwards Printed at *Antwerp* by *Plantin*

tages, he did not continue in the Ancient and Universal Faith of the Church, and he has proved himself less faithful than Eloquent. At last he altered his Judgment, and his Error, as has been observed by that blessed Confessor St. Hilary, has taken away that Authority from his Writings, which otherwise they would have deserved.

I shall take no notice of the Judgment of *Trithemius*, *Rhenanus*, *Politian*, *Pamelius*, *Rigaltius*, and some other Moderns, which every body may consult upon occasion, and I shall conclude with the Judgments given by two of our French Authors, who have both given us Characters of *Tertullian*, but in a different way.

The first is the famous M. Balfac, in a Letter written to *Rigaltius*, which is the Second of the Fifth Book. 'I expect (says he) the *Tertullian* which you are publishing, that he may learn me that Patience, for which he gives such admirable Instructions; He is an Author to whom your Preface would have reconciled me, if I had had an Aversion for him, and if the Harshness of his Expressions, and the Vices of his Age had dissuaded me from reading him; but I have had an Esteem for him for a long time, and as hard and crabbed as he is, yet he is not at all unpleasant to me. I have found in his Writings, that Black Light which is mentioned in one of the ancient Poets, and I look upon his Obscurity with the same Pleasure, as that of Ebony which is very bright, and neatly wrought. This has always been my Opinion; for as the Beauties of *Africa* are not less amiable, though they are not like ours, and as *Sophonisba* has eclipsed several Italian Ladies, so the Wits of that Country are not less pleasing with this foreign sort of Eloquence, and I shall prefer him before a great many affected Imitators of *Cicero*; And though we should grant to the nicest Critics, that his Style is of Iron, yet they must likewise own to us, that out of this Iron he has forged most excellent Weapons; and that he has defended the Honour and Innocence of Christianity; that he has quite routed the *Valentinians*, and struck *Marcion* to the very Heart.

The second Character of *Tertullian*, is that which Father *Mallebranche* gives us in his *Recherche de Search after Truth*, in his Second Book, Chap. 3. *la Verité.*

'*Tertullian* (says he) was without doubt a Man of Extraordinary Learning, but he had more Memory than Judgment. He excelled more in his Fancy and Imagination, than in Judgment and true extent of Thought. There is no doubt to be made, but that at last he was an Enthusiast, in that sense which I have explained it, and that he had almost all the Qualities which I have attributed to these Fanaticks. That Respect which he had for the Visions of *Montanus*, and for his Prophetesses, is an unquestionable Proof of the Weakness of his Judgment. That Fire, those Heats, those Enthusiasms upon little Subjects, do evidently discover the Extravagancy of his Fancy: How many Irregular Transports are there in his Hyperboles and Figures? How many Pompous and Magnificent Reasons, which prove only by their glittering, and which persuade only by stunning and dazzling of the Understanding! He afterwards endeavours to shew that this is a true Picture, by making some Excerptions out of his Book *De Pallio*, which he thinks to be the most proper Book to justify what he affirms.



*Tertullian.* in 1584; at *Heydelberg* for *Commelin* in 1596, and 1599; at *Cologne* 1617; at *Geneva* in 1597, 1601, 1607; at *Zurich* by *Belley* in 1657; at *Paris* in 1608, in 1616, in 1634, in 1658, in 1664; and at *Roan* in 1662. The Commentaries of this Author are both Learned and Useful, but he digresses too much from his Subject, and he often brings in things, which are of no use for the understanding of his Author. *Tertullian's* Works have been likewise Printed according to *Pamelius's* Edition with *Junius's* Notes, at *Franker* in 1597. In the year 1627, *Rigaltius* Printed nine Treatises of *Tertullian* at *Paris* in Octavo, more Correct, from a Manuscript presented by *Agobardus*, who lived in the Ninth Century, to the Church of *Lions*, whereof he was Bishop, and he collated it with the various Readings of a Manuscript of *Monsieur Montchal*. In 1584, *Latinus Latinus* published his Conjectures to restore some Places of *Tertullian*, which he pretended were corrupted. *Pancirollus* also had taken pains upon *Tertullian*, but he published nothing. *Fulvius Ursinus*, Collected several various Readings from Manuscripts, and put them in the Margin of one of *Pamelius's* Editions of *Tertullian* which *Rigaltius* used. *Johannes Woerius* has likewise made some Notes upon *Tertullian*, as well as *Albaspinaeus*, who wrote several upon some Passages relating to Discipline and Penance. *Pithæus*, *Mercerus*, *Junius*, *Salmasius*, *Richerius*, *Theodorus Marsilius*, and some others, have made Remarks upon his Book *De Pallio*, Printed separately at *Paris* in 1576, and 1594, with *Junius's* Notes; In 1600, with those of *Salmasius*; In 1625, *Jacobus Gothofredus* published from the Manuscript of *Agobardus* the two Books to the Nations, which were never Printed before. They were Printed at *Geneva* for *Chouet*, together with the Commentaries of that Learned Lawyer.

*La Cerda* the Jesuit undertook to make a Continued Commentary upon *Tertullian's* Works, more ample than those which had been hitherto made: He began this Work, and caused two Volumes of it to be Printed at *Paris* in 1624, in 1630, and 1641; but he never finished it, and his Commentaries are only upon part of *Tertullian's* Books; and besides they are long and tedious, because he explains several things which need no Explication, and he very often leaves his Subject.

After all these, the Learned *Rigaltius* having Revised *Tertullian's* Works from the Manuscript of *Agobardus*, and making use of the various Readings Collected by *Ursinus*, *Pithæus*, and *Junius*, published the Text of *Tertullian* more Correct in very many places, and added some short Notes, to examine which of the two Readings is the truest, to reject or confirm some Conjectures, and to explain the most Difficult and Uncommon Words; And he has annexed at the end longer Observations, to explain the difficult Passages, or to clear some ancient Practices; or lastly, to discover some Point of Learning which was more difficult to be cleared. 'Where, it, 'says he, you find any Opinions that are a little too free, 'as about the Confession of Secret Sins, about the Face 'of *Jesus*, (which he believes was not at all Comely, 'grounding it upon the Testimony of *Tertullian*, and 'some others of the Ancients) and upon the Wax-Tapers 'which are lighted up in the Churches in the Day-time, 'you must not think that I have taken notice of them 'any otherwise, than as they were necessary to explain 'Tertullian's Notions, and not any ways to reprehend 'the Doctrine of the Catholick Church, or to disapprove

of the opinions of those Fathers, who lived after his time. Words by which *Rigaltius* endeavours to excuse *Tertullian*, those Opinions, which were too freely inserted sometimes by him in his Notes, as well upon *St. Cyprian* as *Tertullian*; But I do not know whether this Excuse will satisfy every Body, for it must be confessed, that there are some places, wherein he sufficiently shews, that he speaks according to his own Opinion, rather than according to that of his Author, and in which he even digresses from his Subject, to make Observations which are sometimes not very agreeable to the present Practice of the Church; But though we might have some reason to tax some of his Notes as to what relates to Divinity; yet we must confess on the other side, that the Notes and Remarks which he has made relating to Criticism, Grammar, and the Explication of some difficult Passages of *Tertullian*, are very excellent. However he is generally blamed for being too bold in his Conjectures, and that he has not been exact enough in Revising his Author from ancient Manuscripts; And lastly, that he has inserted his Conjectures, and other Mens into the Text, without the Authority of any Manuscripts.

The Bookseller, who Printed the *Tertullian* of *Rigaltius* in 1634, being willing to make the Work as Complete as he could, Printed in 1635, in a Volume by it self, the Notes and Commentaries of those who had taken Pains upon *Tertullian* before him, that so we might have all that had been done upon this Author, excepting the Commentaries of *La Cerda*. This Volume joyned to the Edition of *Rigaltius's Tertullian* of 1634, which was afterwards Reprinted in 1641, is the perfectest Edition of this Author.

It has been since Printed in 1664, which is not so large, but more Commodious, wherein they have put in the Margin the entire Notes and Observations of *Rigaltius*, together with others selected from those of *Rhenanus*, *Pamelius*, *Albaspinaeus*, *La Cerda*, and *Salmasius*, &c. together with the Corrections of *Mercerus*. *Priorius*, who had the Care of this Edition, has put at the beginning a Preface, which he calls, *A Discourse concerning the Life and Errors of Tertullian*, that is not exactly done, any more than this Authors Notes; which have not found a General Esteem among the Learned.

I do not speak of the Edition of *Tertullian* published by Father *George*, which he caused to be Printed at *Paris* in 1648, and 1650, in three great Volumes, which he has Entituled *Tertullianus Redivivus*, because there is nothing in this Edition worth taking notice of; and those long and tedious Commentaries which this Capuchin has made, can be of no advantage to the Ignorant, nor of any use to the Learned.

It would be a desirable thing to have a new Edition of *Tertullian* Printed, the Text whereof should be exactly agreeable to the best Manuscripts, without inserting the Conjectures of particular Persons. And they ought likewise to add a Choice Collection of those Notes which are the most useful, taken from all the Commentators; And lastly, they should not range the Books according to the Order of Time, but according to the Order of the Matters, as we have done in giving an Abridgment of the Books, and to prefix at the beginning, The Life of *Tertullian*, and a Criticism upon his Writings; like that which we have done here in *French*, but larger, and more exact.

## CAIUS.

*Caius.* **C**AIUS a Priest of the Church of *Rome* (a), lived in the time of the Popes *Zephyrin* and *Victor*, that is to say under the Emperors *Severus* and *Antoninus*. He wrote a Treatise by way of Dialogue (b) against a famous Montanist called *Proclus* or *Proculus* (c), wherein he reprehended, and accused this Heretick for giving credit too rashly to those new Prophecies, and at the same time confuted his Reasons. *Eusebius* speaks of this Treatise in three Places: The first is in Chap. 25. of the Second Book of his History, where he quotes a Fragment of it relating to the Sepulchers of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, which were to be

seen at *Rome* in this Authors time. The second is in Chap. 28. of the third Book, where he speaks of the Heretick *Cerinthus* in these Terms. 'Cerinthus tells us in 'some Revelations which he had written (as if he had 'been a great Apostle) prodigious Things, which, as he 'said, he had learn'd from the Angels, assuring us, That 'after the Resurrection, Christ should have an Earthly 'Kingdom, and that Men should live in *Jerusalem*, 'where they should enjoy Carnal and Sensual Pleasures, 'and spend a Thousand years in continual Marriages and 'Jollity. The third place wherein *Eusebius* speaks of *Caius* is in his Sixth Book, Chap. 20. where he says, that

(a) A Priest of the Church of *Rome*.] *Eusebius* and *St. Jerome* tell us plainly, that he was a Priest, and that he lived in *Zephyrin's* time; but they do not say that he was a Roman. His Treatise was Compos'd in Greek; *Photius* is the First, who affirms expressly, that he was a Priest of the Church of *Rome*; and he adds, that he was ordained Bishop of the *Geniles*.

(b) By way of Dialogue.] *Eusebius* calls it, *Βιβλίον διαλέξεων*, that is to say, a Book of Dialogues; and *Caius* and *Proclus*, seem to have been the Persons who speak therein, for *Eusebius* in

his Third Book, relates the Words of *Proclus* taken from this Dialogue.

(c) *Proclus* or *Proculus*.] The Sect of the Montanists was divided into two Parties, the one were *καὶ πνεύματος*, and the others *καὶ λογισμῶν*, as it is observed in that small Abridgment of Heresies, at the end of *Tertullian's* Prefcriptions. It is thought that this *Proclus* was the same with *Proculus* the African, who was likewise a Montanist, and of whom *Tertullian* speaks; but this is not likely; for he, against whom *Caius* writes was a Greek, and was called *Proclus*, and not *Proculus*.



Caius.

*Caius*, condemning the Boldness by which the Enemies of the Church do counterfeit some Books of Scripture, reckons but 13 Epistles of St. Paul, not counting that which was written to the Hebrews among the number of this Apostle's Writings. Lastly the same *Eusebius* in his Third Book, Chap. 21. recites some Words relating to the Daughters of Philip the Deacon, taken from this Author's Dialogue.

*Eusebius* and St. Jerome make no mention of the other Works of *Caius*, but the Learned *Photius* tells us, That he had likewise composed a Treatise against the Heresie of *Artemon*, who believed that Jesus Christ was only a meer Man, and that he was the Author of a Book Entituled, *The little Labyrinth* (d), from whence *Eusebius* has taken the Passage concerning the Penance of *Natalis*. *Photius* likewise attributes to him a Treatise *Of the Universe*, or *Of the Nature of the Universe*, or of the Causes thereof, which went in his time under the Name of *Josephus*; Let us see what he says of it. 'This Work contains two little Books, wherein he shews that *Plato* contradicts himself; he convinces the Philosopher *Alcinous* (e) of several Falsities and Absurdities concerning Matter and the Resurrection; he opposes his own Opinions to those of this Philosopher, and shews that the Jews are a much more ancient People than the Greeks; he believes that Man was compounded of Fire, Earth, and Water, and of a Spirit which is called the Soul, of which he speaks in these Terms: God has form'd this Spirit together with the Body, and taking the principal part from thence, he has caused it to pene-

(d) *The little Labyrinth*.] We have observed, that *Eusebius* does not Name the Author of this Fragment, but that *Theodoret* ascribes it to the Author of the *Labyrinth*, and on the other hand, *Photius* informs us, that *Caius* was the Author of that Book, and proves it, because the Author of the *Labyrinth* says, That he wrote a Treatise concerning the Universe, whence it would follow, that it was *Caius* who was the Au-

trate and fill up all its Members; so that extending it self throughout the whole Body, he has taken the form from thence; but it is of a colder Nature than Matter, of which the Body is compounded. This Opinion, which supposes that the Soul is Corporeal, (if nevertheless he acknowledges no other Soul in a Man than this Spirit) this Opinion, I say, is quite different from the Doctrine of the Hebrews, and does not agree with the greatness of his other Notions. To conclude, as the same *Photius* adds, (from whom we have only translated his words) he speaks of Jesus after a very Orthodox Manner. For he calls him Christ, and speaks of his ineffable Generation from the Father, after such a manner as is no ways to be reprehended; which gives us occasion to doubt whether this be the Work of *Josephus* or not; though the Style very much resembles that of this Historian. He adds also afterwards, that he has found and observed that this Book was written by *Caius* Author of the *Labyrinth*; but that not bearing the Name of its Author, some have attributed it to *Justin Martyr*, others to *Irenaeus*; though in reality it was composed by *Caius*. The proof which he brings for it, is, That the Author of the *Labyrinth*, whom he believes to be *Caius*, says, towards the end, that he was the Author of the Book concerning the Nature of the Universe; but this Argument is not absolutely convincing. For it is not certain, that *Caius* was the Author of the Book of the *Labyrinth*, which some have attributed to *Origen*, and 'tis likely enough that there might be two several Books of Different Authors, which might have very near the same Title.

thor of this Fragment; but I should rather believe it to be taken out of the Book, which he Composed against *Artemon*. *Eusebius* says, that the Book from whence he produces this Fragment, was written against his Heresie, and the Passages which he brings from thence do clearly shew it.

(e) *The Philosopher Alcinous*.] He wrote a Treatise, wherein he makes a Comparison between *Aristotle* and *Plato*.

## HIPPOLITUS.

Hippolitus.

*HIPPOLITUS*, who was according to the Relation of some, Bishop of *Ostia* in *Italy* (a), and according to others Metropolitan of *Arabia*, suffer'd Martyrdom (b), under the Reign of the Emperor *Alexander*. He made himself considerable by the Commentaries which he composed upon the Holy Scripture (c). *Eusebius* and St. Jerome assure us, that he had written upon the Six Days Work, upon *Genesis*, *Exodus*, the *Canticles*, the *Psalms*, the Prophet *Zachary*, the Prophet *Isaiah*, upon some places of *Ezechiel*, upon *Daniel*, the *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiasticus*, and the *Apocalypse*; and that he composed Two Treatises, the One concerning *Saul*, and the other concerning the *Witch of Endor*. Besides these Works upon the Scripture, he likewise wrote a Treatise concerning *Anti-Christ*, a Discourse concerning the Resurrection, a Work against all the Heresies, and one in particular against that of *Marcion*; a Discourse concerning *Easter*, wherein he has given a kind of Chronicle, to the first Year of the Emperor *Alexander*; and a Paschal Cycle for Sixteen years. He likewise made one or more Homilies in the Praise of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which he recited in the Presence of *Origen*, who followed and imitated him in the Works, which he composed upon the Holy Scripture. There is a Catalogue of his Works upon the side of a Statue found near *Rome*, where his Paschal Cycle was affixt; several Books are

(a) *Bishop of Ostia in Italy*.] St. Jerome, in his Catalogue, says, that he does not know of what City he was Bishop. *Gelasius*, in his Book *De duabus Naturis*, citing *Hippolitus*, says, that he was Metropolitan of *Arabia*. *Nicephorus* makes him Bishop of *Pontus*: It is more likely that he was a Bishop of *Arabia*, than of *Italy*: For it is certain that he was of the East, and St. Jerome observes in one of his Homilies, that *Origen* was his Scholar; some have said that he was the Disciple of St. *Clemens*, and this is very probable.

[*Monsieur le Moyne's* Conjecture, that *Hippolitus* was Bishop of *Portus Romanus*, now called *Aden* in *Arabia* is most probable; for it was an easy mistake for those who knew nothing of this *Arabian Portus*, to imagine, that he was called *Portuensis* from the *Portus Romanus*, by *Ostia* in *Italy*, especially since there has been so current a Tradition of his suffering Martyrdom in *Italy*.

(b) *Suffered Martyrdom*.] St. Jerome, in the Preface to his Commentaries upon St. *Matthew*, calls him a Martyr, and in the Martyrologies, he is rankt in the Number of Martyrs. It is certain, that he suffered Martyrdom in *Italy*, and perhaps at *Ostia*: His Acts are forged and counterfeit. It is affirmed herein, that he suffered Martyrdom under *Claudius*, it should have been under *Alexander*; and *Ulpianus*, who is

here omitted, mentioned by *Eusebius* and St. Jerome; but there are others (d), of which they have not spoken: *Hippolitus*. The Catalogue is this. The Works of *Hippolitus*, upon the Penitential Psalms, concerning the Witch of Endor, upon the Gospel of St. John, and the Apocalypse, concerning the Gifts of God. Apostolical Tradition, a Chronicle, a Book written to the Greeks, another upon *Plato*, or concerning the World, an Exhortation to Severina, a Demonstration of the Time of Easter in a Table, Odes upon the whole Scripture, a Discourse of God, of the Resurrection of the Flesh, of Good, and from whence Evil Proceeds. This Catalogue does not appear to me, to be so faithful and exact, as that of *Eusebius* and St. Jerome, who own besides, as well as *Honorius Augustodunensis* after them, that *Hippolitus* writ several other Treatises, whereof they had not any Knowledge. And we have now almost entirely lost, even those of which *Eusebius* and St. Jerome have given the Catalogue.

There goes indeed under his Name, a small Discourse, Printed at *Paris* in Greek, with the Version of *Picus Mirandula*, in the Year 1557, and afterwards in 1660, and inserted into the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, with this Title; *Of the end of the World, Anti-Christ, and the Second Coming of Jesus Christ*. But it is very uncertain, whether this be the Treatise of *Anti-Christ* (e) attributed to *Hippolitus*, and mentioned by *Eusebius*. The Title being

mentioned in these Acts, perhaps may be *Ulpianus*, who was Governor of *Rome* in the time of this last Emperor.

(c) *Which he composed upon the Holy Scripture*.] St. Jerome says, that *Origen* being cited by his Friend *Ambrosius*, undertook to write Commentaries upon the Sacred Scripture, in imitation of *Hippolitus*.

(d) *But there are others*.] 'Tis very like that it is a Collection of Homilies, which was extant in *Theodoret's* time, who cites several of them, which perhaps might make a part of his Commentaries upon the Scripture.

(e) *It is very uncertain whether this be the Treatise of Anti-Christ*.] The Books of *Hippolitus* were Entituled *Of the Resurrection*, and *Of Anti-Christ*, according to the relation of *Eusebius*, and St. Jerome: This is Entituled, *Of the End of the World*, &c. This Style is mean and Childish, whereas that of *Hippolitus* was grave and lofty. This Treatise begins with *ἰν αὐτῷ*. There are a great many trifling Conjectures concerning the Birth, and the Life of *Anti-Christ*; he believes that he is to be a Devil; he says that St. John is not Dead, which is contrary to ancient Tradition: He cites the *Apocalypse* instead of *Daniel*; he holds that the Souls of Men have been from all Eternity, which agrees with *Origen's* Opinion: in a word, this Treatise is worth very little.

different.



*Hippolitus.* different from that related by *Eusebius*; the Style mean and Childish: And lastly, The Fables and Falshoods which it contains, give us sufficient Ground to doubt it. There is another Treatise of Christ and Anti-Christ, which bears the Name of *Hippolitus*, published in Greek by *Gudius*, which Father *Combesis* has caused to be Printed in Greek and Latin, in the last Volume of the Supplement to the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. Though this Treatise be more ancient than that which was published before under *Hippolitus*'s Name, yet does it not appear to me worthy of this Author. Those that read the Commentary upon the History of *Susanna*, and the Greek Fragment upon *Daniel*, which are Printed in the same Place, will pass the same Judgment upon them.

The *Demonstration against the Jews*, Published in Latin by *Turrianus*, and inserted by *Possivinus* into his *Apparatus*, is a fragment of some Homily, or of some other Book of that Nature. It is not certain, whether it be written by *Hippolitus*. There was found at *Basil*, a Treatise upon the *Apocalypse*, attributed to *Hippolitus*; but it is doubted whether it be his, because of the meanness of the Style, and the little Learning there is in it, as *Sixtus Senensis* has observed. The Collections, or rather the Extracts taken by *Anastafius* the Library-Keeper, out of the Sermons of *Hippolitus*, upon some points of Divinity, and upon the Incarnation, against *Bero* and *Helix*, Hereticks of the Sect of the *Valentinians*, published by *Turrianus* and *Canisius*, and related in Greek by *Anastafius*, in his Collections set forth by *Sirmondus*, seem to be very ancient; but it is not certain whether they belong to *Hippolitus*. We must make the same Judgment of the Homily, Entitled, *Of One Only God in Three Persons, and of the Incarnation against the Heresie of Noetus*, which is published by *Vossius*, with the Works of *Gregorius Thaumaturgus*; but though it was not really written by *Hippolitus*, yet it contains the Principles of the Ancients concerning the Trinity (f).

That little Work, *Of the Lives of the Twelve Apostles*, which Father *Combesis* caused to be Printed from a Manuscript in the King's Library, in his Supplement to the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, is not *Hippolitus*'s, and contains several Fictions of the modern Greeks (g), relating to the Deaths of the Apostles. We must say the same of a Book written much upon the like Subject, concerning the Seventy two Disciples (h) of Jesus Christ, which was in the Library of Cardinal *Sirletus*, which *Baronius* mentions in his Notes upon the Martyrology upon the Ninth Day of April.

*Photius* had read *Hippolitus*'s Book against the Hereticks, and gives us this account of it. 'I have read the little Book of *Hippolitus*, who was Disciple of St. *Irenaeus*, against Two and thirty Heresies: He begins with the *Dositheans*, and he goes on as far as *Noetus* and the *Noetians*. He says that all these Heresies have been confuted by St. *Irenaeus*, and that he has collected in this little Book, the Reasonings and Arguments of this Father.

(f) *The Principles of the Ancients concerning the Trinity.*] These Principles are, that the WORD was from all Eternity in the Father, as being his Wisdom, his Power, and his Counsel; that when he designed to create the World, he did, if I may so say, put him without him; and this is that which they call Generation: That it is by him that he created the World; and that he governs it; that it is he who made himself visible to Men; who spake to the Patriarchs and the Prophets; who gave the Law, and who at last became Incarnate; that conformable to this Oeconomy, we acknowledge Three Persons in God, which nevertheless make but one only God; that the WORD before he took Flesh, had nor perfectly the Quality of the WORD, and that we may say, that he was begotten of the Father; That we ought to believe that the WORD descending from Heaven into the Womb of the Virgin *Mary*, took therein a reasonable Soul, and everything that belongs to human Nature, Sin only excepted, and all this in order to save Man, who fell by the Sin of *Adam*, and to render him Immortal, &c.

(g) *Several Fictions of the Modern Greeks.*] Such as these following, That St. *Andrew* was Crucified upon an Olive Tree: That the Relicks of St. *John* were not found in his Sepulchre, that St. *Bartholomew* was Crucified with his Head downward; that St. *Thomas* Preached among the *Magi*; that he was run thorough, in four Places with a Lance made of Deal in the City of *Salamis*; that *Thaddaeus* preached the Gos-

pel in *Mesopotamia*; Things which are taken from the Fictions of the Modern Greeks, as from *Sophronius* and others. (h) *Concerning the Seventy two Disciples.*] This is manifestly the same with the false *Dorotheus*. (i) *Near Rome.*] Near the Church of St. *Laurence*, in a Place where there was in all probability a Chappel to *Hippolitus*. The Statue is of Marble, representing *Hippolitus* sitting in a Chair, on the sides of which, there are two Cycles, for Eight Years each; on the Right side is that of the 14 Days of the Moons, and on the Left, that for the Sundays. On the side of this Cycle, there is a Catalogue of *Hippolitus*'s Works, which we have already set down. This Cannon is the most ancient Paschal Cycle that we have. (k) *Lastly Theodoret relates some considerable Fragments of Hippolitus.*] He cites some from an Oration upon these words of *Isaiah*, *Dominus pascit me*, &c. from his Sermon upon *Hannah* and *Elkanah*, from an Homily upon the beginning of *Isaiah*, from a Book concerning the Distribution of Talents; and lastly, from a Letter to a Queen (which some believe to be *Mammae*, the Mother of *Alexander*, others, one called *Severa*) whose Name is mentioned in the Catalogue of this Authors Works which was on the side of his Statue; from an Oration upon *Canticles*, from an Interpretation of the Second *Psalms*, and from the three and twentieth Oration upon the two Thieves. See the Tradition related by *Theodoret* at the end of his Three Dialogues.



*Hippolitus.* [The Catalogue of *Hippolitus's* Works, taken from the Roman Marble, is so very uncorrect in Monsieur *Du Pin*, that I shall translate it anew from the Greek Copy, with some few Notes upon it to explain it. *Hippolitus.*

*Commentaries upon the Psalms.*

*Of the Witch of Endor.*

*Commentaries upon the Gospel according to St. John, and the Revelations.*

*Of Spiritual Gifts.*

*Apostolical Tradition.*

*Chronicles; or Chronological Accounts of Time. (a)*

(a) *Accounts of Time.*] This Dr. *Cave* joyns with the next Line, and so makes but one Title thus, *Chronicles to the Greeks*: But as the Marble lies in *Gruter*, (from whom Dr. *Cave* transcribed it) *Χρονικὴν* makes one Line, and *περὶ Ἑλλήνων* another; now for the most part one Line makes a whole Title, were the Conjunction *καὶ* does not connect more together, especially where a compleat Sense can be made by such a Division: But here the *καὶ περὶ Παλαιοῦ* must be joyned with *περὶ Ἑλλήνων*, and a Discourse upon a Philosophical Subject, concerning the Universe against *Plato*, and other Greek Philosophers, has no great Coherence with a Chronology.

(b) *Severina.*] This according to Monsieur *le Moynes* is faulty, and should be read *περὶ Σεβήρης* 'Av, to *Severa Augusta*; and his Reason is, because *Theodoret* speaks of a Letter written by this *Hippolitus* to a certain *Queen* *Περὶ Σεβήρης*. This reason is not sufficient to me, for Inscriptions upon Marbles, when drawn by skilful Men, are Copied by the the Graver with more Care than ordinary books by Transcribers: and because we cannot tell who this *Severina* was,

*Against the Greeks, and against Plato, or concerning the Universe.*

*An Exhortation to Severina. (b)*

*A Demonstration of the Time of Easter, as it is in the Table.*

*Odes upon all the Scriptures. (c)*

*Of God and the Resurrection of the Flesh.*

*Of Good, and whence cometh Evil.*

therefore it does not follow either, that *Hippolitus* did not write such a Letter to her, or that he might not write another to an Empress, which *Theodoret* might have seen and quoted.

(c) *All the Scriptures.*] This *Du Pin* has rightly translated; *Le Moynes* tells us, that it should be *πᾶσαι τὰς ἀποκάλυψεις*, upon all Heresies. Heresies seem to be as improper things to write Hymns upon, as one would wish. But the Historical Parts of Scripture will afford Matter enough for the loftiest Genius to work upon. Dr. *Cave* does deservedly throw aside *Le Moynes's* Conjecture, though it seems strange that he should not discern that the received Reading was true.

*Scaliger's* Conjectures of the two first Lines, which are almost all eaten away, is too rash; he takes the Letters *us* and *us* to be parts of the Words *ἡμεῖς μετὰ νοῦν*, from whence he concludes, that *Hippolitus* wrote Commentaries upon the Seven Penitential Psalms; but (as Dr. *Cave* observes) that Word applied to those Psalms was unknown in that Age, and what to put in the room of it, is hard to assign, and so I left it out.

## GEMINIANUS or GEMINUS.

*Geminianus or Geminus.* **W**E joyn *Geminianus*, or *Geminus* (a), a Priest of *Antioch* to *Hippolitus* the Martyr, because they both flourished under the Reign of *Alexander*, and because he is spoken of in *Eusebius's* *Chro-*

*nicon* in the same place, where *Hippolitus* is mentioned. We know nothing of the Works of this Author. Only *Geminianus* or *Geminus*. *St. Jerome* assures us, that he left behind him some Pieces which were Monuments of his Parts.

(a) *Geminianus or Geminus.*] He is called by *Eusebius* in his *Chronicon*, *Geminianus*; and by *St. Jerome*,

in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, *Geminus*.

## ALEXANDER.

*Alexander.* **A**lexander, a Bishop in *Cappadocia*, being come to *Jerusalem*, to visit the Holy Places that are there, when *Narcissus*, who governed that Church, was not capable himself alone, by reason of his great Age, to discharge all the Duties of the Episcopal Office; the Christians of that City retained *Alexander*, and made him his Co-adjutor, by the Consent of the Bishops of the neighbouring Churches. It is said that they had a Revelation, and heard a Voice, advising them to chuse him Bishop; and indeed there needed nothing less than a Miracle, to authorize an Election so extraordinary as this (a), and for which there had yet been no President. He governed this Church jointly with *Narcissus*, as his Colleague. See what he says of it at the Conclusion of a Letter written to the *Antinoites*. 'Narcissus, who held before me the Episcopal See, and who is now united (b) with me in Prayers, being an hundred and sixteen years old, sends you Greeting; and exhorts you to be all of one and the same Mind.'

(a) *An Election so extraordinary as this.*] There were two things in this Ordination which were New, and contrary to the Laws of the Church. The first was the Translation of a Bishop to another See: The second, the making a Coadjutor to a Bishop whilst living.

(b) *Who is now united.*] It appears by this, that *Alexander* was not only Coadjutor, but that he alone had the Care of

*Alexander.* *Alexander* being in Prison in the time of the Persecution under *Severus*, wrote likewise a Letter to those of *Antioch*, wherein he congratulates them upon the Ordination of *Asclepiades*, who succeeded *Serapion* in that See: He sent this Letter by *Clemens*, as it is believed of *Alexandria* (c). Besides, he wrote a Letter to *Origen*, of which *Eusebius* recites a Fragment in the 14th Chapter of the 6th Book of his History, where he says, that he was a Friend of *Pantenus*, and of *Clement* of *Alexandria*, and that these Men made him acquainted with *Origen*. And last of all, he sent a Letter to *Demetrius*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, which he wrote along with *Theoctistus*, Bishop of *Casarea*, in favour of *Origen*, wherein he proves by several Examples, that Bishops may invite those that are proper for instructing the People, to preach in their Presence: he wrote besides several other Letters, of which we have nothing remaining. He suffered Martyrdom at *Casarea* in the time of the Persecution, under the Emperor *Decius*.

the Church, that *Narcissus* did not concern himself with any thing, and that he had no more than barely the Honour.

(c) *As it is believed of Alexandria.*] *St. Jerome* believes that it was *St. Clement* of *Alexandria*, and this may very well be, For he lived till this time, and he was intimately acquainted with *Alexander*, to whom he dedicated a Book concerning the Ecclesiastical Rule. *Eusebius*, Lib. 6. Cap. 13.

## JULIUS AFRICANUS.

*Julius Africanus.* **J**ulius Africanus, who was of *Palestine* (a), though older than *Origen* (b), is believed to have been the Disciple of *Heraclas*, because being drawn by his Reputation, he came to *Alexandria* to confer with

(a) *Who was of Palestine.*] Some have confounded him with *Sextus Africanus* of *Lybia*; but this is an Error: For our Author was of *Palestine*, and lived there, whereas the other was only of *Lybia*.

(b) *Older than Origen.*] In the Letter which he wrote to *Origen*, he calls him his Son, and he continues his Chronicle no farther than to the time of *Heliogabalus*, which shews that he was older than *Origen*.

(c) *To confer with him.*] *Heraclas* was undoubtedly Bishop

him (c). He was deputed by the Emperor *Alexander* (d), to cause the City of *Emmianus* to be repaired, which was afterwards called *Nicopolis*. He particularly applied himself to Chronology and History, and composed an exact

of *Alexandria*, when he came into this City. He says as much himself in his Chronicle, according to the Relation of *Eusebius*, lib. 6. cap. 3. and of *Bede de Sex. at.* page 86. of *Ado*, and others.

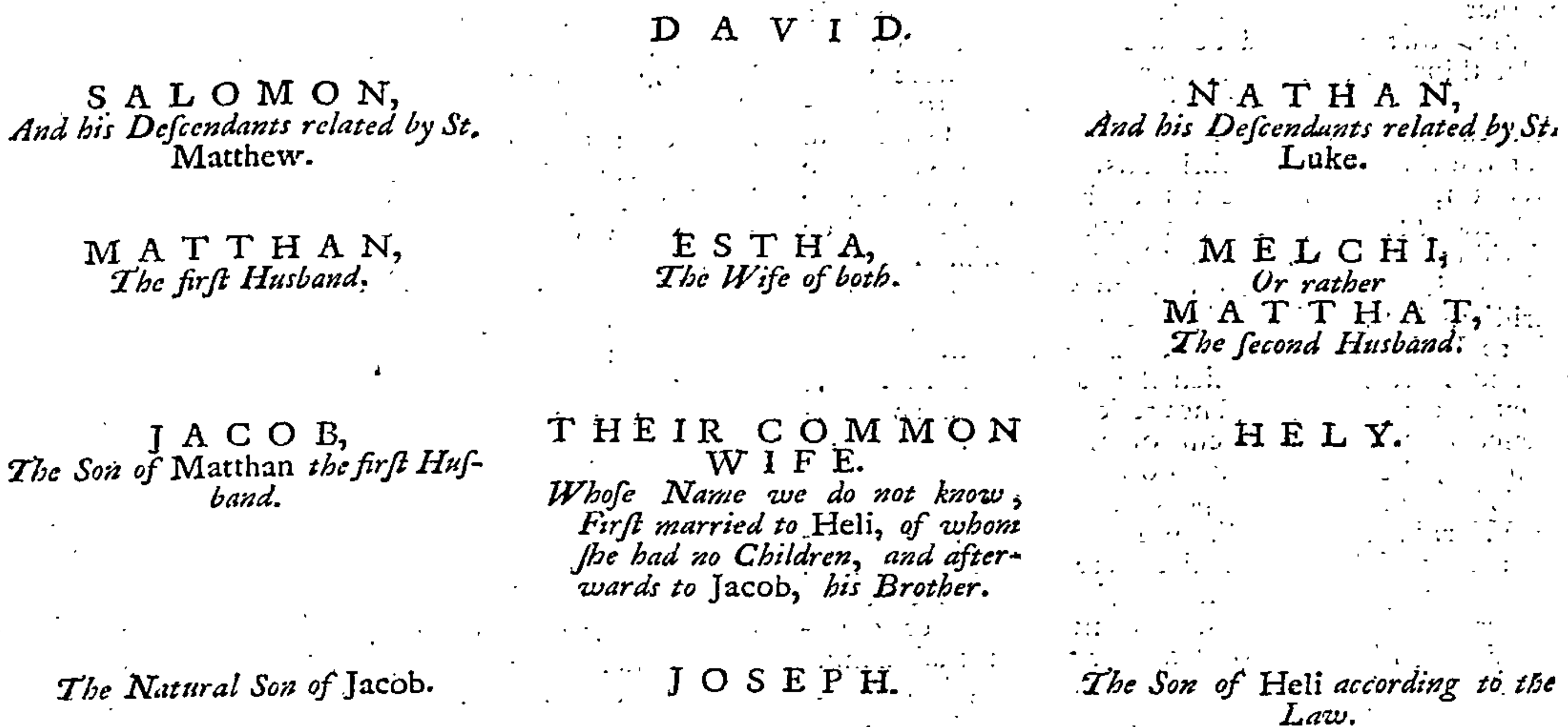
(d) *By the Emperor Alexander.*] This Embassy was under *Alexander* the Son of *Mammea*, and not under *Heliogabalus*. That which made *Eusebius* mistake, is because *Africanus's* Chronicle went no farther than the time of *Heliogabalus*.



Chronicle (e), divided into five Books, from the Beginning of the World, to the third year of the Reign of *Heliogabalus* (f), wherein he gave a brief Account of the most remarkable Accidents from the Beginning of the World, to the time of Jesus Christ, and related in few Words all that had happened since Christ's time, to that wherein he wrote. We have not this famous Work at present under *Africanus's* Name. But *Eusebius* has inserted it almost entire in his *Chronicon*, altering and adding some few things, and correcting some of his Mistakes. We have still some of his Fragments in two Works, published by *Scaliger*, of which one is Latin, and is called *Chronological Extracts*, taken out of *Eusebius* and *Africanus*; and the other is Greek, and Entitled, *A Collection of Histories*.

Besides this Chronicle, he wrote two Letters upon two important Questions relating to the Scripture: The first directed to *Aristides*, was written to reconcile that seeming Contradiction, which is found in the Account given of the Genealogy of Jesus Christ by St. *Luke* and St. *Matthew*. *Eusebius* gives us a considerable part of this

Letter, in the fifth Chapter of the seventh Book of his History. And in order to reconcile this Difference, he has recourse to that Law of Adoption, that took place among the *Jews*, and which obliged the Brothers to marry their Brothers Wives who died without Children. He says then, that *Matthan*, who descended from *David* by *Salomon*, married a Wife named *Estha*, by whom he had *Jacob*: But that after the Death of *Matthan*, this same Woman married *Melchi* (he should have said *Matthat*) who descended from *David* by *Nathan*, of whom she had a Son named *Heli*, and that so *Heli* and *Jacob* were Brothers by the Mothers-side; and that *Heli* dying without Children, *Jacob* was obliged to marry his Widow, of whom he had *Joseph* the Husband of *Mary*, who was by Consequence natural Son to *Jacob*, and the Son of *Heli* according to the Law; and descended from *Salomon* by *Jacob*, and from *Nathan* by *Heli*. This way of reconciling the Evangelist, as to the Genealogy of Jesus Christ, is very easie, and has hardly any Difficulty in it; but that every Body may readily comprehend it, we shall represent it in the following Table.



The Second Letter of *Africanus*, relating to the History of *Susanna*, was written to *Origen*, who had in a Conference cited the Prophet *Daniel*, to vindicate the Innocence of *Susanna*. *Africanus* writes to him, that he admires that he does not look upon this Part of *Daniel* as fictitious, and that this whole History is no more than a Fable. The Reasons which he brings for this Opinion, are very learned and ingenious, and there was a Necessity for so great a Man as *Origen* to answer him; and yet it seems as if *Africanus* wrote to him, rather to be instructed in the Truth, than with any Design of Disputing against him.

(e) And composed an exact Chronicle.] *Eusebius* gives it the Name of a *Coronography*, and St. *Jerome* styles it a *History of the Times*: *Photius* and *Bede* call it a *Chronicle*. It contained the Origine and Succession of all the Monarchies and Commonwealths, and he annexed to the end thereof, a kind of Table, called a *Canon*, wherein he disposed under every Year, what he had before observed successively. St. *Basil* cites a Passage from thence, relating to the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, in the 29th Chapter of his Book, *de Spiritu Sancto*.

(f) The Reign of *Heliogabalus*.] *Photius*, who had seen it, says, that his Chronicle went no farther than the Reign of *Macrinus*. But the Computation of years, and a Fragment

There is likewise attributed to this Author, a Work Entitled, *The Cesti*, which is cited under his Name, not only by *Suidas* and *Sincellus*; but likewise by *Photius*, and even by *Eusebius*, in the Sixth Book, Chapter 31, of his History: If that Passage, which is not to be found in *Ruffinus's* Version, nor in St. *Jerome*, be not foisted in. But it is more likely, that this is the Work of another *Africanus* (g). We do not know whether he, of whom we speak, wrote any thing else, nor when he died.

related by *Scaliger*, clearly shew, that he continued it to the time of *Heliogabalus*.

(g) Is the Work of another *Africanus*.] These Books, Entitled *Cesti*, were Discourses containing nothing but prophane Learning, they were so called à *Cesto Veneris*: They treated of Herbs, and particularly of those that had any Faculty in procuring Love. The Author of this Book was of *Lybia*; he called himself *Sextus Africanus*, or rather *Africanus Cestus*. He was probably a Heathen, as the Title, and the Subject of his Work sufficiently shew. There is a Book attributed to one *Africanus*, cited by *Politian*, under the Name of *Cestus*, being a Manuscript in the King's Library, but not the same which *Photius* speaks of: It was lately published.

## MINUTIUS FELIX.

*Minutius Felix.* **M**inutius Felix, a famous Lawyer at Rome (a), who lived in the Beginning of the Third Century (b), wrote an excellent Dialogue, Entitled *Octavius*, in Defence of the Christian

(a) Lawyer at Rome.] Not only *Laetantius* and St. *Hierom* assure us that he was of this Profession; but this likewise appears by the beginning of his Dialogue, where he says, that it being Vacation time, he had no Business at the Hall.

(b) In the Beginning of the Third Century.] The Ancients do not fix precisely the time wherein he lived. St. *Hierom*, in his Catalogue, wherein he keeps the Order of Time, pla-

Religion. 'Tis a Conference between a Christian whom he calls *Octavius* (c), and a Heathen named *Cecilius*, where *Minutius* sits as Judge. *Cecilius* speaks first against the Christian Religion, and begins by laying down this

ces him between *Tertullian* and St. *Cyprian*. It is evident that *Minutius* has taken several Thoughts from *Tertullian*, and that St. *Cyprian*, in his Book *Of the Vanity of Idols*, has transcribed in several Places the Words of *Minutius*. This makes it probable that he was an *African*, and his Style favours a little of *Africa*.

(c) *Octavius*.] He is also called *Januarius*, and *Cecilius* is named *Natalis*; and *Minutius Felix*, *Marcus*. It would be



Minutius  
Felix.

Maxim, that every thing is uncertain and doubtful, and that therefore it is a great piece of Rashness, especially in the Christians, who are an ignorant and stupid sort of People, to pretend to establish their Opinions as certain and infallible Truths: That there being no Providence that governs the World, and all things being dubious, it is the best way to stick to the Religion of our Ancestors. That the *Roman Empire* was first established, and afterwards arrived to its present Height by the Religion of the Gods; that they never contemned the Omens and Prefages of the Sooth-sayers, without repenting of it; and that their Oracles certainly foretold things that were really to come to pass. Afterwards he attacks the Religion of the Christians in particular, he accuses them of worshipping an Ass's Head, adoring Crosses, and other things which were yet more dishonourable: He upbraids them for those Crimes of which the Heathens themselves were justly accused; to wit, the Murthering of Children, the Committing of Incests. He reprehends in them as a Crime, that excessive Love which they had one for another. He finds fault with them, because they had no Temples, Altars, nor Statues. He tells them, that they can neither see themselves, nor shew to others that God whom they adore; that they feign that he sees all things, but that it is impossible that he should be able to take care of every particular thing, if he has the Charge of the whole Universe lying upon him. He pretends that it was to no purpose that the Jews adored and honoured this God. He scoffs at the Hopes of the Christians. He looks upon the Resurrection, Hell, and Heaven to be Fables, like those of the Poets. He says, that Men being necessarily good or evil, 'tis ridiculous to believe that God will punish or reward them for their Actions. He examines the Condition of the Christians in this Life, which is to be poor, Ignorant, subject to Diseases, persecuted, exposed continually to Racks and Tortures: 'Which shews (says he) that their God either cannot, or will not relieve them, and by consequence that he is impotent or malicious. That on the contrary, the *Romans*, who do not adore the God of the *Christians*, are not only powerful, and Lords of the whole World; but they likewise enjoy all those Pleasures, from which the Christians are forced to abstain. He concludes by advising the *Christians* not to seek any more after Heavenly Things, and not to flatter themselves vainly with the Knowledge of them: maintaining that all things being uncertain and doubtful, it is better to suspend our Judgments, than to judge rashly, for fear of falling into Superstition, or utterly destroying all Religion. After some Reflections of *Minutius Felix*, *Octavius* answering *Cecilius's* Discourse, observes how he has argued after a very inconstant Manner, sometimes admitting a Deity, and sometimes seeming to doubt thereof. 'Which he has not done (says he) out of any Craft or Cunning, this sort of Artifice suiting not with his candid and frank Temper; but that has happened to him, which usually happens to a Man, who is ignorant of the Way, when he sees several Paths, he stands in suspense, not daring to chuse any, and not being able to follow them all. In like manner, as he adds, he who has no certain Knowledge of the Truth, is always in doubt, and suffers himself to be led by the first Suspicion, without being able to stop himself. He afterwards reprehends all the Reasonings of *Cecilius*, and he answers every one in particular. After having shewn that Poverty and Ignorance, which was upbraided to the *Christians*, could be no ways prejudicial to the Truth; he proves the Divine Providence, by the Order and Beauty which is seen in the Universe, and by the admirable Perfections of all the Creatures. And he shews, that it could be no other than God, who has created all Things, governing them by his WORD, ruling them by his Wisdom, and bringing them to Perfection by his Power: That he is not to be seen, because he is more subtle than the Sight: That he is not to be comprehended, because he is greater than all the Senses: That he is infinite and immense: That the Bounds of our Understanding are by much too shallow to have a perfect Knowledge of him: That it is only he who comprehends himself; that it is impossible to give him a Name suitable to his Perfections: And yet that all Men do naturally know him: That the People stretching out their Hands to Heaven, invoke only this God, and that the Prophets and Philosophers have acknowledged him. He afterwards shews, that the Antiquity of their Fables ought not to give them any Authority: That they have not only so much as the least Appearance of Truth, but that they are impertinent and ridiculous, and that he must be void of common Sense, who gives any Credit to them: That we are not to at-

rather to divine, than to believe, that these were the *Januarius* and *Natalis*, Bishops of *Africa*, who lived in *St. Cyprian's* time: It would have been more likely that *Octavius* and

tribute the Establishment, nor Increase of the Empire, to the Religion of the *Romans*, since it was founded at first by Parricide, and by the Rapes of strange Women, and that it afterwards grew to its Greatness by Uncleannefs, by Sacrilege, and by unjust Wars: That very often their Commanders contemned the Auguries; and that nevertheless they were successful in what they undertook: That the Answers of their Oracles were very often false and ambiguous, and that we are not to wonder, if by a great chance they sometimes hit: That the Demons, who are impure Spirits, made use of these Superstitions to destroy Mankind; and to set them at a greater Distance from God, after they were already lost by their Vices and Disorderly Desires: That 'tis these Spirits who answer in their Statues; who possess Men, and agitate them so furiously; but being conjured by the Name of the only true God, they are obliged to go out of the Bodies of those whom they have tormented. He afterwards confutes the Calumnies wherewith they aspersed the *Christians*: He says, That if it were true, they ought not to be compelled to deny their Religion, but rather to own those Incests, Impieties and Murders wherewith they were accused: That the Christians are too well instructed, to adore an Ass's Head, and too chaste, to commit Uncleannefs in the Celebration of their Mysteries: But that there is a Religion among the Heathens, in which they worshipped Beasts, and committed execrable Villainies without Punishment; that they are not the *Christians*, but the Heathens, who place their Hopes in mortal Men, and in inanimate Statues, and who were frequently guilty of Murders and Incests: That the *Christians* do neither adore nor desire Crosses, and that they are so far from shedding Man's Blood, that they dare not so much as to eat that of Beasts: That they are modest and reserved, not only in Body, but in Mind: That they commonly marry but once, that they have no other Design in their Marriage, but the having of Children: That their Repasts are not only very chaste, but also very sober: That there are several *Christians* who preserve a perpetual Continency, and yet without any Vanity upon that Account: That though they refuse to bear any Offices, yet they are not for all that of the Scum of the People: That their Number encreases continually, which is a certain Sign of their Virtue: That they do not distinguish themselves from others by any outward Mark, but by their Innocence and Modesty: That they love one another, and call one another Brethren, because they have all one and the same God for their Father: That they have neither Statues, nor Altars, nor Temples, because the Majesty of God cannot be represented by Images, nor enclosed in Houses built by the Hands of Men, and that it is better to consecrate our Mind, and our Heart as his Temple. *Nonne melius in nostra dedicandus est Mente? in nostro Consecrandus Corpore?* That the Sacrifices and Victims which he requires, and which we ought to offer up unto him, are Justice, Purity and Innocence; That tho' God be invisible, yet he is discovered by his Omnipotence: That he knows all things, and nothing can be concealed from him: That he protected the Jews so long as they honoured him; and 'twas only for their Sins that they have drawn upon themselves his Anger and Vengeance. After having thus discoursed of the Object of the Christian Worship, he goes on to the Proof of the other Points of their Doctrine. He shews, that the Learned do agree, That the World shall have an End: That *Pythagoras* and *Plato* believed one part of the Resurrection when they taught the Immortality of the Soul, and the *Metempsychosis*: That it is not more difficult for God to raise up Men after their Death, than it was for him to produce them out of Nothing: That all the Revolutions of Nature are as so many Images of the Resurrection: That several had rather be annihilated for ever, than to rise again to endure Eternal Torments; and that they were confirmed in their Opinion by the Impunity which they enjoyed in this Life: But that the Judgment of God will be by so much the more rigorous, as it is slower in punishing: That these Torments shall be excessive, and shall have neither End nor Bounds: That the Fire which shall burn the Body without consuming it, shall nourish it (if I may so say) and make it to subsist to all Eternity: That it is sufficient not to know God to be condemned to suffer these Pains, because it is not a less Sin to be ignorant of him, than to offend him: But that the Heathens shall not be punished only for this Ignorance of God, they being guilty of several Crimes; that they cannot excuse themselves by alledging Destiny, since Man is a free Agent, and that Destiny is nothing else but the Execution of God's Decrees, which are regulated ac-

*Cecilius* were imaginary Names in the Dialogue, if we had not been told that they are their proper Names.

ording



Minutius Felix. cording to Men's Actions: That that Poverty which is so frequent amongst the Christians, makes for their Glory; that the Evils and Persecutions which they suffered, are no Proof that God has forsaken them, but that he tries and purifies them: That it is a Spectacle well becoming God, to behold a Christian stoutly contending with Pain, standing firm and stedfast in the midst of Torments, insulting over his Executioners and Judges, freely resisting even Princes and Emperors, and yielding only to God. 'You exalt (says he) to the Skies, a Scavenger, who after having missed of his Aim in killing a King, voluntarily lost his Hand, and saved his Life by this courageous Action. But how many Persons are there among us, who have suffered without complaining, not only their Hand, but their whole Body to be burnt, though they could have delivered themselves from these Torments, had they pleased? What do I say? Even our Sons and our Daughters laugh at your Gibbets, at your wild Beasts, and at all your Punishments. And ought not this to convince you, that it is impossible that they would have endured these Pains to no purpose; or that they could be able to suffer them without God's Assistance? And do not think that those Persons are happy, who being utterly ignorant of God, are loaded with Honours and Riches. These are unfortunate Men, who are raised up, that their Downfall might be the greater, these are Victims which are fattened for the Sacrifice. For what solid Good can be had without God, since Death shews that all the rest is no more than a Dream? This being so, a Christian may indeed seem to be miserable, but can never be really so: *Christianus videri potest miser, non potest esse*. He adds, that they abstain from Pleasures, from publick Sights, and from the Pomps of the World, because all these things are contrary to good Manners, and that their Life is more unblameable than that of the Philosophers, who seem to be wise by their Discourses, and by their outward Appearance, but were by no means found at the Bottom.

After Octavius had thus answered all the Objections of Cecilius, the last acknowledges himself convinced by his Arguments: *I do not expect (says he) the Determination of our Arbitrator; we are equally victorious, Octavius triumphs over me, and I triumph over Error: I submit my self therefore to God, I acknowledge his Providence, and I do publicly declare, that the Religion of the Christians, among the Number of whom I place my self from this present, is the only way that discovers the Truth.*

This Dialogue is elegant, the Expressions are select, the Words proper, the Turn agreeable, the Reasons are set forth to advantage, and beautified with a great deal of Learning. In a word, this small Treatise shews, as Lactantius has observed, that Minutius had been a very excellent Defender of Religion, and of the Truth, had he entirely applied himself to this Study. But this is rather the Production of one who would divert himself from Business, than a Book written with great Affiduity and Diligence. He flourishes upon his Subject without

(d) *That the Soul should die with the Body.* He says, That there is nothing after Death, as there was nothing before the Production; and that being made of nothing, it shall likewise be renewed of nothing.

treating of it thoroughly. He takes more Pains in shewing how ridiculous the Opinions of the Heathens are, and in confuting them by their own Authors, than in explaining and proving the Doctrine of the Christians. Besides, he does not appear to be very well skilled in the Mysteries of Religion, and he seems to have believed, that the Soul should die with the Body (d).

This Discourse passed a long time for the Eighth Book of Arnobius; for it being found together with the seven Books of Arnobius in an ancient Manuscript of the Vatican Library, it was printed four times (e) under his Name, before any Body knew its true Author. The Learned Lawyer Balduinus was the first that found out this vulgar Error, and caused this little Treatise to be printed by it self in the Year 1560, at Heidelberg, with a Learned Preface, wherein he restores it to its true Author. But tho' we owe to this famous Lawyer the Honour of having first made this Discovery; yet 23 Years after, Ursinus causing Arnobius's Works to be printed at Rome, whether he had not seen Balduinus's Edition, or whether he had a mind to attribute all the Honour of this Observation to himself, separated this Book of Minutius from those of Arnobius, without taking any Notice that it had been done before, ascribing to himself by this means the whole Credit of the Discovery. Some time after, in the year 1603, Woverius caused it to be printed at Basil by Frobenius, with very useful Notes, for the understanding of this Author. In 1610, it was printed at Franckfort in Octavo, according to Balduinus's Edition. Afterwards Elmenhorstius caused it to be printed at Hambourg with some new Observations, in the year 1612, adjoining thereunto the Preface of Balduinus. The Year following, Heraldus the Lawyer published at Paris an Edition of Minutius in Quarto, which was more correct than the others. Lastly, Rigaltius revising it very diligently from a Manuscript in the King's Library, being the same which was in the Vatican, put it forth in the year 1643, with very learned and curious Notes; and it was re-printed at Amsterdam in 1645, together with Julius Firmicus. This Edition of Rigaltius was followed in the Edition of St. Cyprian of 1666, to whose Notes they have added part of those of Woverius, Elmenhorstius, Oizelius, and those lately made by Priorius. Lastly, All these Notes were printed together with the Text, after the manner which they call *Variorum*, in the Year 1672.

St. Hierom says, That in his Time there was a Book concerning *Destiny* attributed to Minutius Felix: but tho' this might be the Work of an eloquent Author, yet it was not written in the same Style with this Dialogue. It is true, that Cecilius promises in this Dialogue, to treat more largely of *Destiny* upon another Occasion: but to tell whether he did it or no, or whether this Treatise that was extant in St. Hierom's Time, was the same which he promised, or rather, whether this Promise gave occasion to some other Author to forge a Discourse thereof under Minutius's Name, are things which we cannot positively determine.

(e) *Four times.* The first by Sabaus, according to the Manuscript of Rome, in the year 1542. The second in Germany by Gelenius. The third in Holland, at Leyden, in the Year 1552. The fourth at Basil, by Erasmus, in 1560.

## AMMONIUS.

Ammonius. Ammonius, a Christian Philosopher, the Master of Plotinus and Origen (a), flourished in Alexandria (b), where he publickly taught Philosophy in Alexander Severus's Reign. Porphyry falsely accuses him for having quitted the Christian Religion, in which he had been educated: For it is certain, as Eusebius and St. Hierom observe, That he always continued stedfast in the Doctrine and Precepts of Christianity. 'Witness (says Eusebius) those excellent Works that he has left behind him, which are so many authentick Monuments of his Faith and his Ability; as the Book entitled, *The Agreement between Moses and Jesus Christ*, and all the other Pieces which may be found in the Hands of studious Persons. In the Number of these Works we may reckon a Gospel composed out of all

(a) *Master of Plotinus and Origen.* Porphyry says, in Plotinus's Life, That this Philosopher, when he was twenty years old, came to hear Ammonius; that he was his Disciple for eleven years; and that he had another Disciple named Origen. But, as we shall observe elsewhere, this is a different Person from the famous Origen. Nevertheless, Eusebius assures us, That our Origen was likewise his Scholar,

the Four: which was a kind of Harmony and Concord which he had drawn up with a great deal of Pains and Study, as is testified by Eusebius in his Epistle to Carpianus, placed at the Beginning of his Canons upon the Evangelists. Which has given occasion to St. Hierom to affirm, that Ammonius writ Canons like those of Eusebius. But they were not, properly speaking, Canons which Ammonius composed; for the Canons were no more than *Indices* of the Places of the Gospels, which are contained in one, two, three or four of the Evangelists; whereas Ammonius's Harmony or Concord contained the entire Text of the Four Evangelists, which Eusebius made use of in making his Canons, which referred to this Concord, and were a Table to it. Trithemius likewise attributes Canons to Ammonius, but they

and it seems undeniable, and we must needs confess, that there were two Origenes, who were Disciples to Ammonius.

(b) *Flourished in Alexandria.* There was another Ammonius, a Philosopher likewise, who lived after the Council of Chalcedon. He was somewhat older than Origen, and a Platonist.



are those of *Eusebius*. We have at present in the *Bibliotheca Patrum* an Harmony of the Four Evangelists, falsely attributed to *Tatianus* by *Victor of Capua*; which Cardinal *Baronius*, Father *Labbé*, and several other Learned Men, do ascribe to *Ammonius*. It is certain, that this was not written by *Tatianus*, who retrenched the Genealogies of Jesus Christ, which are to be found in this Concord. It bears the Name of *An Harmony*, and it is as-

cribed in the Title to an *Alexandrian*, which made *Baronius* conjecture that it was written by this *Ammonius*, who was of *Alexandria*, and whose Works bore the Title of *An Harmony*. *Zacharias*, Bishop of *Chrysopolis*, who lived in the Twelfth Century; and made Commentaries upon *Ammonius's* Harmony, has followed this word for word, which confirms *Baronius's* Conjecture.

## ORIGEN.

*Origen.* **O**rigen (a) was born in the City of *Alexandria*, about the year 185, from the Birth of Christ (b). Besides the Name of *Origen*, he had moreover that of *Adamantius* (c). His Father, who was called *Leonidas*, educated him in the Faith of Jesus Christ, and did not only cause him in his Youth to learn the polite Learning, with all the prophane Sciences, but he particularly ordered him to apply himself to the understanding of the Holy Scripture, before any other kind of Learning, giving him every day some Portions thereof to learn and repeat. And it happened very luckily, that the Son's Inclination, exactly answered the Father's Design; for he pursued his Study with a most extraordinary Zeal and Fervency, and as he was endowed with a quick Apprehension, and very great Sagacity, he did not content himself with that Sense which at first view presented it self, but he afterwards endeavoured to dive into the Mysterious and Allegorical Explication of the Sacred Books, and sometimes would even puzzle his Father by asking him the Meaning of some Passages of Scripture, which obliged this good Man seemingly to reprehend him, and to advise him not to soar above the reach of his Understanding, and to content himself with the most clear and natural Sense of the Scripture; though inwardly he was extremely joyful, and returned Thanks unto God with all his Heart, for his great Mercy, in bestowing on him such a Son. But that these Opinions may not be attributed either to the blind Love of a Father for his Child, or to that Affection which *Eusebius*, who relates these things, had for *Origen*, it may be sufficient to observe, That St. *Hierom*, even then when he wrote against *Origen*, with the greatest Earnestness, was obliged to acknowledge, that he had been an extraordinary Person from his very Infancy, *Magnus Vir ab Infantiâ*. Ep. 65. ad *Pammachium de erroribus Origenis*. When he was a little more advanced in Years, he had for his Master in Philosophy, the famous *Ammonius* (d), the Christian Philosopher; and in Divinity, the Learned St. *Clement* of *Alexandria*. He was not above sixteen or seventeen years of age, when the Persecution began at *Alexandria*, in the 10th Year of the Reign of *Severus*, and the 202d from the Birth of Christ. His Father being seized and imprisoned upon the account of the Christian Faith, he would also have offered himself to the Persecutors, out of the great Zeal he had to suffer Martyrdom; but his Mother opposed it very stiffly, and was even forced to hide his Cloaths, to prevent him from going abroad to put his Design in Execution: And being thus detained against his Will, he wrote a Letter to his Father to exhort him to Martyrdom, wherein he expresses himself thus: *Stand steadfast, my Father, and take care not to alter your Opinion upon our account*. *Leonidas* being animated by his Son's Exhortation, courageously suffered Martyrdom, and was beheaded within a little while after. His Goods having been confiscated, *Origen* remaining with his Mother and

Brethren, was reduced to extream Poverty; but a certain Lady of *Alexandria*, who was very rich, whether out of Compassion to his Misery, or out of the Respect she had for him, afforded him all kind of Assistance, and even took him into her House. There lived with her at the same time a famous Heretick of *Antioch*, whom she had adopted for her Son, who held Conferences in her House, where a great Number, not only of Hereticks, but also of Catholics were present. But though *Origen* was obliged of necessity to converse with this Man, yet he would never hold Communion with him in Prayer, keeping exactly to the Ecclesiastical Constitutions, and testifying the Abhorrence that he had for the Doctrine of the Hereticks. However, in a little time he put himself into such a Condition, as not to stand any longer in need of his Ladies Assistance; for applying himself entirely, after his Father's Death, to the Study of Human Learning, he taught Grammar, and by his Employment he got a sufficient Competency to maintain himself.

Whilst he followed this Profession, the Chair of the School at *Alexandria* becoming vacant by the Retreat of St. *Clement*, and by the Flight of all those who were dispersed by the Persecution, some of the Heathens, who were willing to be converted, made their Application to him, though he was not then above eighteen years old. The two first of his Disciples were *Plutarch*, and *Heraclas* his Brother, who succeeded *Demetrius* in the See of *Alexandria*. At length, the Reputation and Number of those that were converted by him increasing every day more and more, *Demetrius*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, confirmed him in the Employment of *Catechist* or *Professor of Sacred Learning* in the Church of *Alexandria*. When he saw himself settled in this Charge, he left off teaching Grammar, not being willing to depend upon any other Profession for his Subsistence: He sold all his Books that treated of human Learning, contenting himself with four *Oboli* a day, which were allowed him by the Person who purchased them.

And then it was that he began to lead a very strict and severe Life, which contributed no less than his Learning to attract to him a great number of Disciples, notwithstanding the Fury of the Persecution, which being then begun at *Alexandria*, under the Government of *Letus*, continued still with greater Violence under *Aquila* his Successor. He had several of his Disciples there, who suffered Martyrdom in the same Place; among others, *Plutarch*, *Serenus*, *Heraclides*, *Hero*, &c. And he was himself very often exposed to the Rage of the Heathens, when he went to the Assistance and Encouragement of the Martyrs. He then carried his Austerities so far, as to commit an Act of that Excess, as to be blamed even by those who have been his greatest Defenders, and which he himself afterwards condemned, though he might do it upon a good Motive (e), and out of an excessive Zeal for Charity. For as his Employment obliges him to be

(a) *Origen.* There is not any Ecclesiastical Author, whose Life we have more exactly. *Eusebius*, who was his great Admirer, has described it very particularly. 'Tis from him that we have taken, without citing him, almost all that we have related concerning him. We must add thereunto St. *Hierom* in his Catalogue, and in several other Places. *Rufinus* against St. *Hierom*; St. *Epiphanius* in the 64th Heresie; *Photius* in the 118th Volume, where he has given an Abridgement of the Apology of *Pamphilus*, and what *Origen* says of himself, Tom. 6. in *Matth.* & *alibi*. We have also made use of the Assistance of the Moderns, and particularly of that famous Work of *Huetius*, intituled *Origeniana*; of the Life of *Tertullian* and *Origen*, written in French by a worthy Man; which we say as much to do them Justice, as to take off from our selves the Imputation of being a Plagiary. [Our Author means Dr. *Allix*, Treasurer of the Church of *Salum*, who had a great Esteem paid to him in his own Country for his extraordinary Learning, till the late Persecution forced him hither for Relief.]

(b) Was born in the City of *Alexandria*, about the year 185 from the Birth of Christ. St. *Epiphanius* says, That he was an *Alexandrian*. *Eusebius* says, That he was seventeen years old at the time of the Persecution of *Severus*, which was in

the year 202 from the Birth of Christ, and by consequence he was born in 185.

(c) He had moreover that of *Adamantius*. *Photius* believes that he had this Name by reason of the strength of his Reasonings. St. *Hierom* says, That he had it because he resisted Errors like a Diamond. But this is only guessing: we may say the same of those who seek for the Etymology of the Name of *Origen*, out of a needless Curiosity.

(d) He had for his Master in Philosophy, the famous *Ammonius*. There were two *Origen's* Disciples to *Ammonius*: The first of whom, *Porphyry* speaks of in the Life of *Plotinus*, and *Longinus*, who wrote nothing but a small Treatise of Demons, and lived but to the Reign of *Gallienus*, and who was *Porphyry's* Disciple and Friend, which does not agree with our *Origen*, as has been observed by *Valesius* and *Huetius*.

(e) And which he himself afterwards condemned, though he might do it upon a good Motive. *Eusebius*, his great Advocate, speaks of it in such a manner as shews he was ashamed of it. The Passages where *Origen* himself has condemned it, are in the 15th Sermon upon St. *Matthew*, Chap. 19. Ver. 12. and against *Celsus*, Book 7. We do not know whether he made use of Iron, or of some particular Simple; nor is it any great matter if we did know it.

often



Origen.

often with Women, whom he instructed as well as Men, that he might take away from the Heathens all pretence of Suspicion of any ill Conduct by reason of his Youth, he resolved with himself to execute to the Letter that Perfection which he was persuaded was proposed by Jesus Christ in these Words of the Gospel; *That there are some who make themselves Eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heaven*. He was willing to keep this Action private, and did all he could to conceal it from his Friends: but it was presently discovered; and being come to the Knowledge of *Demetrius*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, he commended his Zeal, and the Fervency of his Faith, and bad him not be discouraged upon that Account, but to continue more earnestly in the Instruction of the *Catechumens*.

In the mean time, *Origen's* Reputation increased daily more and more, and procured him so great a Number of Disciples, that he himself alone was not able to manage it: and therefore he committed to his Friend *Heraclas* the Care of those who were to be instructed in the first Principles of Religion, reserving to himself such as were advanced to a higher Degree of Knowledge. It was about this time, in the beginning of the Reign of *Antoninus*, that he went to *Rome* (f), under the Pontificate of *Zephyrinus*; and much about the same time, he likewise composed that great and famous Work, called the *Tetrapla*; which was a Bible, wherein by the side of the Hebrew Text, he had transcribed in different Columns, the Translation of the *Septuagint*; that of *Aquila*, that of *Symmachus*, and that of *Theodotian*, distinguished by Verses; and he added thereunto afterwards two other Versions without any Authors Name, and a Seventh only upon the Psalms, which he found at *Ferico* in a Barrel: and these Versions, with the Hebrew, written both in Hebrew and Greek Characters, make up that Book which is called the *Hexapla* (g). These Works mightily increased his Reputation, and drew from all Parts into *Alexandria* a great Number of learned Persons to converse with *Origen*, and to be instructed by him. *Ambrose* was one of this Number: He anathematized the Heresie of *Valentinus*, in which he had been engaged, to embrace the Orthodox Faith. *Origen* was afterwards obliged several times to leave *Alexandria*: For first he was sent for by an Arabian Prince, who wrote to *Demetrius*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, and to the Governor thereof, to send him to him to be instructed by him; and a little while after, this City being cruelly harrass'd by the War which the Emperor *Antoninus Caracalla* made against its Inhabitants for having affronted him by their Jears and Scoffs, *Origen* retired into *Palestine*; and being come to settle in the City of *Cesarea*, the Bishops of that Province desired him to expound publicly the Scripture in that Church, and to instruct the People in their Presence, though he was not yet a Priest; to which Request of theirs he complied. Now whether *Demetrius* envied him this Honour, or whether he was persuaded that they had violated the Rules of the Church, he wrote to these Prelates, telling them, That it was a thing unheard of, and that it had been never practised till then, that Lay-men should Preach in the Presence of Bishops. But *Alexander* of *Jerusalem*, and *Theodotus* of *Cesarea*, writing back to him, proved by several Instances, That this had been often put in Practice. In the mean time, *Demetrius* had written to *Origen* to come home; and having also sent some Deacons to press his Return, he was obliged to betake himself again to his first Employment. Some time after, he was again diverted from it by Order of the Princess *Mammaea*, who caused him to come to *Antioch*, that she might see, and discourse with him: but staying with her but a little while, he returned to *Alexandria*, and fell again to work upon the Holy Scripture, with the Assistance of his Friend *Ambrose*, who furnished him with Copyers. He continued there till the Year 228, when he departed from thence with Letters of Recommendation from his Bishop, to go into *Achaia* about some Ecclesiastical Affairs (h). It was in this Voyage, as he passed through *Palestine*, that he was ordained Priest by the Bishops of this Province, being 42 years old. This Ordination of

(f) In the beginning of the Reign of *Antoninus*, that he went to *Rome*.] *Baronius* places this Voyage under *Heliogabalus*, and says that *Origen* was sent for to *Rome* by *Mammaea*; but he is mistaken, for *Mammaea* caused him to come to *Antioch*, and not to *Rome*.

(g) That Work which is called the *Hexapla*.] See *Valesius* upon *Eusebius*, where he proves that the *Hexapla* do comprehend six entire Versions, and that the seventh was only upon the Psalms. *Eusebius* writes, that they were composed at this time. *St. Epiphanius* believes that they were made at *Tyre*. As they are great Works, and tedious to compose, 'tis likely that he began them then, and finished them afterwards.

Origen.

*Origen* by Foreign Bishops extremely incensed his Diocesan *Demetrius* against him, it having been done without his Permission. He wrote every where Letters against him, upbraiding him for the Action which he had committed in his Youth. However, *Origen* returned to *Alexandria*, where he continued to write his Commentaries upon the Sacred Scripture. It was then that he published his five Books of Commentaries upon the Gospel of *St. John*, eight Books upon *Genesis*, Commentaries upon the first Five and twenty Psalms, and upon the Lamentations of *Jeremiah*; his Books de *Principiis*, and his *Stromata*.

All this while the Bishop of *Alexandria* was not at all appeased, but continued to persecute him: And in a Council which he assembled in the Year 231, it was ordained, That *Origen* should go out of *Alexandria*; that he should not be permitted to teach there any longer, nor so much as to live there; but that nevertheless he should not be deprived of his Dignity of Priesthood. *Origen* being banished from *Alexandria*, retired to *Cesarea*, his ordinary Place of Refuge, where he was very well received by *Theodotus*, Bishop of that City, and by *Alexander*, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, who undertook to defend him, and commissioned him to expound publicly the Scripture, hearing him as if he had been their Master. But *Demetrius* not being satisfied with the first Judgment given against *Origen*, accused him in a Council of the Bishops of *Egypt* (i), and having caused him to be Deposed, and even to be Excommunicated, according to *St. Hierom*, wrote at the same time to all Parts against him, to procure his being thrust out of the Communion of the Catholic Church. For when once a Priest was excommunicated, and deposed by his Bishop by the Consent of the Bishops of the Province, he could not be any longer received in any Church. There was no need of examining whether it was justly or unjustly that he had been condemned in his Province. So that it is no wonder if all the Bishops of the World, excepting those of *Palestine*, *Arabia*, *Phoenicia* and *Achaia*, who were particularly acquainted with *Origen*, and with whom he had a most familiar Intimacy, should consent to his Condemnation; and if *Rome* its self, having assembled its Senate against him, says *St. Hierom*, that is to say, its Clergy, did condemn him after the Example of his own Bishop. *We believe*, says *St. Augustin*, upon a Subject almost like this, *whatsoever we are informed of by Letters from a Council, and we must not do otherwise*. For those who had not any particular Knowledge of *Origen*, ought to believe him guilty; and those who knew him, that they might not violate that Order of Discipline, ought to consent to his Excommunication, after it was once signified to them by his own Bishop. And so it was that *Marcion* being excommunicated by his Father, and his Bishop, and being come to *Rome*, desiring to be received there into Communion, received this Answer from the Clergy of that Church: *We cannot receive you, without the Consent of your Father; for as there is in the Church but one and the same Faith, so there ought to be therein but one and the same Spirit, and one and the same Discipline*. Therefore, by a great Number of Canons and Ecclesiastical Constitutions, it was absolutely prohibited to any Bishop whatever, and even to the Bishop of *Rome* himself, to receive into Communion those Priests who had been excommunicated by their Bishops upon any Pretence whatever. Nevertheless *Origen* found, as we have said, some Protectors, especially in *Palestine*, where he continued to explain the Scripture at *Cesarea* with great Reputation, both in the Life-time, and after the Death of *Demetrius*, who lived not long after he had condemned *Origen*. All sorts of Persons, not only from that Province, but even from remote Countries, came to be his Disciples. The most famous were, *Gregory*, surnamed afterwards *Thaumaturgus*, who was Bishop of *Neocæsarea*, and his Brother *Athenodorus*. But though after *Demetrius's* Death, the Persecution which he had raised against *Origen* abated a little, yet he was always looked upon as a Person excommunicated by all the *Egyptians*, and the Sentence which was

(h) About some Ecclesiastical Affairs.] This Business was without doubt to confute Heresies which were at that time very numerous in *Achaia*, as *St. Hierom* and *Ruffinus* relate. 'Tis probable it was in this Voyage that he wrote, whilst he was at *Nicomedia*, (as he himself observes) his Letter to *Africanus* concerning the History of *Susanna*. It was likewise at this time that he convinced two Hereticks of falsifying the Conferences which he had with them, and of making him say what he never said. *Ruffinus* relates this in the Book de *Adul. lib. Orig.*

(i) Accused him in a Council of the Bishops of *Egypt*.] *Photius*, Cod. 118. makes mention of these two Councils, and *St. Hierom. lib. 2. in Ruff. c. 5.*



Origen. given against him by *Demetrius* continued under his Successors (1), *Heraclas* and *Dionysius*, though the first had been *Origen's* Disciple, and the second had a great Esteem for him. In this time he went on with his Commentaries upon *St. John*, and he began to compose some upon *Ezekiel* and *Isaiah*.

After the Death of *Alexander*, under whose Reign all this happened, his Successor *Maximinus* stirred up a Persecution against the Church in the Year 235. *Ambrose*, *Origen's* Friend, and *Theodotus*, Priests of *Casarea*, having been taken and brought before this Emperor, upon the account of the Christian Religion, *Origen* sent them an Exhortation to Martyrdom. Nevertheless, he concealed himself during this Persecution, and retired for some time to the City of *Athens*, where he finished his Commentaries upon *Ezekiel* and went on with the Commentaries upon the *Song of Solomon*, which he finished when he returned to *Casarea* in *Palestine*, from whence he went afterwards to *Casarea* in *Cappadocia*, where he remained some time with *Firmilian*, who invited him thither.

Under the Reign of *Gordianus*, which began in the Year 238, *Beryllus*, Bishop of *Bostra*, in *Arabia*, fell into a very gross Error, affirming, That our Lord, before his Incarnation, was not a Person subsisting. Some Bishops being assembled to convince him of this Error, they caused *Origen* to come thither also. After that several Bishops had had Conferences and Disputes with this Bishop, *Origen* being desired to enter the Lists with him, discoursed him at first familiarly, being willing to be thoroughly informed of his Opinion; and after having perfectly understood his Error, and the Grounds upon which he pretended to maintain it, he convinced him by several Reasons, and set him again in the right Way, forcing him to acknowledge his Error. The Records of all that passed in this Affair were preserved for a long time after, wherein was to be seen the Sentiments of *Beryllus*, the Opinions of the Bishops who met there, the Questions proposed to him by *Origen*, and the whole Conference which they had together in his Church. *St. Hierom* takes notice, That in his Time, *Origen's* Dialogue with *Beryllus* was extant. This Bishop having acknowledged his Error, preserved the Purity of his Faith even to his Death, and had an extraordinary Kindness for *Origen*, to whom he wrote several Letters. *St. Hierom* places him among the Number of the Ecclesiastical Writers.

Afterwards *Origen* was called, under the Reign of *Philip*, to another Assembly of Bishops, which was held against some *Arabians*, who maintained, That the Souls of Men died, and were raised again with their Bodies. After having spoke in the Presence of them all, upon the Question which was in agitation, he defended the Truth, and attacked this Error with that Force of Argument, that he caused all those to change their Opinion, who had fallen into the Mistake.

He was then Threescore years old, or thereabouts, and yet this did not hinder him from carrying on his Works with the same, or rather with greater Diligence; for he did not only compose several Books in his Study, but he made almost every day Discourses to the People, and for the most part without any time allowed to prepare

Origen. them, which were nevertheless so well esteemed, that the Transcribers took them after him as he delivered them, and published them afterwards. This Employment did not take him off from composing several considerable Books; as his Eight Books against *Celsus*, Twenty five Volumes upon *St. Matthew*, Twenty five Volumes of Commentaries upon the Minor Prophets, a Letter to the Emperor *Philip*, and one to *Severa* his Wife (m). *St. Hierom* says, That he wrote also a Letter to *Pope Fabianus*, wherein he sets forth his Recanting of the Errors which he had written, and laid the Blame of them upon *Ambrose*. If this be so, he did it to make this Pope favourable to him, that he might get again into the Communion of the *Roman Church*. He wrote also at this time against the Hereticks called *Helcesaites*.

Afterwards, in the Persecution of *Decius*, which was about the same time, *Origen* suffered with great Constancy for the Faith. He was seized, put into Prison, loaded with Irons; he had for several Days his Feet in the Stocks, where they were cruelly extended, even to the greatest Extremity: They threatened him to burn him alive, and they rack'd him with several sorts of Tortures, to try his Patience to the utmost; but he endured all with an undaunted Resolution (n). Being come out of Prison, he held several Conferences, and wrote Letters worthy of a Holy Confessor of Jesus Christ. Lastly, After having laboured so much, and suffered with such great Credit and Glory, he died in the beginning of the Reign of *Gallus*, in the Year Two hundred fifty two, from the Birth of Christ, and in the Sixty sixth Year of his Age (op).

Though what we have remaining at present of the Works of *Origen*, makes up several considerable Volumes, yet they are nothing in comparison to what he has wrote (q). *Eusebius* had made an exact Catalogue of his Works, in the Apology which he made for him, under the Name of the Martyr *Pamphilus*; and *St. Hierom* did the same in one of his Letters. But both of these Catalogues being lost, we have no knowledge of any, but those that have been cited by the Ancients; which still are much more in number than those which we have now remaining.

We may distinguish two kinds of Works written by *Origen*. The One are upon the Sacred Scriptures, and the Others are separate Treatises upon different Subjects. He had composed three sorts of Books upon the Scripture, not to mention his *Hexapla* and *Tetrapla*, which were rather a Collection than a Work; to wit, *Commentaries*, *Scholia*, and *Homilies*. In his *Commentaries*, he wholly gave up himself to that Heat and Fire which was natural to him, to penetrate the height and depth of the Scripture, and the most mysterious Interpretation thereof, the better. His *Scholia* were, on the contrary, only short Notes to explain the difficult Places. These two kinds of Works were more for the Learned, than for the use of the People; whereas the *Homilies*, which the *Latins* call *Treatises*, and which we call *Sermons*, were Moral Instructions upon the Holy Scripture. We have none of the *Scholia* remaining, nor have we hardly any of the *Homilies* in *Greek*; and those which we have in *Latin*, are translated by *Ruffinus* and others with so

(1) The Sentence which was given against him by *Demetrius* continued under his Successors.] *Gennadius* says, That *Theophilus* reports that *Heraclas* drove *Origen* out of the Church; and the Author of the Life of *St. Pachomius*, says the same thing, as well as *Peter of Alexandria*, cited by *Justinian* in his Letter against *Origen*. It is most certain that the Sentence given against him was not revoked, and that not one of the *Egyptians* would have any thing to do with him.

(m) A Letter to the Emperor *Philip*, and one to *Severa* his Wife.] Some have believed that this Emperor was a Christian, and say that *Babylas* deprived him from the Communion of the Church till he had repented for the Murthers which he had committed; but this Story is very uncertain.

(n) But he endured all with an undaunted Resolution.] *St. Epiphanius* accuses him for approaching to the Heathen Altars, and for making as if he would offer Incense to the Gods: But this Story, and almost every thing that *Epiphanius* says concerning *Origen*, is fabulous, and invented by some Enemy to *Origen*, who deceived *St. Epiphanius*, a Man easily imposed upon. To shew that this Story is false, 'tis sufficient to observe, that even *Origen's* greatest Enemies, as *Theophilus*, *St. Hierom*, *Justinian*, &c. who have omitted nothing to cry him down, have taken no notice at all of it; and that his Defenders, *Eusebius* and *Pamphilus*, are so far from excusing him from this Crime, that they have on the contrary commended his Constancy and Resolution. 'Tis true, *St. Epiphanius* does not say that this happened in the Persecution of *Decius*, as *Nicephorus* does; but in what time soever they fix this Accident, it is equally overthrown by the Observation we just now made. It is also less probable, when it is referred to the time of *Maximinus's* Persecution; for what likelihood is there that *Origen*, after having committed so gross a Fault, should be honoured, as he was, by the Bishops of *Palestine*?

(op) He died in the Year 252 from the Birth of Christ, and in the 66th Year of his Age.] According to *Eusebius*, Lib. 7. cap. 11. he died in the first Year of the Reign of *Gallus*; and *St. Hierom*, in his 65th Epistle, written 400 years after Christ, says, That it was 150 years after *Origen's* Death. It is certain, according to *Eusebius*, that in the Year 202 *Origen* was seventeen years old, and that in the third year of the Emperor *Philip* he was above sixty years old: So that if we suppose him to have lived but sixty six years, as *St. Hierom* assures us in his Book of Ecclesiastical Writers, he must have died in the beginning of the Reign of *Gallus*, in the Year 242; but if he lived sixty nine years, as *Eusebius* writes, he must have lived to the end of the Reign of *Gallus*; that is to say, till the year 254 or 255.

(q) Yet they are nothing in comparison to what he has written.] It is certain that he composed a very great Number of Books; and he made them with that ease, that he could hardly find Scribes enough, as both his Friends and Enemies agree. *St. Hierom* in his 65th Letter to *Pammachius*, speaking of *Origen*, says, Who is there of you that can read as many Books as he has composed? And in another Place, he says, That he compiled an innumerable company of Books. *Theophilus* says the same thing. *Eusebius* says, That he filled the World with his Works. *Vincentius Lirinensis* affirms, That none has written more than him; and it is upon this Account that he had the Name given him of *Chalcenterus*, and *Syntacticus*. *St. Epiphanius* and *Ruffinus* say, That he writ 6000 Volumes. *St. Hierom* seems to dispute it, telling us, That there is not the third part of them in *Eusebius's* Catalogue. By the Word Volumes, we must not understand such Tomes as are now a-days, but only small Works; so every Homily, every part of a Book, is in this sense a Volume: so that we need not admire, though he had written 6000 Volumes.



*Origen.* much Liberty (r), that it is a difficult matter to discern what is *Origen's* own, from what has been foisted in by the Interpreter. A great part likewise of his *Commentaries* are entirely lost. The following Table will present

*Origen.* you in one View those Works which we know to have been composed by *Origen* upon the Scripture, what we have left of them in *Greek*, and what we have only remaining of them in *Latin*.

(r) *Are translated by Rufinus and others with so much Liberty.* *Rufinus* says it himself in the Conclusion to his Version of the *Commentaries* upon the *Romans*; and *St. Hierom* also somewhere upbraids him with it. And besides, this appears by the Translation it self, which is full of Figures and Allusions to Latin Words, of Terms taken in another sense than what they were in *Origen's* Time, where the Trinity and other Mysteries are expressed in such Terms as were not used till after the Council of *Nice*, and where there are Points of Discipline more modern than *Origen's* Age; which has

given occasion to those who have not considered the Liberty that *Rufinus* took of adding or leaving out what he pleased, to doubt whether the greatest part of these Works were *Origen's* or no. The Liberty which *Rufinus* has given himself is still more evident, by what he has written in the Prologue to his Version of the *Commentary* upon the Epistle to the *Romans*, which he says he has Abridged by above the half. *St. Hierom's* Versions are not more exact; and the most faulty of all is that of an ancient Translator, who has interpreted the *Commentaries* upon *St. Matthew*.

The Books of *Origen*, of which we have any knowledge, and by whom they are cited.

The Books or Fragments of *Origen*, which we have in *Greek*, and whence they are taken.

The Latin Books of *Origen*, and their Translators.

Proofs and Notes upon the Table.

*St. Epiphanius*, and after him *Cedrenus* and *Snidas*, say, That *Origen* writ upon all the Books of the Holy Scripture. We shall here give the several Books in order, of which there remains now any knowledge.

Thirteen Tomes of *Commentaries*, and two Books of Mystical Homilies upon *Genesis*. *St. Hierom* apud *Rufinum* invest. 2. & Ep. ad *Damasum*. *Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 24*. But these thirteen Tomes went no farther than Ver. 15. of the 4th Chap. where it is written, *Omnis qui occiderit Cain*, &c. *St. Hierom* ibidem ad *Damasum*, q. 1.

Two Books of Mystical Homilies upon *Genesis*. *Idem* *Ibid.*

*Pamphilus* in his *Apology* produces a small Fragment of his Preface upon *Genesis*.

*Commentaries* upon *Exodus* in the *Philocalia*, chap. 26.

Item, Some Scholia.

And twelve Homilies.

Scholia upon *Leviticus*, and sixteen Homilies. *Ruffin. invest. 2. & in Prologo Homil. in Num.*

*Commentaries* upon *Deuteronomy*, which he cites himself, *Tom. 32. in Joan.* and in the 8th Homily upon *St. Luke* *Cassiodorus* had seen eight Books of them, *de Inst. Divin. c. 7.*

Some Homilies. *Ruffin. Prolog. ad Ursat.*

Six and twenty Homilies upon *Joshuah*.

Nine Homilies upon the Books of *Judges*.

Two Homilies upon the *Kings*: One upon the first Chapter of the first Book;

And the other Intituled, *De Engastrimytho*.

*Cassiodorus* had seen another upon the first Book of *Kings*, one upon the Second, and a very long one upon the second Book of *Chronicles*. *Lib. Decretal. Div. cap. 2.*

He composed several Homilies upon *Job*; witness *Eustathius* in *Diagnostico de Engastrimytho*; and *St. Hierom* Ep. 75. The first of whom tells us, That he had said some things very childish concerning the Names of *Job's* Daughters: and the second, that he had said some things concerning the Stars, and against the

Three Fragments of Tomes, some *Commentaries* upon *Genesis*, related by *Eusebius* in his Books *de Preparatione*.

The first upon Ver. 12. of the first Chapter of *Genesis*, taken from the 7th Book.

The second taken out of the third Tome, upon Ver. 14. taken from the 6th Book, and in the 22d Chapter of the *Philocalia*.

The third, which is in the *Philocalia*, chap. 14. is extracted out of the same Tome upon the 16th Verse.

Some Fragments taken from the *Philocalia*, cap. 16, & 17.

Some *Commentaries* upon *Exodus*, and upon *Leviticus* [2].

A Fragment of the 20th Homily upon *Joshuah*, in his *Philocalia*, cap. 12.

The Homily *de Engastrimytho* was taken from a Manuscript of the *Vatican Library*, and published by *Leo Allatius* in 1629. with *Eustathius* in *Hexameron*, who wrote against this Homily of *Origen's*. The Subject of this Discourse is, to enquire whether the Witch of *Endor* did really raise the Soul of *Samuel*, or whether the Devil only appeared in his shape. *Origen* maintains the first Opinion, and *Eustathius* the second, Authors are divided hereupon.

A Fragment upon the first Psalm, taken from *St. Epiphanius*, *Heres. 64*. Three others taken from the *Philocalia*, cap. 2, & 3.

Seventeen Latin Homilies upon *Genesis*, translated by *Rufinus* [1]. It is doubted whether they be not extracted from the two Books of Mystical Homilies, because they seem to be of the number of those which were made *ex tempore*, and transcribed by the Writers. The last Homily is imperfect.

Twelve Homilies upon *Exodus*, translated by *Rufinus*.

Sixteen upon *Leviticus*, attributed falsely to *St. Cyril*, translated also by *Rufinus*.

Eight and twenty Homilies upon *Numbers*, which are doubtful, because they were translated by *Rufinus* with great liberty [3].

Six and twenty Homilies upon *Joshuah*; to which there is a Preface attributed to *St. Hierom*; but 'tis more likely to be by *Rufinus*, as well as the Translation of this Work, both because of the conformity of Style in the Prologue and in the Version, as because he owns them in the conclusion of the *Commentaries* upon the Epistle to the *Romans*.

Nine Homilies upon *Judges*, all translated by *Rufinus* for the same Reasons.

The first Homily upon the *Kings*, which is in all probability done by the same Interpreter.

Nine Homilies upon the Psalms, translated by *Rufinus*.

[1] In the Prologue to *Ursatius*, which is written by *Rufinus*, he says, That he has collected and translated into *Latin*, the Homilies of *Origen* upon the whole *Pentateuch*; so that though this Version in *Merlin's* Edition bears *St. Hierom's* Name, yet it was made by *Rufinus*, as *Erasmus* and *Genebrard* acknowledge. The Author of the Conclusion to the Version of the *Commentaries* upon the Epistle to the *Romans*, which is also *Rufinus*, says positively, That he had translated *Origen's* Homilies upon *Genesis*, *Exodus*, and *Leviticus*: They are those that follow.

[2] There is in the *Philocalia*, cap. 1. a passage taken from the second Homily upon *Leviticus*, which is not to be found in those Latin Homilies which we have. He must therefore necessarily have written more than sixteen. Besides, in those which we have, *Hom. 4, & 6*. he cites more of them.

[3] The Style is *Rufinus's*, who has made a Preface thereto; in which he affirms, and also in his Prologue to *Ursatius*, That he has collected in this Work, and dispos'd in order, all that he could find of *Origen's* upon *Numbers*, whether they were written in Homilies or Scholia; so that this Work is more *Rufinus's* than *Origen's*; and we must not wonder, if we therein find some Explications which appear to be of a Latin Author, and later than *Origen*.





## Works of Origen.

## Greek Works or Fragments of Origen.

## Latin Works of Origen.

## Proofs and Notes upon the Table.



Devil, which the Church does not receive.

He was the first that made Commentaries upon all the Psalms, as St. Hierom tells us, Ep. 89. St. Hilary has copied and imitated them in several places. Trithemius says that he had seen them.

He also wrote Homilies and Scholia upon the Psalms, as the Author of the Commentaries upon the Psalms, attributed to St. Hierom, assures us.

A Commentary upon the Proverbs, cited by Pamphilus.

Two Commentaries upon the Song of Songs: One was made when he was young;

The other, which he composed when he was older, divided into Ten Tomes, in which he has out-done himself; upon which account, St. Gregory Nyssen says, That he has taken extraordinary pains upon this Book of Scripture, in Proemio lib. Canticum.

Thirty Books of Commentaries upon Isaiah.

Five and twenty Homilies.

And some Scholia. Hier. lib.

1. Ael. adversus Ruffin. cap.

3. & in Proemio Comment.

MISS. Eusebius Book 6. chap.

32. says, That the thirty Tomes went as far as the Vision of the four-footed Beasts.

Several Homilies upon Jeremy: Cassiodorus and Rabanus Maurus tell us, That there were 45 of them.

Five Tomes of Commentaries upon the Lamentations of Jeremiah; Eusebius.

Five and twenty Books of Commentaries, and some Homilies upon Ezekiel; Eusebius Book 6. chap. 32.

Some Commentaries upon Daniel; Orig. Tract. 24. in Alasth.

Five and twenty Volumes of Commentaries upon the lesser Prophets. St. Hierom. de Scriptorib. Ecclesiast. lib. 6. cap. 36. The Commentaries upon Hosea and Zachary are a part of them. St. Hierom makes mention of two little Books of Origen upon Hosea, in the Preface to his Commentary upon the Prophets: but he did not explain it entirely, as it appears by St. Hierom, and by the Philocalia.

Another Fragment containing the Catalogue of the Sacred Books, taken from Eusebius's History, lib. 6. cap. 25.

Another from St. Epiphanius, Ibid.

Item, One upon the 4th Psalm, taken from the Philocalia, cap. 25.

One upon the 40th Psalm, Ibid.

And lastly, One upon the 82d Psalm, taken from a Homily; Eusebius Hist. lib. 6. cap. 38.

A Fragment taken from his first Commentary upon the Canticles, in the Philocalia, chap. 27. And one taken from his second, chap. 26.

Nineteen Homilies upon Jeremiah, falsely attributed to St. Cyril, and publish'd by Corderius, twelve whereof are translated by St. Hierom.

A Fragment of the 39th taken from the Philocalia, chap. 1.

A Fragment extracted from the 20th Tome, taken from the Philocalia, chap. 11.

A Fragment of the Commentary upon Hosea, in the Philocalia, chap. 8.

Two passages taken from the Commentary upon the Canticles, in the Apology of Pamphilus, translated by Ruffinus, in St. Hierom Tom. 4.

Huetius believes, that the Latin Book upon the Canticles ought not to be divided into Homilies, since it is a continued Commentary, and that it is the very Commentary of Origen translated by Ruffinus.

Sixtus Senensis, and several others, think that it is by a Latin Author. See the Remarks here at the side [4].

Two Homilies translated by St. Hierom word for word.

Two passages taken from his Commentary upon Isaiah. One upon the 1 chap. and the other upon the 28th chap. in the Apology attributed to Pamphilus in the 4th Tome of St. Hierom.

Nine Homilies translated by St. Hierom (as the same St. Hierom in his Catalogue, and the conformity of the Style, makes it appear.) The 9th is imperfect, to which there is added the end of the 9th Homily upon Jeremiah.

Fourteen Homilies upon Jeremiah, translated by St. Hierom, twelve whereof are also in Greek; but the Translation differs very much from the Greek, and the Homilies are disposed without any order.

Fourteen Homilies upon Ezekiel, translated by St. Jerome, in the Prologue, Style, St. Jerome's own Testimony in Catalogo assure us, and Ruffinus Inveit. 2.

St. Jerome inserted into his Commentaries upon Daniel, Origen's Scholia, taken out of his 10th Book of Stromata.

[4] Not only the Protestant Critics, as Perkins, Coke, Rivet, and others, do reject this Work after Erasmus and Amersbachius, but likewise Sixtus Senensis, and several Papists. In some Editions it is attributed to St. Ambrose, in others to Peter Lombard, others, as Merlin, Genebrard, and Huetius, believe it to be that of Origen; and even Blondel in his Apology is of this opinion, as well as Aubertin. The Reasons against it are, That it appears to be by a Latin Author, 1. Because in his Prologue he cites the Greeks, as strangers to him. 'Tis answered, That he opposes the Greeks not to the Latins, but to the Christians. 2. 'Tis said, That the Author speaks as if he had written in Latin; for he explains the three Greek Names of the three parts of Philosophy; Generales Disciplina, says he, quibus ad scientiam pervenitur, tres sunt, quas Græci Ethicam, Physicam, & Theoriam appellaverunt, (nos has dicere possumus Moralem, Naturalem, & Inspectivam) nonnulli sane etiam Logicam, quam nos rationalem possumus dicere.

And in another place he says, That the Greek word ἀπαρῶν ought to be translated by diligere, and ἀγῶν by dilectio. 'Tis answer'd, That these Explications are by the Interpreter. A third Reason, which is more considerable, is, That St. Hierom in his Prologue upon Origen's two Homilies upon the Canticles, which he translated, saith, That Origen in the ten Tomes explain'd the Translations of the Septuagint, of Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, and the fifth Version; which is not to be found in this Work: But this perhaps was left out by Ruffinus; besides, it may be said that this Commentary here may be accommodated to all these Versions: so the Reasons which are for the Negative are but weak, whereas those which are for the Affirmative are very strong. First, It is certain that Origen did write upon the Canticles. Secondly, This Commentary has the Character and Style of Origen, which gives an allegorical and figurative sense to every thing. Thirdly, There are some Sentences and Thoughts exactly like those which are in the Homilies translated by St. Hierom. Fourthly, It explains the Hebrew words, and draws from thence a mystical sense, after Origen's way. Fifthly, He here cites his other Works. Sixthly, He has peculiar Notions concerning the Soul and the Angels. And lastly, That which is a convincing Proof, is, That the Greek Fragment of Origen upon the Canticles, cited in the Philocalia, is found here, though interpreted with a great deal of liberty. That it is a continued Commentary, and not Homilies, is proved by the Style, because there is a Preface written by the Author; and besides, all Origen's Homilies have a like form of Conclusion, whereas this Commentary is continued without this Conclusion. Ruffinus is the Author of this Translation; and it is certain that it was not St. Hierom, who says in the Prologue of the two Homilies, That this Translation would require too much leisure, pains, and expence, and that he durst not undertake it. Gennadius says, That all Origen's Works which were not translated by St. Hierom, were done by Ruffinus; and indeed the Style of it is very like Ruffinus's.

[5] Five



Origen.	Works of Origen.	Greek Works or Fragments of Origen.	Latin Works of Origen.	Proofs and Notes upon the Table.	Origen.
	<p>[5] Five and twenty Tomes of Commentaries upon St. Matthew, with Homilies and Scholia. <i>Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 36.</i> and <i>St. Hierom in Proemio Comment. in Matth.</i></p>	<p>A Fragment of the first Tome upon St. Matthew, in <i>Eusebius lib. 6. Hist. cap. 25.</i></p> <p>Another taken from the first Tome in the <i>Philocalia</i>, chap. 6.</p> <p>The Commentaries from the 13th Chap. Ver. 36. to the 22d Chap. Ver. 33. are published by <i>Huetius</i>, who has copied it from a Manuscript in the Queen of Sweden's Library; and from another in the King's Library, from the 11th to the 16th Tome, and comprising the 17th.</p>	<p>A Fragment of the first Tome upon St. Matthew, in the Apology of <i>Pamphilus</i>.</p> <p>Another of the 7th Tome, <i>ibid.</i> <i>Bullinger</i> cites some passages thereof, in <i>Disput. contra Casaubonum</i>, p. 2. <i>De amb.</i> 3. p. 19. taken out of the Commentary upon the 6th Chap. and the 23d.</p> <p>The Translation of the Commentaries upon St. Matthew, from the 13th Chap. Ver. 16. to the 27th, Ver. 66. is improperly divided into 36. Homilies, made by <i>Erasmus</i>, from the 13th Chap. Ver. 36. to the 16th Chap. Ver. 26. The remainder is an ancient Version, of which we do not know the Author [6].</p>	<p>[5] In the Preface attributed to St. Hierom upon the Homilies on St. Luke, there are 36. <i>Ruffinus</i> in his second <i>Invective</i> reckons 26 of them, we had better keep to the Account of <i>Eusebius</i>, and St. Hierom.</p> <p>[6] Some have attributed it to St. Hierom; but he himself says in his Prologue upon St. Luke, that he would not undertake it. In his 65th Epistle, he says, that no Person dar'd till his time to interpret the Books <i>de Principiis</i>, and the Tomes of Origen, therefore it is not ancients than St. Hierom. Neither was it done by <i>Ruffinus</i>, who in his Version of the Apology of <i>Pamphilus</i> translates some passages of this Commentary, and relates them</p>	
	<p>after a different manner than what is to be found in this Version, which differs very much from the Text; and it is quite another Style from that of St. Hierom, and of <i>Ruffinus</i>. 'Tis probably later than <i>Gennadius</i>, who says that all that we have of Origen in his time was translated by St. Hierom or <i>Ruffinus</i>. <i>Aquinas</i> relates some passages of them word for word, in his <i>Catena aurea</i>: so that this Author is between <i>Gennadius</i> and <i>Aquinas</i>, and nearer the first than the last, because he cites a passage of the Gospel according to the Hebrews, <i>Tract. 8.</i> which was not quoted by Origen; which shews its Antiquity, besides the Style and the Terms are old. <i>Huetius</i>, from whose Observations we have taken all this, believes that it was made in <i>Cassiodorus's</i> time, and that it might be ascrib'd to <i>Epiphanius Scholasticus</i>, the Author of the Tripartite History, were not the Style quite different: Therefore he attributes it to one <i>Bellator</i>, a Friend of <i>Cassiodorus</i>, who had translated several Greek Books, and particularly some of Origen's Homilies, at the desire of <i>Cassiodorus</i>.</p>				
	<p>Commentaries upon St. Luke. 5. Tomes. St. Hierom. <i>Pro. Hom. in Lucam.</i> Origen T. 13 in <i>Mat.</i></p> <p>Nine and Thirty Homilies upon St. Luke. <i>Id. ibid.</i> &amp; in <i>Catalogo.</i></p> <p>Two and thirty Tomes of Commentaries upon St. John. <i>Ruffin. Inveft. 2.</i></p> <p>Some homilies upon the <i>Acts</i>.</p>	<p>There are but 9 Tomes upon St. John extant, 1. 2. 6. 10. 13. 19. 20. 28. 32. <i>Ferrarius</i> published a Version divided into 32 Tomes, taken from a Venetian MS. <i>Huetius</i> published the Greek from a MS. in the King's Library.</p> <p>A Fragment of the 4th Tome. <i>Philocal. c. 4.</i></p> <p>Another of the 5th Tome. <i>ibid. c. 4.</i></p> <p>A Fragment of the Comments upon the <i>Acts. ib. c. 7.</i></p>	<p>Nine and thirty Homilies upon St. Luke, translated by St. Hierom [7].</p>	<p>[7] He mentions it in the Catalogue of his Works, and in his Prologue to <i>Paula</i>, &amp; <i>Eusebius</i>; and it is quoted by <i>Ruffinus</i> in his <i>Invective</i>. <i>Ruffinus</i> upbraids him for having omitted and alter'd, in translating Origen's Homilies upon St. Luke, those passages which were against the Divinity of the Son; and that when he quoted this passage, <i>Ecce enim ut facta est vox</i>, &amp;c. he observes that he added, <i>Prin-</i></p>	
	<p><i>cipium substantia ejus</i>; which is to be found in the 4th of those Homilies that we have still extant. Lastly, according to the report of <i>Ruffinus</i>, St. Hierom translated seventy of Origen's Homilies. Now he had Translated 14 upon <i>Jeremiah</i>, 14 upon <i>Ezekiel</i>, and 9 upon <i>Isaiah</i>, as appears by his Prologue upon <i>Ezekiel</i>; and there remains to make up the 70, these 39 upon St. Luke; besides that those which we have under his Name, are written according to the Style and manner of Origen. It is objected in the first place, That there are therein several Greek words turn'd into Latin: for example, it is observed, That <i>κατασκευασμένη</i>, that is to say, <i>gratia plena</i>; That <i>λογος</i>, that is, <i>sine ratione</i>; That <i>cadaver</i> comes <i>a casu</i>; That in the Greek there is an article. <i>Homily 22, and Homily 25.</i></p> <p><i>Ans.</i> These Explications are put in by the Interpreter. There are the like in those Books which we have at present in Greek and which are undoubtedly his, and in the ancient translators, as in him that interpreted St. <i>Irenaeus</i>, &amp;c. Secondly, It is objected That the Holy Ghost is there called the Third Person. <i>Ans.</i> Origen often said, That the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost were Three <i>Hypostases</i>, and the Latins have translated the Word <i>Hypostasis</i> by that of <i>Person</i>: For example, <i>Ferrarius</i> translated that passage of the second Tome in <i>Joan.</i> after the same manner. Third Objection: He makes a Dialogue between the Devil and Jesus Christ, and makes them hold long Discourses together. <i>Ans.</i> This is exactly Origen's way. Fourth Objection: He makes use of the Authority of <i>Isaiah</i> and the <i>Psalms</i> against the <i>Sadducees</i>, in the 39th Homily; whereas Origen said that the <i>Sadducees</i> admitted only the Law, and by consequence he would not have made use of any other Books against them. <i>Ans.</i> Origen never said that the <i>Sadducees</i> did not admit the Prophets, but only that they did not make use of them to prove the Doctrines of Faith.</p>				
	<p>Commentaries upon the Epistles to the Romans, which were to the number of 15 Tomes, according to <i>Ruffinus</i> in the Preface to his Version; or twenty, according to <i>Cassiodorus</i>.</p> <p>Some Commentaries upon the first Epistle to the Corinthians; <i>Hom. 17. in Luc. &amp; Hier. Ep. 52.</i></p> <p>Some Commentaries, Homilies and Scholia upon the Epistle to the Galatians. St. Hierom in <i>Proemio Commentar. Ep. ad Galat. &amp; p. 89. ad August.</i></p>	<p>A Fragment of the first Tome of the Commentary upon the Epistle to the Romans, chap. 24. of the <i>Philocalia</i>.</p> <p>Another taken from the 9th Tome, in the 9th chap. of the <i>Philocalia</i>.</p>	<p><i>Ruffinus</i> translated 15 or 20 Tomes of Origen's Commentaries upon the Epistle to the Romans [8].</p>	<p>[8] <i>Ruffinus</i> abridged them into half the compass, as he acknowledges in his Preface. Some attribute this Version to St. Hierom; but unjustly: for in the conclusion he strikes at St. Hierom in these Words: <i>Some perhaps may ask me why I put my Name, and may enquire why I have not set down, for example, the Commentaries of Hierom, upon the Epistle to the Romans.</i> And he adds, that he translated the Books of St. Clement; and that we should not think that it was done by Hierom, he puts the Name of Clement in the Title, which shews that this Translation was done by <i>Ruffinus</i>. We have also two Latin Passages taken from the Apology of <i>Pamphilus</i>.</p>	
	<p>Three Tomes upon the Epistle to the Ephesians. <i>Lib. 1. Apol. ad Ruff. 4, 5.</i></p> <p>A Commentary upon the Epistle to the Colossians. <i>Apol. de Pamphilo.</i></p> <p>One upon the Epistle to the Thessalonians. <i>Hier. Ep. 52.</i></p>	<p>Fragments of Commentaries upon the Epistles to the Colossians and to Titus, in the Apology of <i>Pamphilus</i>.</p> <p>St. Hierom, in the Epistle to <i>Minerius</i> and <i>Alexander</i>, re-</p>			



Origen.	Works of Origen.	Greek Works or Fragments of Origen.	Latin Works of Origen.	Proofs and Notes upon the Table.	Origen.
	<p>One upon the Epistle to Titus. <i>Apolog. Pamph.</i></p> <p>Some Commentaries and Homilies upon the Epistle to the Hebrews.</p> <p>He promised a Commentary upon the <i>Apocalypse</i>, Tom. 3. in Matth.</p>	<p><i>Eusebius</i> lib. 6. cap. 25. relates a Fragment upon the Epistle to the Hebrews.</p> <p>All these Greek Fragments are exactly collected by <i>Huetius</i> in the two Volumes which he has published, containing all that remains in Greek of <i>Origen's</i> Works upon the Scripture; and 'tis to him that we are indebted for almost all the Remarks that are here. He has not inserted the Fragments which are in the <i>Catena</i>, because he believes they are not of any great Authority.</p>	<p>lates a Fragment of the Commentaries of <i>Origen</i> upon the Epistles to the <i>Thessalonians</i>.</p> <p>Lastly, There are some Fragments of a Commentary upon the Epistle to the Hebrews, in the <i>Apology</i> of <i>Pamphilus</i>.</p>		

The other Treatises of *Origen* are not near so many in Number as his Works upon the Holy Scripture: and yet they were very considerable: for not to mention his Commentaries upon the Philosophers, which *Eusebius* speaks of in the 6th Book, Chap. 18. of his History, he wrote (s) 2 Books of the Resurrection; the Treatise *de Principiis*, divided into 4 Books; 10 Books of *Stromata*, (z) witness the same *Eusebius*, Chap. 24. The Book of *Martyrdom*, Mentioned in the 28 Chapter, the 8 Books against *Celsus* in the 36 Chapter, the Letter to *Africanus*, concerning the History of *Susanna*; to which we may add, the Dispute which he had with *Beryllus*, which was extant in *Eusebius's* Time, (u) and some Discourses and Letters which *Eusebius* collected, and divided into three Books, as he declares in the same 5th Book, Chap. 36. *St. Hierom* mentions almost all his Works; and besides these, two other Dialogues of the Resurrection, and a Treatise explaining the Hebrew Names of the new Testament, which he added to that of *Philo*, concerning the Explanation of those of the Old (x). And also in the *Apology* of *Pamphilus*, there is mention made of a Treatise concerning Prayer, composed by *Origen*. *Theodoret* often cites our Author against divers Hereticks (y): but we must not therefore think that he composed so many express Treatises against these Hereticks; they are only some Passages of his Works, where he confutes several Errors, whilst he is Writing upon other Subjects.

The Chief of all these Books is the Discourse against *Celsus*, divided into eight Books, which were published in Greek long since, with the Translation of *Gelenius*, and the Notes of *Hasehelius*, and of one *Christoph. Persona* printed at Rome in the Year 1471, and afterwards very correctly in England in 1658. The *Exhortation to Martyrdom* has been lately published by *Wetstenius*, the Greek Professor at Basil, together with the Letter to *Africanus*, concerning the History of *Susanna*, which was formerly set forth in part by *Hasehelius*, in the Year 1602. We

(s) He wrote two Books of the Resurrection.] *St. Hierom* in *Ruffin. lib. 2. Inveſt.* says, That *Origen* composed two Books, and two Dialogues of the Resurrection. The same in his 6th Epistle cites the 4th Book of the Resurrection. *Methodius* wrote against this Work.

(z) The Treatise *de Principiis*, divided into four Books, and ten Books of *Stromata*.] This last Book was composed in imitation of that of *St. Clement* of Alexandria; witness *St. Hierom*, Ep. 84. who says, That *Origen* compared therein the Opinions of the Philosophers and Christians, and proved our Doctrines from *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Numenius* and *Cornutus*. In the tenth Book he explained the Epistle to the Galatians, and some Passages of *Daniel*.

(u) And some Discourses, and Letters which *Eusebius* had collected.] *Eusebius* has related a Fragment of that which he wrote to his Father, being then very young, lib. 6. cap. 2. Item, of another against those who accused him of applying himself too much to the Study of Human Learning, Chap. 19. He makes mention in the 28 Chapter of the Letters which he wrote in the Time of the sixth Persecution; afterwards in the 36 Chapter, of a Letter to the Emperor *Philip*, and of one to *Severa* his Wife; and lastly, of one to *Fabianus*, and of several others, cited at large in the 39th Chapter. *St. Hierom* in his Catalogue, cites the three last, together with a Letter to *Beryllus*. *Ruffinus* cites a Letter to his Friends, *Lib. de Adult. lib. Origenis*; where he complains that some had falsified his Writings. In the 13th Chapter of *Philocalia*, there is part of one set down to *Gregory Thaumaturgus*; *Cedrenus* and *Suidas* have preserved a fragment of another Letter.

(x) Concerning the Explanation of those of the Old.] *St. Hierom* in *Præfat. ad lib. Hebr. Nom.* The Author of the Orthodox Questions, attributed to *St. Justin*, *Quest. 82.* and 86.

have likewise the Version of the four Books *de Principiis*, composed by *Ruffinus*. But he has taken so much liberty (aa), That we cannot discern what is *Origen's* own. There are some Latin Fragments of the Books of the Resurrection, cited in the *Apology* of *Pamphilus*, which we have only in Latin. The Letter to *St. Gregory Thaumaturgus* is intire in Greek in the *Philocalia*. *Ruffinus* relates a Fragment of a Letter to those of Alexandria, where he complains that they had corrupted his Books. *St. Hierom* accuses him for having omitted, that in this same Letter *Origen* railed at *Demetrius*, Bishop of Alexandria, and at those others who had condemned him. *Eusebius* also produces, as we have already said, some Fragments of two Letters. The Book of Prayer, which *Huetius* had promised, has been lately Published in Greek and Latin in England. This Work was addressed to *Ambrose* and *Tatianus*, and it may be divided into three Parts. In the first, he treats of the Necessity, the Advantage, and the good Effects of Prayer. In the Second, he discourses of the different kinds of Prayer, and particularly explains the Lord's Prayer. In the last, he speaks of the Circumstances and Conditions which ought to precede, accompany and follow our Prayers. Lastly, We may joy to *Origen's* Works the *Philocalia*, which is a Collection of several Passages of *Origen*, relating to the Holy Scripture, made by *St. Basil*, and *St. Gregory Nazianzen*, and published by *Tarinus* in the Year 1618, and the Book of the *Apology* of *Pamphilus*, of which we have the Translation done by *Ruffinus*, which is amongst *St. Hierom's* Works in the Fourth Tome.

We ought also to have reckoned here the Dialogue against *Marcion*, which bears his Name, if it was not more probable that it was composed by another Author (bb), who has introduced *Origen* in this Dialogue defending the Church's Cause and therefore has given it *Origen's* Name, as *Cicero* gave that of *Lælius* and *Cato* to his Books of *Friendship* and *Old Age*.

(y) *Theodoret* often cites our Author against divers Hereticks.] *Lib. 1. Cap. 2.* He says, that he wrote against *Menander*. In the 4th Chapter against *Basilius* and *Isidorus*; in the 7th, against the *Helcesantes*; *Eusebius* says, concerning these last, That it was in his Homilies. In the 19th Chapter, against *Appelles*; in the 3d Book, Chap. 2. against the *Nazareans*. He attributes to him in the 5th Chapter, the little Labyrinth against *Theodotus*, which is by another Author.

(aa) But he has taken therein so much Liberty.] He declares it himself in his Preface, where he says, that he has retrenched and added several things concerning the Trinity. The Passages out of these Books, related in the *Apology*, are quite different from this Version, as well as those which are in the *Philocalia*.

(bb) If it was not more Probable that it was composed by another Author.] This Dialogue is a Dispute against the *Marcionites*, and the *Valentinians*, wherein he introduces *Origen*, defending the Doctrines of the Church; *Megethius*, and *Marcus* taking the part of the *Marcionites*; *Droferius*, *Valens*, and *Maximus*, that of the *Valentinians*, and *Eutropius* as a Judge between them. We have three different Versions of it, that of *Perionius*, and that of *Picus*, printed in 1655, and that of *Humfredus* in 1557, which is much the exactest. But it has been lately published in Greek by a Learned English-man, who pretends that it is *Origen's*. *Huetius* after *Halloixius* and *Rivet* believes that it is not *Origen's*, and this Opinion seems the most probable. 'Tis indeed cited in the *Philocalia*, as a Work

[Whom our Author means by this English-Man I know not. *Wetstenius*, the Greek Professor at Basil, was the first that published it at Basil, Gr. Lat. in 1674. 4to.]

But



Origen.

But we must reckon amongst the Supposititious Books two different Commentaries upon *Job*, Printed in Latin under *Origen's* Name; the first divided into three Books, which concludes about the middle of the third Chapter of *Job*. We do not certainly know whether it was composed in Latin, or whether it was translated from the Greek (cc): however, 'tis certain that it was not written by *Origen* (dd), but by some other Author, who lived since the Time of *Arius* (ee), and one that was an *Arian* himself.

The other Commentary upon the Book of *Job*, translated by *Perionius* from a Manuscript of the King's Library, is also by an *Arian* (ff), but different from the first, though he commends the Martyr *Lucian* as well as *Origen*, and speaks of the *Manichees*. The four Homilies upon *Job*, which were published under *Origen's* Name in the first Edition by *Genebrard*, were left out in the second, because they are not *Origen's*, no more than *St. Chryso-*

stom's to whom they are still attributed. It is observed in a Letter prefixed to *Erasmus's* Edition, that there were still remaining under *Origen's* Name some Little Notes upon *Job*, which they would not Insert in his Works; because they appeared to be of a quite different Style and Genius.

There is in the King's Library, a Commentary upon *St. Mark*, ascribed likewise to *Origen*, which is certainly none of his (gg).

The ten Homilies upon several Passages of the Gospel, collected by *Merlinus*, are all written by others (hh), being written after a quite different Manner, and almost all of them composed by a Latin. The Book concerning *Sighs*, or *Penance*, attributed to *Origen*, and placed by *Gelasius* among the Number of the *Apocryphal* Pieces is without doubt counterfeit, as well as his Preface. *Morellus* caused to be Printed under *Origen's* Name, in the Year 1601, some *Scholia* upon the Lord's Prayer, and upon

of *Origen's*: But it is possible that *St. Gregory* and *St. Basil* might have been deceived, because it bears his Name; or that believing that this Book containing nothing but *Origen's* Opinions, and going under his Name, they might quote it in a Work wherein they made a Collection of his Opinions. Besides, it appears by the Title, that they had taken this Passage from *Eusebius*, who relates it word for word as it is in the *Philocalia*, in his 7th Book de *Præparatione Evangelicâ*, as taken from the Treatise of one *Maximus* *secundus* that is to say, concerning *Matter*; and at the end they add the following remark; *This is extracted from Eusebius's Book, De Præparatione Evangelicâ; the Author thereof is Maximus, a famous Writer among the Christians, as Eusebius observes; but it is likewise found almost in the same Terms in Origen's Dialogue against the Marcionites and other Hereticks, in which Megethius is the Disputant, and Eutropius the Judge.* This Observation makes it appear, that the Authors of the *Philocalia* believed that this passage did really belong to *Maximus*, relying upon *Eusebius's* Authority; but having also found it in a Dialogue which bears *Origen's* Name, they believed that they might cite it as his, without examining whether he was the Author of it; for 'tis a thing very unlikely to affirm, that *Origen* had taken this Passage from *Maximus*, to insert it into his Dialogue, since it is already in *Eusebius* in form of a Dialogue, though the Names be suppressed. So it seems, that we may say that *Maximus* was the Author of this Dialogue, wherein he introduces *Origen*, disputing against the Hereticks, and *Eutropius* as a Judge. But there are considerable Difficulties raised against this Hypothesis. The first, That *Maximus* was more ancient than *Origen*, as appears by *Eusebius*, who in the first Book of his History, Chap. 27. places him amongst the Authors who flourished under the Emperors *Commodus* and *Severus*. The Second is, That it is not likely the Treatise of *Maximus* should be this Dialogue, because it was Entituled concerning *Matter*, and he only proved therein, that *Matter* was a created Substance, whereas this Dialogue contains several other Points of Religion. We may answer to the first Reason, That *Eusebius* was not exact in setting down the Times of Authors, and especially of those about whose Lives he was not particular. The second Objection is more difficult; though we may say, that *Eusebius* having extracted out of this Book of *Maximus*, only what relates to the Original of evil, and the Creation of *Matter*, he gave it the Title of *secundus*, or *unde fit malum*, though it treated of other Subjects; besides that, this Dialogue was chiefly designed to confute the Error of the *Marcionites*, who admitted of several Principles for the explaining the cause of Evil, and that of the *Valentinians*, who made *Matter* Eternal. Which agrees with what *Eusebius* says in his History, that *Maximus* composed several Volumes concerning that famous Question among the Hereticks; *From whence comes Evil?* and to prove that *Matter* is created Substance, for though there are other things discoursed of in this Dialogue, yet these are the two Principal Heads. Nevertheless, as the Passage which is related by *Eusebius*, and in the *Philocalia*, does not agree exactly with what is in this Dialogue, and that the Names of *Origen*, and the other Disputants are not there to be found, 'tis likely they were added after the Death of *Maximus* and *Origen*. There are likewise in this Dialogue some Things which might give occasion to conjecture, that it is more Modern than any of these Authors. For it having been objected in the First Part, that the God of the Creation, who has the Hearts of Kings in his Power, must of necessity be a wicked God, since he suffered the Christians to be persecuted: He answers, *These pitiful Shifts which you make, might have had some probability in former times, and there might have been some necessity then of returning an Answer to them, which might have been done very easily: But now we have a Religious Prince, what have you to say? Will you say that it is another God who rules his Heart, since this Godly Prince governs us much better than the others, and yet after a quite contrary manner; for he establishes what the others would have destroyed, he overthrows the Images and Temples which the others honoured.* Which shews that this Dialogue was composed in Con-

Origen.

stantine's time; for to say that this is to be understood of *Philip*, is to affirm a thing of which there is no likelihood; because suppose that he was a Christian, of which we are not assured, it was most certain that he did not make Profession thereof, and we cannot say of any Emperor before *Constantine*, that he overthrew Idolatry, and destroyed Temples and Idols. So the most probable Opinion is, That this Dialogue was composed in the Beginning of the fourth Age by one of *Origen's* Disciples, who has inserted *Maximus's* Dialogue unto his discourse. Besides there is another Reason not to attribute it to *Origen*, which is taken notice of by *Huetius*; which is that we find some Notions that are very Orthodox, and quite different from *Origen's* Errors concerning the State of Innocence, Man's Body, the Soul and the Resurrection.

(cc) Whether it was composed in Latin, or whether it was translated from the Greek.] *Erasmus*, *Aubertin*, and *Cole* are of Opinion that it was Latin, because the Phrase, and manner of Expression is Latin; but this might proceed from the Interpreter. That which makes it believed that the Author was rather a Greek, is the Prologue which is in the Interpreters Name; which *Erasmus* rejects as Supposititious.

(dd) 'Tis certain that it was not written by *Origen*.] He says some things contrary to what *Origen* affirms. For Example, in the Second Book, he says that *Jesus Christ* preached three years and a half; and *Origen*, in his Book *De Principiis*, Cap. 2. and *Hom. 32. in Lucam*, says that he preached but a Year and odd Months.

(ee) But by some other Author, who lived since the Time of *Arius*.] He calls the Church that believes the Trinity, a Sect and a Heretic. He rejects the Word Trinity and *trinitas*: He commends the Martyr *Lucian*, who died a long time after *Origen*, and whom the *Arians* extolled as their Patron: Upon which *Arius* calls *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, *Collesianita*; And this sufficiently shews how grossly they are mistaken, who have attributed these Commentaries to *St. Hilary*.

(ff) The other Commentary upon the whole Book of *Job*, is also by an *Arian*.] He condemns the Term *omniscient*; and calls the Catholics *Homousiasts*; He commends *Lucian* the Martyr; and it is different from the First, because he makes *Moses* to be the Author of the Book of *Job*, and the First only makes him to be the Interpreter. Whereas *Origen*, in his Sixth Book against *Celsus*, says, that *Moses* wrote nothing but the *Pentateuch*. It is of a different Style from the Treatises of *Origen*, and he confutes those who believe the Stars to be animated, which is *Origen's* Opinion.

(gg) A Commentary upon *St. Mark*, ascribed likewise to *Origen*, which is none of his.] It is of quite a different Style. He says he will collect the Opinions of the Ancients. In some Manuscripts it is attributed to *St. Cyril*; in others to *Victor of Antioch*: It has been Translated, and Published under this Name by *Peltanus*. He cites *Origen*, *Eusebius*, *St. Chrysostom*, *Apollinarius*, and *Theodoret*; and he mentions the *Novatians*.

(hh) The Ten Homilies are all of other Authors than *Origen*.] they have been collected in several Places, and put into order by *Merlinus*. They are all written in a different Style from *Origen's*; and composed by a Latin Author: they have all designs that are quite differing from those of *Origen's* Homilies; they are full of Quibbles upon Words, and of affected Rhetorical Figures, which is not to be found in *Origen's* Works. In the first, he says, that *Jesus Christ* was born of the Virgin, without opening of her Womb; The contrary to which is taught by *Origen*, in the 54th Homily upon *St. Luke*. The second discourses of the *Arians* and the *Manichees*; and therein the Term *omniscient* is defended; therein likewise are cited the Books attributed to *St. Dionysius*. The 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, and 10th Books are all filled with vain Repetitions, Antitheses, Quibbles upon Words, Synonima's and Allusions, which prove that it is a Latin Author, they are of the same Style of the first. The 9th is composed of three Parts (as *Huetius* has observed.) The First is part of *Origen's* 34th Discourse upon *St. Matthew*. The Second is taken from *St. Hierom's* 8th Book upon *Isaiah*; and the Last from the 17th Chapter of *St. Gregory's* Ninth Book of *Morals*.



*Origen.* the Hymn of the blessed Virgin, and of Zachary; but the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, &c. (ii) informs us, that they were written by *Petrus Laodicensis*. Besides there were found in the *Vatican Library*, some Homilies upon *Jeremiah*, some whereof were Printed by *Chiffletius* in the Year 1623, which also are none of his. The Book concerning Celibacy of the Clergy, which is amongst *St. Cyprian's Works*, bears the Name of *Origen* in a Manuscript of the King's Library (kk), but 'tis the Work of a Latin Author. It is said also, that there are in Libraries some Treatises under this Author's Name (ll), which are very dubious, they not being cited by the Ancients, and being for the most part upon such Subjects, upon which it is not likely that *Origen* should have written.

I shall not stand to set down in particular the several Editions of *Origen's Works* as well in Greek as in Latin, having already taken notice of the greatest part of them: It shall suffice me to say, That all *Origen's Works* that are in Latin, have been collected by *Merlinus*, and afterwards by *Erasmus*, and Printed in two Volumes at *Paris* in the Year 1512, and at *Basil*, in the Years 1526, 1545, and 1571. That *Genebrard* has since made a larger Collection, Printed at *Paris* in 1574, 1604, and 1619; and at *Basil* in 1620. That all the Greek Fragments of *Origen's Books* upon the Scripture, are published with a translation by the Learned *Huetius*, and Printed in *France* in two Volumes, in the Year 1667, but that he has not yet set forth the other Works of *Origen*, as he promised. That his Books, against *Celsus*, and the *Philocalia* were Printed in *England* in 1658. That *Wetstenius*, Greek Professor at *Basil*, caused to be Printed there, in 1674, the Dialogue against *Marcion*. The Exhortation to Martyrdom, and the Letters of *Africanus* and *Origen*, concerning the History of *Susanna*; and lastly, That the Book concerning Prayer has been lately Printed in *England*. So that to have all *Origen's Works*, as well those which we have only in Latin, as those in Greek, we must have *Genebrard's Edition*, *Huetius's* two Volumes, the Books against *Celsus*, with the *Philocalia*, Printed in *England* in Quarto; the Quarto Volume set forth by *Wetstenius*, and the little Treatise concerning Prayer, lately Printed in *England*.

It would be very tedious, and to little purpose, to give here an Abridgment of all *Origen's works*, and Particularly of his Homilies, and his Commentaries upon the Scripture, which are almost all full of Allegories and Morality; besides, having only the Version of the greatest part of the Homilies, we cannot be certain whether that which relates to Doctrine and Discipline, be *Origen's own*, or *Ruffinus's*: I shall therefore content my self to give a Summary of his Doctrine upon the principal Points of our Religion, examining at the same time whether he be guilty of those errors of which he is accused.

If we had had his Books of *Principles* in Greek, we might easily have been inform'd of all his Opinions; for these Books contained the Abridgment of his Doctrine: But since we have only *Ruffinus's Translation*, in which he himself confesses that he altered and omitted several Passages, wherein *Origen* discourses concerning the Mystery of the Trinity, which he believes were corrupted by the Hereticks, we cannot be assured of *Origen's Doctrine* from this Version, except it be in those things for which he is condemned: so that we must have recourse to those Works of *Origen* which we have in Greek.

*Origen's* Notions concerning the Nature and the Attributes of God are very Orthodox; he believes that he is a

Lib. 4. contra Celsum, & 6. Lib. 3. contra Celsum. T. 14. in Joan. & de Princip. c. 1. q. 20. in Exod. Lib. 4. contra Celsum. Spiritual, Invisible, Simple, and Eternal Essence. He is wrongfully accused for believing that God had a Body, since he says directly contrary in several places, and proves it by many convincing Arguments. He discourses admirably concerning the Knowledge and the Providence of God. Some have accused him of having set Bounds to his Power, because he says, *That he is called Omnipotent only because he governs all things, and not because he can create any thing anew.* *Justinian* cites in his Letter to

(ii) But the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, &c.] *Michael Chiffletius* tells us in the Preface to his Commentary upon *Jeremiah*, Printed in the Year 1623, that he found four and twenty of them, and that the last was the Treatise of *St. Clement*, *What Rich Man can be saved?* He sets down Eight.

(kk) Bears *Origen's Name* in a Manuscript of the King's Library.] By *Vincencius Bellovacensis*, and some others. *Pamelius* is of this Opinion. In other Manuscripts it is attributed to *St. Hierom* and to *St. Augustin*. Some have believed that it was Translated from Greek, but it is, as we shall shew hereafter, written by a Latin.

(ll) Lastly, they say that there are in Libraries other Treatises

*Origen.* *Mennas*, a Passage taken from the second Book of *Origen's Principles*, where he says that the Power of God is finite, and that he made all the Creatures that he can govern. *Ruffinus* also taxes him of this Error. He seems indeed to have believed that God created that Matter from all Eternity, whereof he has made the World, and of which he will make successively several other Worlds.

The Ancients are extremely divided as to the Judgment that is to be given of *Origen's Doctrine* concerning the Trinity.

*St. Hierom*, *John Bishop of Jerusalem*, *St. Epiphanius*, *St. Austin*, and after them *Theophilus*, *Justinian*, and the fifth Council have accused him of several Errors about this Mystery: on the contrary *Didymus*, *St. Athanasius*, *St. Basil*, *St. Gregory Nazianzen*, an anonymous Author, of whom *Photius* speaks in the 117th Volume, *St. Chrysostom* and *Ruffinus* have either cited him against the *Arians*, as an Author who had Orthodox Notions concerning the Trinity, or defend him against the Accusations of his Enemies; the one by giving a favourable Sense to his Words, and the Others by maintaining that those Passages which were found not to be agreeable to the Faith of the Church were added; and that there were other contrary Expressions which were entirely conformable to the Doctrine of the Church. It is certain that in *Ruffinus's* Latin Versions which we have of the Book de *Principiis*, and the Apology of *Pamphilus*, and of his other Works, the Doctrine of the Trinity is explained after a very Orthodox manner. But we must confess, that we cannot rely upon *Ruffinus's* Credit, who acknowledges that he added and altered several Passages relating to the Trinity. It is true, he says he has taken what he has added from other Places of *Origen*; but *St. Hierom* denies it, and we are not obliged to believe *Ruffinus* upon his own Word. So likewise we ought not to give Credit entirely to what *St. Hierom* says against *Origen*, since he was as violent against him, as *Ruffinus* was passionate for him. Therefore neither believing his Enemies, nor his zealous Defenders, let us consult those Pieces of his Works which we have in Greek. And here still we are in a Labyrinth, from which it will be difficult to extricate our selves. Herein we find some things which appear no less contrary, than the Opinions themselves of the Authors who have written for and against him. He often

speaks very excellently of the WORD, which gives us reason to believe that he was persuaded of his Godhead: He says, That he was

from the beginning in the Father; That he is the Image of the Father; That he was begotten of the Father from all Eternity; That he is a Subsistence, and a Person distinguished from the Father; That he is the Wisdom of God, and that he is God himself; That he never leaves his Father; That those are in an Error, who deny that the Godhead of the Father and the Son is the same, though their Substance be different; That he is God, *ous*, though he be not the Source and Original of the Godhead, as the Father is, whom upon that account he calls *Autistes*; That he is above all Creatures; That we may address our Vows and our Prayers to Him, as to God the Father; That he is only known by the Father; and that he ought to be honoured as the Father, and that he has the same Power. Lastly, *St. Athanasius* cites two formal passages for the Eternity of the WORD, and for his Equality with the Father; *St. Basil* also cites one which is very clear for the Divinity of the Holy Ghost.

But, on the other side, in his Books we meet with many expressions which are very harsh, little conformable to the Orthodox Doctrine, and which seem to favour the *Arians*. He says that the Word is an *Hypostasis* different from the Father; and he takes the Word *Hypostasis* to signify Nature and Substance.

Tom. 1. Comment. in Joan. p. 17. 19. p. 30. *ibid* & Homil. 6. in Jerome. p. 28. Tom. 2. 47. 48. *ibid*. lib. 2. cont. Celsum. Lib. 6. Cont. Celsum, & lib. 8.

Lib. de Decretis Concilii Niceni. Basil. de Sp. Sancto c. 29. l. 8. cont. Celsum, & Tom. 2. in Joannem p. 56. & p. 17, & 23. Tom. 2. in Joan. p. 49, 56. & 70. Item Tom. 13. p. 218 Item. Tom. 32. lib. 8. cont. Celsum, & lib. 5.

under this Author's Name.] There is a Book concerning the Astrolabe, which was said to be in the *Vatican Library*; the Breviary or Abridgment of *Origen's Books* concerning Preaching or Catechizing, &c. And besides this there are several of *Origen's* Fragments in the *Catena Græcorum Patrum*: But it would be an endless Labour to collect them all. *Huetius*, who neglected this Toil, thinking it to be too Great, by reason of the Multitude of the *Catena*, and to be to no purpose, by reason of their little Authority; tells us that *Father Combès*, a Man of indefatigable Pains, having undertaken it, he has referred us to the Collection which he has made of them. 'Tis probable he did not think them worth publishing.

He



*Origen.* He says likewise, that the Father and the Son are One in Concord and in will; and that the last is not properly God, *θεός*, but only called God, because he is the Image and resemblance of the Divinity; That the WORD and the Holy Ghost were made by the Father; That we must not compare the Father with the Son; and that the Father is greater than the Son, who is inferior to him, though he be superior to all Creatures, as the Sunbeam is inferior to the Sun; and lastly, that the WORD is the Minister of the Father. These Expressions, and some others like them are hard indeed; But when there are Contradictions in Authors, we ought always, in my Opinion, to take the most favourable Side. Besides that, it is more easie to put a good Construction on these last Expressions, which were very common before the Council of Nice, than to put a bad one upon the first: For without making use of *Ruffinus's* way of defending him, who says that these Places are either added or corrupted; and without alledging in his Excuse, that being to dispute against the *Sabellians*, he was obliged to make use of some Terms which might seem to favour the opposite Error: without making use, I say, of these general Defences, I believe we may explain in a very Catholick Sense, those Expressions which I have just now related. When he says, that the Father and the Son were *Two Hypostases*; he understands by the Word *Hypostasis*, all that is opposed to nothing; and he had no other Design than to maintain against the *Sabellians*, That the WORD was not a Virtue or a Quality from the Father, but a Person subsisting. It is certain, That in *Origen's* Time the Words *Hypostasis* and *Substance* were synonymous Terms; but so too by the Word *Substance*, was often understood a Person subsisting; and some Catholick Authors, not only before the Council of Nice, but even afterwards have affirmed that the Father was a Substance, the Son a second Substance; understanding, as *St. Hilary* observes, by *Substance*, the *Persons subsisting*. In the second place, *Origen* does not say that the Son is a Creature: He does not deny but that he is God, but he only denies that he is God of himself, as the Father is, *αυτοθεός*; and this is what he would explain by the Comparison of the Sun and the Sun-beam, which the Fathers who lived after the Council of Nice, Thought to be very proper for the explaining the Mystery of the Trinity. And thus it is, that going upon the principle, he says the Son is inferior to the Father, and that the Father was greater than the Son; not that he believed them to be of a different Nature, since he owned that they are One and the same Divinity, and One and the same Substance; That the Son was equal to the Father, and that he was in him from all Eternity; but because the Son derives his Divinity from the Father, who is the Source of the Godhead. As to what he says, That the Son is the Minister of the Father; That the Father made use of him in making the World; and that the Son was created. These are expressions that are too common amongst the Ancients, to be particularly Objected to *Origen* as a Crime.

*Epist. ad. Avitum.*

*Tom. 2. in Joan. p. 56. Tom. 6. p. 130. Lib. 5. contra Celsum. Tom. 15. in Matt.*

*Origen's* Opinion by some of his Greek Passages. The same *St. Hierom* upbraids him also for affirming that the Son in comparison of the Father, was a lesser Light; That he was not the Truth, but the Image of the Truth; That he was Visible, and the Father Invisible; but we may easily discern that these expressions, as harsh as they may seem, being considered separately, were meant by *Origen* in a good sense, he having no other Design than to prove that the Father was the Source and Original of Goodness and Truth; and that the Son received it from him and that in this Sense he was the Image of the Father's Goodness, the Brightness of his Godhead: Expressions which in this sense are very Orthodox. As to what he says that the Father is Invisible, and the Son Visible, we have shewn in other places what the Ancients meant by this way of speaking.

Lastly, It is easie to answer what *St. Epiphanius* and several others object to *Origen*, That he denied that the

*Tom. 20. in Joh. p. 292.*

Father was Visible to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost; for he affirms so expressly in so many Places, That the Father is perfectly known of the Son, and even of the Holy Ghost, that he must of necessity have had some other meaning, when he seems to assert the contrary. *Ruffinus* answers this Objection, That he denied that the Father was Visible to the Son, as Bodies are Visible to Bodies, that he might confute the Error of the *Valentinians*, who believed that God was

Corporeal; and he cites a Passage of *Origen*, where he distinguishes betwixt *Seeing* and *Knowing*, and Affirms, that we may say that the Son *knows* the Father, but that we cannot say that he *sees* him, because *Seeing* is the Property of a Body. I shall not make any Answer to other more trivial Objections, because it is easie to satisfy them, as well by what we have just now

said as by what we have observed upon the other Fathers. (a) There are no very considerable Objections made against *Origen's* Doctrine concerning the Incarnation; for though he be accused of several Errors, he affirms so positively in all his Works, that the WORD had taken a Body and a Soul like ours, in the Womb of a Virgin, by the Operation of the Holy Ghost; That Jesus Christ had true Flesh; That he really suffered; That he is altogether God and Man, in that the Human Nature was united with the Divine Nature in one and the same Person: That it is impossible to accuse him of any Error concerning the Mystery of the Incarnation. Perhaps as he was of opinion, That the Souls were in Heaven before they came down into their Bodies, he might think the same thing of the Soul of Jesus Christ, but this was only a particular Error, for which he was not very earnest.

He is accused of believing that the Death of Christ was of Advantage to all reasonable Creatures, as Angels, Devils, and even insensible things; and 'tis certain that he does assert this wild Notion in several places of his Works; He has feigned a spiritual Death of Jesus Christ in the other World, which has given occasion to tax him for holding that Jesus Christ died several times. He believed that Christ did not come out of the Virgin's Womb by Penetration; and he accuses the Virgin Mary of Distrust. But these are but slight Errors, and common among the Ancients.

As he believed that the only Point of Faith relating to the Angels, was, That there were such Beings, and that neither Scripture nor Tradition had determined any thing as to their Nature and their Number; so he has taken the Liberty to deliver his own Thoughts hereupon: He imagines that they are corporeal, though invisible, having nevertheless a spiritual Soul. He says, That the good Angels have a finer, and the evil ones a grosser Body. The Principle from whence he has drawn this Conclusion, is, That all intelligent and spiritual Creatures, having been created in Heaven with a perfect Freedom of Will, they have been afterwards, for a Punishment of their Faults, confined to Bodies more or less gross, according to the Quality of their Crimes, and ranked in such and such Orders or Degrees of Creatures inferior one to another: Yet so, nevertheless, as that after having suffered this Exile, if I may so say, for some Ages, they may by living virtuously, return to the Place from whence they were banished. (b) And going upon this Principle, he affirms, That Men may become Angels and Angels Men; That the Angels being free, do often commit Faults; That the Devils shall one day be delivered; That the Angels are guilty of several Offences in their Administration of things here below, for which they are immediately rebuked, and for which they shall be judged in the Day of Judgment. All these Fancies, and several others, are the Consequences of *Plato's* Doctrine, to which *Origen* was wonderfully addicted. We must nevertheless acknowledge, that he does not propose these things as Doctrines of our Religion, but only as his Opinions and Conjectures.

(c) He says in several Places, That the Angels take care of Men; That every Church, every Society; and lastly, every Man has his Guardian-Angel; and even in some places he says, That every one has his good and evil Angel; in other places, That several Angels have the Care of one particular Person; (c) *Hom. 23. in Jos. lib. 2. Per. c. 11. Tom. 13. in Mat. c. p. 310, 311. Tom. 14. p. seq. lib. 1. in Ep. ad Rom. Hom. 23. in Jos. lib. 8. cont. Celsum, Hom. 4. in Num. Hom. 2. in Jos. lib. 1. Per. cap. 10. lib. 8. cont. Celsum, Hom. 4. in Psal. 36. Hom. 20. Hom. 35. in Luc. lib. 5. cont. Celsum, lib. 8. Tom. 2 p. 320.*

(b) This is the Principle of the Platonists. Theophilus, Justinian, St. Epiphanius, Methodius, and an anonymous Author in Photius, ascribed it to *Origen*. He plainly asserts it in his first Book of Principles, C. 6. Tom. 15. c. 13. in Matt.



Hom. in Ezek. Hom. 23. in Luc. cam.

son; and in others, That they take care of inanimate things.

Though he denies that we ought to address to the Angels the same Prayers, and the same Adorations as to God, yet he allows that they may be prayed unto, and honoured as they deserve.

Concerning the Soul, he says in the Preface to his Books of Principles, that it is not determined by the Tradition of the Church; whether it be produced by another Soul, or whether it comes from else-where; whether it be Eternal, or created at a certain time; whether it animates the Body, or whether it be only confined there. This is what he says in the Language of an Ecclesiastical Author: But following the Principles of Plato's Philosophy, he holds, That Souls are intelligent Creatures; which have been from Eternity, which are sent into Bodies as into a Prison, for a Punishment of their Sins; That they pass from Body to Body; That they become Angels; and lastly, That they are in a continual Motion. He asserts all these things in his second Book of Principles, Chap. 6, and 7. and in

(d) *Lib. 2. Per. cap. 2.* several other places of his Works. (d) He says in some places, That the Soul is corporeal; but in others, he assures us that it is spiritual and incorporeal.

(e) *Hom. 1. in Genes. in Exhortat. ad Mart. lib. 6. contra Celsum. in Luc. cap. 41.* He holds it as an Article of Faith, That there is a Free Will in all reasonable Creatures; from whence it follows, That though a Man may be excited to Good by some Celestial Power, and spur'd on to Evil by the Devil, yet he is never constrained to do Good or Evil. This is what he says agreeably to the Doctrine of the Church; but he extends this Liberty, by following Plato's Principles, to all sorts of Conditions; and he pretends, That an intelligent Creature is, and will always be free to do Good and Evil, in whatsoever State and Condition he is; for in this he makes Free Will to consist.

(f) *Lib. 2. Per. c. 3. & lib. 3. cap. 1. & 3. lib. 3. c. 1. & 2. in Ep. ad Rom. passim. Tom. 11. in Mat. Item 16, & 13. in Joan. lib. 2. c. 7. lib. 3. c. 1. Philocal. cap. 20. in Ep. ad Rom. lib. 7. & 9. & lib. 2. de Princip. cap. 9. Hom. 10. in Levit. 1. in Ezek. lib. 1. per. c. 5. Hom. 35. in Luc. c. 1. lib. 3. per. Tract. 33. in Mat. lib. 4. & 9. in Ep. ad Rom. Supra, & lib. in Ep. ad Rom. lib. 3. per. c. 2. lib. 1. per. c. 8. lib. 3. cap. 2. in Psal. 4. Hom. in Psal. 36. Hom. in Matt. p. 210. Tract. 15. in Matt.* (f) He does not seem to have made any Distinction between Adam's State, and that of Mankind after the Fall.

He attributes very much to Free Will, and Nature, and he speaks but very little of Grace, which he believes was infused into Souls according to the Merits which they have, before they are confined in Bodies; and afterwards it is augmented according to the Good and Evil which they do in making use of their Natural Liberty. He ascribes in several places the Conversion of a Man, and all the Good which he acts, to Free Will; and allows hardly any thing to Grace, so that it was not without Reason that St. Hierom accuses him for having furnished the Pelagians with Principles; though yet in some places he speaks very advantageously of Grace, and of the Assistance of God. He is taxed for holding, that Men may arrive to such a Degree of Perfection, that they shall be no more subject to Temptation, nor commit any more Sins: And indeed there are some Relicks of this Error in his Books. He has also affirmed, that those who have sinned, after having received the Holy Ghost,

(g) *Lib. 5. in Ep. ad Rom. Tom. 13. in Matt. p. 328. T. 15. p. 385. Tract. 35. in Matt. ibid. & lib. 1. in Ep. ad Rom.*

and that being forsaken by God, it was impossible for

(h) *Lib. 1. in Ep. ad Rom. & lib. 7. ejusdem operis.*

him not to sin. (h) When he explains that Passage of the fifth Chapter of the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans, he discourses of Original Sin after a very obscure manner; as if he doubted of it: And we must not wonder after this, that he did not admit of any other Predetermination, than that which has respect to Merits.

He believed that the Stars were animated with reasonable Souls confined to these

(i) *Tom. 1. in Joan. p. 17. lib. 1. per. c. 7. & lib. 2. Tom. 13. in Matt. lib. 5. con. Celsum & in Ep. ad Rom. cap. 8. & lib. 8. Justin. Ep. ad Mennam.*

Bodies. (i) He owns the Resurrection of the Body, but by Philosophizing too nicely upon this Matter, he has, if I may so say, spiritualized it.

He admits of two Resurrections; That of the Righteous, and that of the Wicked. He acknowledges the last Judgment, wherein Men and Angels shall be judged; but he seems to make a doubt in what Place it should be; if all Men were there to be judged. (k) He says, That Jesus Christ shall appear there, but that we neither know the Place where he will appear, nor the Manner how. He rejects the Opinion of the Millenaries. He confesses that good Men shall again be recompenced with Eternal

Blessedness, and the Wicked punished with Eternal Fire; but he destroys the Simplicity of this Faith by reasoning too much on this Subject. He believes that all Men, even the most Holy, shall pass through the Fire: That after Men have passed through the Fire, the Wicked shall be cast into Hell, that is to say, into the lowest Place; and they shall be there tormented with Eternal Fire.

This Fire (as (l) he explains it in other places) is Remorse of Conscience, and Vexation of Spirit. (m) He makes Blessedness to consist in an Union with God. He says that Souls come to it by degrees; that after they are separated from their Bodies, they are for some time upon

Earth, in order to be purified, that afterwards they are taken up into the Air, and instructed by Angels, that they pass through several places, where they remain for some time, and that at last they come to the highest Heaven; in comparison whereof the Firmament is but a Hell; that the more they retain of Earth in them, the longer they are upon this Journey: That the Souls which are arrived at this Sovereign Degree of Bliss, may fall from it, and that they are sent back again into Celestial Bodies, or others, and that they afterwards return from whence they were driven: that so Blessedness may have an end, and that Torments shall have a Conclusion likewise.

(n) He says in his Preface to the Book *De Principiis*, that God created the World, that it had a Beginning, and that it must have an End; but that it is not determined by Tradition, what it was before, and what it will be after. He imagines that it was made, if I may so express it, to be a Place of Banishment for all Intelligent Creatures. He makes no Difficulty of asserting, that there were more Worlds before this, and that there shall be more after it. He says, that God always had the Matter upon which he wrought, which supposes that it is eternal, since God created it from all Eternity.

(o) He says, That the earthly Paradise was in Heaven, and he has explained of the Souls which were there, that which is said in *Genesis* concerning Adam and Eve. He understands by the Fig-leaves, wherewith they covered themselves after the Fall, the mortal Bodies to which the Souls were chained.

It may be concluded from all, that we have already said concerning Origen's Doctrine upon the Tenets of our Religion, that although he professed to believe the Doctrine of the Church,

(p) yet he sets up some Philosophical Principles, the Consequences of which were found contrary to what was taught by the Christian Religion; which obliged him, in order to accommodate these things which were so directly opposite one to the other, to invent several Opinions that were very far from the Simplicity of the Faith.

So that we must distinguish in Origen what he says according to the way of speaking used by the Church in his Time, and what he says according to the Principles of Plato's Philosophy, and then we need not wonder, if after having acknowledged the Truths of Christianity, he should lose himself by advancing such Platonic Notions as are destructive to them. And this, in my Opinion, is the reason of his principal Errors, which

(k) *Lib. 5. Contra Celsum lib. 2. per. c. 3. lib. 2. c. 10. See Methodius in Epiphanius, and St. Jerome in his Epistle John of Jerusalem. Tom. 17. in Matt. page 494; & 495. lib. 2. per. c. 3. & 10. & lib. 3. cap. 6.*

(l) *Tract. 30, & 34. in Matt. lib. 2. in Ep. ad Rom. & lib. 9. Hom. 6. in Exod. Hom. 3. in Psal. 36. Hom. 14. in Luc. lib. 5. con. Cels. & lib. 8. ad Rom.*

(m) *Lib. 4. per. cap. 2. & lib. 1. cap. 6. Philocal. cap. 1.*

(n) *Lib. 2. de prin. & lib. 5. con. Celsum. Tract. 34. in Joan. Hom. 26. in Num. & 27, 28. & passim. Tract. 30. in Matt. lib. 1. de prin. c. 6. lib. 2. c. 3. & 12. lib. 3. cap. 6. lib. 3. de prin. c. 3. & lib. 2. Hom. 7. in Levit. Hom. 6. in Num. & in Reg. in Ezek. 5. c. 13. lib. 1. Per. c. 6. Tom. 15. & Tract. 33. in Matt. Hom. 8. in Levit. 14. in Luc.*

(o) *Lib. 2. c. 1. & 8. & T. 19. in Joan. Justin. Ep. ad Menna. and two passages from lib. 1. & 4. Hieron. Ep. 59. ad Avitum.*

(p) *Lib. 1. Per. c. 2. Meth. apud Photium. c. 3. in Genes. c. 1. This was objected against him by Methodius in Epiphanius, by Photius, by Eustathius, by John of Jerusalem, by St. Jerome; and it may be found in lib. 4. de prin. c. 2.*

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which are all of them founded upon three Principles taken from the *Platonick* Philosophy; which are: First, That intelligent Creatures have always been, and shall eternally exist. Secondly, That they have always been free to do Good and Evil. And Lastly, That they have been precipitated into the lower places, and confined to Bodies for a punishment of their Sins. Let any one thoroughly examine all *Origen's* Errors, of which we have just now spoken, and he will easily perceive that they all proceed from this, that he was willing to accommodate the Truths of the Christian Religion to these *Platonick* Principles.

There are besides some other slighter Errors in *Origen*, into the greatest part of which he fell by confining himself too much to the Allegorical Sense of the Scripture;

(q) *Tom. 12. in Matt.* Explaining Christ's words concerning the power of Binding and Loosing, which he granted to St. *Peter*, he seems to reserve this power to those Bishops and Priests who imitate the Virtues of this Apostle, and in the same Sense he says, that all spiritual Men are this Rock, upon which Jesus Christ has built his Church. So likewise (r) explaining that passage of Scripture, where it is said: *Not that which goeth into the Mouth defileth a Man*, he speaks of the Eucharist after so obscure and Allegorical a manner, that it is very difficult to comprehend his Meaning. (s) He likewise explains Allegorically what is said of the Eucharist in other places of the Word of God. It is easy

however to defend him against the Protestants upon the Subject of the real Presence, since he acknowledges in the eighth Book, that the Loaves which are offered in the Church are made a Holy Body by Prayer, *ἡ ἑκκλησία ὡς ἅγιον σώμα*. We might easily bring other Examples of the Oversight that he has committed, endeavouring too much to spiritualize the Words of the Scripture, but I shall pass them over in Silence.

He speaks of the Sacred Scripture after a very excellent manner, as of a Book written by persons who were inspired by God. His passages upon this Subject have been collected by St. *Basil*, and St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, in a Book which they have Entituled *Philocalia*. (t) He distinguishes the three Senses of Scripture, but he applies himself particularly to the Allegorical Interpretation, and he affirms that there are

some places which have no literal Meaning. He proves that every Body ought to read the Scripture. Now for some points of Discipline which may be observed in his Works. The Christians assembled together in his Time in the Churches, not only on Sundays, and Festivals, but also on other Days. (u) He often speaks against those who neglected to do it, and who did not hear the Word of God with due Respect. There were Priests and Bishops in his Time, who were chosen by the People. And their Duty was to teach the People, they instructed the Catechumens, and prepared them for Baptism for a considerable time. They baptized the Children; and Baptism was never reiterated; they anointed those who were baptized with Oyl. They observed Lent; and also fasted *Wednesdays* and *Frydays*. They expelled out of the Church, such as committed publick Crimes after Baptism: And (x) he observes in his Book against *Celsus*, that there were some Persons set apart on purpose to take care of the Manners of the Faithful. They allowed of Penance but once, and that rarely too. Excommunication was the greatest Ecclesiastical Penalty. Nevertheless, It was not doubted but that those who were unjustly Excommunicated, might be saved. Simony also was prohibited.

In his time Sins were confess'd to Priests, and they examined those who were to teach in publick. They believed that one ought to live a very holy Life, to approach the blessed Sacrament, and that as it was very advantageous to those who received it worthily, so it was Damnation to those who received it unworthily. They did not admit Persons that were twice married to holy

Orders. They concealed the Mysteries, and principally the Eucharist, from the Infidels and the Catechumens. They prayed to God on their Knees, and turning towards the East. They celebrated *Good-Friday*, *Easter*, *Whitsontide*, and *Sundays*, with very great Solemnity. And these were the principal Points of Discipline, that can be observed in the Books of *Origen*: It would be too tedious to take notice of Points of Morality that he discourses of in his Homilies, which are all filled with them. We shall here present you only with some of them.

He says, that we ought not to make use of Marriage, but only for the sake of having Children: that he who does Good out of servile Fear, shall be less rewarded than him who does it out of Love. (y) There are in his Homilies upon *Exodus*, a great many curious Allegories upon the Necessity of renouncing the World, and leading a Christian Life. He says, That *Pharaoh* represents the World, who slew the Male Children, that is, the righteous, and preserved the Females, that is to say, vicious and effeminate Persons; and he makes a pretty Moral upon this Allegory. He says, that *Aegypt* is the Type of the World, from whence we must depart, not only in Body, but in Mind, by renouncing it entirely. There are a great many other Allegories and moral Thoughts of the same Nature. He distinguishes two sorts of Sins; great Sins, and lesser Sins. He ranks among the number of lesser Sins, such as may prove mortal; and by great Sins, he understands such, for which we can do Penance but once. He gives seven remedies for Sins; Baptism, Martyrdom, Alms-deeds, forgiving of our Enemies, the Conversion of our Brethren, Charity, and laborious Penance, and lastly, that Repentance and Uction of which St. *James* speaks. (z) (z) *Hom. 3.*

He says, that we must not presently reprehend publickly the Sin of our Brother, but that we ought first to rebuke him in private, afterwards before one or two Witnesses; and lastly, if he did not reform, then we are to tell it to the Church. (aa) He shews that true Fasting is an Abstinence from Sin, and that we ought to Fast in order to feed the Poor. His Homilies upon *Numbers*, *Josuah*, and the *Judges* are more filled with Allegories than Morality. Those which he composed upon the *Psalms* have more Morality in them: He there discourses of Humility, of Prayer, of Patience, of Meekness, of the Prosperity of the Wicked, of Repentance, of that Holiness which is required to communicate worthily, of the Choice of a Guide. His other Homilies are mixed with Morality and Allegories: His large Commentaries have more Learning in them. He therein handles several Questions very learnedly, and makes very judicious Remarks upon them. He gives some Explications upon the Holy Scripture, that are very curious and ingenious: But he goes too far from the Letter, to find out Allegorical Senses; and he amuses himself in explaining too scrupulously all the Words of the Scripture, that he might the better give them a mystical Sense. He is a great Enemy to Hereticks, he attacks them as often as he discourses of any Subject that has any relation to their Errors. He does not let any of them escape; sometimes he writes against *Simon*, *Basilides*, *Carpocrates*, *Valentinus*, *Marcion*, and *Montanus*: At other times he attacks the *Ebionites*, the *Helcesaites*, the *Encratites*, the *Ophites*, and the *Sabellians*. (bb) He acknowledged for Canonical Books of the Old Testament, only those which were in the Canon of the Hebrews to the number of two and twenty: (cc) He ranks the Book of *Esther* in this number, and joyns the Book of *Ruth* with the Book of *Judges*, and *Baruch* with that of *Jeremiah*. As for the Books of *Maccabees*, *Judith*, *Tobit*, *Ecclesiasticus*, and *Wisdom*, he commends them as Good Books, profitable for Catechumens, but such as are out of the Canon of the Books of the sacred Scripture. He calls them nevertheless in some places Divine Books. He cites the Book of *Wisdom* under the Name of the Scripture. He cites likewise the *Maccabees*, and the Book of *Ecclesiasticus*, which he affirms to be among the Books of *Salomon*. We have already taken notice of his Opinion concerning the History of *Susanna*. He receives as Canonical Books of the New Testament, the Four Gospels,

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(y) *Hom. 3. in Exod. & 23. Hom. 3. in Gen. & ibid. Hom. 5. Hom. 2. in Jerem. Hom. 8. Hom. 2. Hom. 3. & 10. in Exod. Hom. 14. in Levit. Item Hom. 15. Tract. 6. in Matt. Hom. 2. in Levit.*

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(aa) *Hom. in Levit.*

(bb) *In Genes. ap. Euseb.*

(cc) *Hom. 27. in Num. & 25. in Jos. in Frag. in Ep. ad Heb. in Apol. Pamphili. lib. 3. con. Cels. Hom. in Exod. 8. lib. 2. Per. & Hom. 3. in Cant. in Matt. & Hom. 18. in Num.*



Origen. (dd) He always cites it under St. Paul's Name. Hom. 8. in Exod. 7. in Levit. in Jerem. Hom. 1. lib. 1. Per. lib. 2 in Matt. c. 13. ap. Esseb. lib. 6. c. 25. lib. 2. Per. c. 5. & lib. 2. Per. in Matt. c. 13. Hom. in Jerem. 3. & 10. in cap. 18. Mat. Hom. in Jerem. 14. in Ezech. in Luc. Hom. 8. in Exod. Hom. 10. in Ios. lib. 1. Per. lib. 2. lib. 3. in Luc. Hom. 35. Luc. 3. Per. pels, the Fourteen Epistles of St. Paul: (dd) He says however, concerning that to the Hebrews, that the Thoughts of this Epistle are St. Paul's; but that it was composed by some other Person, and that there is none but God who knows the Author of it, tho' some attribute it to S. Clement, others to St. Luke. He says that there is but one Epistle of St. Peter, which was received by all the Churches, but that we may grant the second likewise to have been his. He says the same thing of the two last Epistles of St. John. He cites the Epistles of St. Jude, and St. James in his Commentary upon the Epistle to the Romans. He likewise quotes the Revelations, and attributes them to St. John. Besides these Books, he often cites Apocryphal Writings, as the Gospels according to the Egyptians, and according to the Hebrews; The Book of Hermas, the Epistle of St. Barnabas, the Book of Enoch, and even some Heretical Books, as the Apocalypse of St. Paul, a Book concerning the Twelve Apostles, the Doctrine of St. Peter, the Acts of St. Paul, the History of Isaiah, and some others.

Origen had very quick Parts, a very strong and extensive Fancy: but he relied too much on the Vivacity of his Genius; and often lost himself out of too great Earnestness to fathom, and subtilize every thing. He had a very happy Invention, and a much more happy Delivery of what he had invented: But he had not that Exactness in his Inventions, nor all that Gracefulness in the Delivery as might be wish'd. He carried on his Work with so great Ease, that he is said to have Dictated to seven or eight Persons at a time, and he was so ready in expressing himself, that he made the greatest Part of his Homilies *Extempore*. Upon which account his Style was not very correct, nor coherent; He had a vast Memory, but he often trusted too much to it. He was a Person of most profound Learning; and he particularly studied Plato's Philosophy, which he understood to Perfection, and indeed he was too much addicted to it for a Christian. He understood likewise the Maxims of the other Philosophers. He had applied himself mightily to the Study of human Learning: He was neither ignorant of History, nor Mythology, and he had as great Knowledge in all the prophane Sciences, as those who had studied nothing else all their whole Lives. But he particularly excelled in the Knowledge of the Holy Scripture, to the Study of which he entirely addicted himself. He had learned it all by heart, and that he might not neglect any thing which might be of use for the understanding the Letter thereof, he carefully examined all the Versions of the Bible, which were in his time, and compared them all together with the Hebrew Text, adding thereto a literal Commentary upon the most difficult places. He was not very well skilled in the Hebrew; yet he knew enough of it to understand it, and to observe the Differences of the Text, and the Translations; but he did not keep to the literal Explication of the Bible. He thought it necessary for the setting off of the Holy Scripture to the best advantage, which appeared but plain and simple to the Heathens, and for the rendring it of greater use to all the World, to give mystical or allegorical Interpretations of every thing in it: And herein imitated the way of Philo and Aristobolus, and followed the Genius and Manner of the Platonists. We have already taken notice, that Hippolytus explained the Scripture allegorically, and that it was in imitation of him that Origen undertook this way of Writing. St. Clement of Alexandria his Master, is also full of Allegories, and 'tis not to be denied but that the Hellenistical Jews, and the Primitive Christians made very frequent use of them: But Origen has carried on an Allegory as far as it can possibly go, and he has furnished Matter to all the Greek and Latin Fathers who have imitated him, and have hardly done any thing else than copy him. This way of explaining the Holy Scripture by continual Allegories, seems to me to be very defective. For though it may be good sometimes to awaken, if I may so say, the Auditor, and to direct him by such kind of Allegories, yet they become useless and tedious, when they are perpetual; and the Mind, which requires great Application for the comprehending of them, is tired, and soon looses the Consequence both of Reasoning and Thought: Besides, that by minding only the Allegorical Sense, we neglect the Literal, which is oftentimes more excellent, and of greater Advantage than all the Allegories in the World, that divert the Mind without instructing it, and strike the Imagination without affecting the Heart. Lastly, if in explaining the Holy Scripture, we should only stick to the Allegory, as Origen has done, it might give occasion to believe, that the Scripture taken barely in the Literal Sense would be but of very little Advantage, which is a very great Error. 'Tis therefore a very ill way of defending Origen in this Point, to say with a modern Author, that he seems to have been excusable in this, because he had learned by Experience, that the Letter of the Scripture was but of little use for Instruction. For this is to make him assert a thing which is very false, the Letter of the Scripture being of exceeding use for Instruction, and even more profitable than any Allegory, which is not to be us'd, but only now and then to awaken the Auditors.

Origen's Books against Celsus are an excellent Work, and stored with extraordinary Learning. He answers the Objections of Celsus, who of all the Heathens that have written against the Christian Religion, has made the most cunning ones, and proposed them the most maliciously, very solidly. He establishes by convincing Proofs, the History of Jesus Christ, his Miracles, his Divinity and Resurrection. He confutes the Calumnies and Impositions of Celsus, and of the other Heathens against the Christians; and Lastly, he proves the Truth and Excellency of the Doctrine and Religion of Jesus Christ. This Book is written very Politely, and with great Care and Exactness. 'Tis not only the best of Origen's Works, but also the most accomplish'd and best Composed Apology for the Christians which we have of all the Ancients. The Books of Principles were likewise written with great Care, and they had been of very great use, if he had contented himself to explain the Principles of Religion according to Scripture and Tradition, without mixing therewith his own Philosophical Notions. His Commentaries upon the Scripture are more Polite than his Homilies, they are full of Learning, but they are not very Exact, and we may observe therein a great many Fancies which are useless, obscure, and perplexed. Often after having begun one Explication, he passes to another, without finishing the first. His Homilies are plainer and intelligible, but their style is less Elegant.

The Treatise concerning Prayer is an Excellent Piece of Devotion. It contains a great many Excellent Principles of Morality, and is full of very profitable Instructions. We may also find there several Curious Remarks relating to the Discipline of that Time. But it is not absolutely free from the Errors and Defects which we have observed in the other Works of Origen. As this Discourse is very Instructive and not very much known, I have thought it convenient to give a Summary of it.

Origen begins it by a Common Place, to wit, that there are an Infinite Number of Things which we cannot know without being enlightned from Heaven. He applies this Reflection to his Present Subject, saying, that it would be impossible for him, without the Assistance of Heaven, to explain how we ought to Pray, what we ought to say when we Pray, and what are the most Proper Times for Prayer. That he who treats of this Matter, must be enlightned by the Heavenly Father, instructed by the Son, and inspired by the Holy Ghost: That in order to Pray as we ought, 'tis not sufficient to repeat some certain Prayers, but we must have good Dispositions; and that our Prayer may be acceptable to God, it must be accompanied with a Conscience, Pure, and without Blemish. Afterwards entering upon his Subject he observes that the Greek Word *ευχε*, which signifies Prayer, is mentioned in Scripture the first time, in that Place where it is said that Jacob coming from Mesopotamia, made a Vow to offer unto God the Tenth of all that he should bring from that Country. He adds that the Word is often taken in this Sense, to signify a Promise or Vow of Performing a Thing, if God grants us what we ask of him in our Prayers. But he observes at the same time that there are other Places where it is taken for Prayer it self; and he sets down some Examples wherein it is taken in both Senses.

After having spoken of the word *Prayer*, he treats of the necessity of the thing it self: He confutes the Arguments of those who pretended to maintain that it was to no purpose to pray; he observes, that this Error could not be maintained by any but notoriously-wicked Persons, and by Atheists, who deny God's Providence: but that the Devil endeavouring by all means to spread detestable Doctrines among those that bear the Name of Christ, had put it into the hearts of some persons to reject every thing that is sensible in Religion, to despise the Holy Eucharist and Baptism, and to neglect Prayer as a useless thing. Now these are the Reasons which these Persons bring for their Opinion: *First*, God knows every thing, say they, therefore what need is there of Praying; *Secondly*, He does not only know what must happen, but he ordains it; therefore what necessity is there of asking that



*Origen.* that, of him, which shall infallibly come to pass? *Thirdly*, If we are Predestinated before our Birth, it is to no purpose to pray since we shall be necessarily *Sav'd* or *Damn'd*. *Fourthly*, God being immutable, we do but deceive ourselves in believing that we are able by our Prayers to make him alter his Decrees. *Origen*, in answer to these difficulties distinguishes Three sorts of Things which are in motion. The *first* are those that are moved by a Foreign Power, such as, Inanimate Beings. The *second* are those that are moved by their own Nature, but without Knowledge, as Animals and Plants. The *Third* are those that move themselves, and determine themselves, as Intelligent Creatures. He proves, That these are free, and that Prescience and Predestination does not at all destroy this Liberty, because God ordains nothing relating to free Actions, but what he has foreseen that intelligent Creatures would do freely: And that so Prescience is not the cause of Things, nor of Actions which are done freely; but it only supposes that these things will be, or will not be; and that the knowledge which God has of them, is followed by the Decree, whereby he is resolved to grant or not to grant his Grace, to hear or not to hear; That he foresees the Good and Evil which Men shall commit; That he knows whether they will repent or no; and that, in consequence of this knowledge, he Predestinates or Reprobrates them. He adds, That God has appointed Angels over Men to preserve them, as long as they deserve it. One might here take notice of his particular Opinion concerning the Sun, the Moon, and Stars, which he says are intelligent and free Agents.

After having confuted the Reasons of those who reject Prayer, he shews the advantage of it. He says in the first place, That he who prays, puts himself in a condition of presenting himself before God, and of conversing with him; That in order to this, he ought to drive away all evil Thoughts, to banish all earthly Affections, to raise up his mind towards Heaven, to forget Injuries, to pardon his Enemies, and by no means to repine against God. From hence he concludes, That Prayer cannot be of any advantage, if it be not preceded with great preparation. Secondly, He assures us, That Christ Jesus, the High-Priest of our Offerings, prays with us; That the Angels pray with him, and that the Saints which are departed pray with us, (and this here is one of the most ancient and excellent Monuments to prove the Intercession of Saints.) His words are these: *The Souls of the Saints which sleep among the number of the Just, pray with us, as it is said in the Book of Maccabees.----- And since the imperfect Knowledge which we have in this World is made perfect in the other Life, 'tis a very great Absurdity not to believe the same thing of the other Virtues, and principally Charity towards our Neighbour, which we ought to believe to be much stronger in the Saints than in mortal Men, who are subject to Weaknesses and Imperfections.* He adds, That every faithful Person has his Angel that hears him, and preserves him whilst he prays. *Lastly*, He proves the necessity of continual Prayer, by the Example of Jesus Christ, by that of Just Persons, and by the reckoning up of those Benefits and Graces which have been bestowed upon Men from their Prayers: He exhorts the Faithful to pray for spiritual and heavenly Things, rather than for earthly and sensual Goods, such as Beauty, Nobility, Riches: He shews the meanness and the vanity of these things.

He distinguishes four kinds of Prayers, after the Apostle St. Paul in his first Epistle to Timothy. The *first*, that is to say, Supplication, which is to ask any Good of which we stand in need. The second called *προσηυχή*, is, according to *Origen*, a request that is made in any danger, with assurance of obtaining what we desire: He observes, that this kind of Prayer is commonly joined with *Doxology*, that is to say, with Praising of God's Holy Name; The third *εὐχαριστία*, is a Prayer made by a Person who has great confidence that he shall obtain what he asks, he being much in God's Favour. The last is, Giving of Thanks for the Benefits which we have received. He gives Examples taken from the Holy Scripture, of each of these kinds of Prayer.

This first Part of his Treatise concerning Prayer, is followed with an Explication of the Lord's Prayer.

He makes two Observations upon these first words, *Our Father*. The first is, That it is only in the New Testament, where there is given to God with assurance the Title of *Our Father*. The second, That if we would say these words as we ought, we must be of the number of the true Children of God, that is to say, *Free from Sin, and in a state of Grace.*

He says upon these words, *Which art in Heaven*, That we must not understand them in a gross sense, as if God was in Heaven after a corporeal manner.

Upon these words, *Hallowed be thy Name*, That it is not as if God were not Holy in himself, but only that

we desire that men should acknowledge this Holiness in his Conduct. He observes, That this and the following Forms are in the Imperative, but that it is taken for the Optative Mood. And from hence he takes occasion to confute *Tatian*, who affirmed that these Words of God in *Genesis*, *Let there be light*, was not an express Command, but only a simple Wish. By these other Words, *Thy kingdom come*, the faithful Person prays the Lord, That the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, which is in him, may be perfected and compleated by the expectation of the Day of Judgment. By these, *Thy will be done*, we desire of God, That men may fulfil God's Will upon Earth, as it is accomplished in Heaven; or else, That the Wicked, being represented by the Earth, should perform God's Will, as it is already done by Just Persons. *Origen* would not have us understand these following words, *Give us this day our daily Bread*, of bodily Bread; but he understands them of the Doctrine of Jesus Christ, who is our Bread and our Nourishment. He observes, that the word *σῆμα*, *Super substantialis*, which we render by *DAILY*, is not to be met with in any Author; and that it is peculiar to the Evangelists. In order to explain it, he tells us, That as bodily Bread is changed into our Substance, so this Bread of the Word of God communicates its Nature and Efficacy to our Souls. *By Daily Bread*, he means *Eternity*. Upon these Words, *And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us*, he explains the several Duties of Men. He says, That they owe to themselves the good of their Souls, that they owe very much to their Guardian Angels, but that they are above all things indebted to Jesus Christ, and to the Holy Ghost; that every Condition and every Estate has its peculiar Duties. *There is one Duty*, says he, *of a Wife, another Duty of a Widow, another of a Deacon, another of a Priest, another of a Bishop, whose Charge is much the greater, and he shall render an exact Account to God, who will punish him very severely, if he does not acquit himself well of his Duty.* He adds, That as we are indebted to others, so others are indebted to us; and that if we call to mind those Duties wherein we have been wanting towards others, we shall easily pardon those who have been deficient therein towards us, as God forgives us the faults which we have committed against him; That the Priests forgive in the Name of Jesus Christ the Sins of Men; but that, in imitation of the Priests of the Old Law, they must be instructed by the Holy Ghost who those are for whom they ought to offer up Sacrifices, when, and after what manner they must do it. Wherefore he blames those who not being sensible of what is beyond their Power, boast of their being able to pardon Idolatry, and to forgive Adultery and Fornication; which shews, that at that time they refused Communion to Idolaters in some Churches. Upon these words, *And lead us not into temptation*, *Origen* says, That it is impossible to pass through this life without temptations; and he proves it, by giving a Catalogue of those temptations to which we are exposed in all conditions and at all times: from whence he concludes, That we ought not to pray *not to be tempted*, but only *not to sink under temptation*. He observes, That God suffers us to fall therein, for a punishment of our sins. He here delivers his Opinion of those Souls that were always free, which were sent into this World for a punishment of the faults which they had committed in the other life. He afterwards discourses of the advantage of temptations, for the trial and proving of our Vertue. *Lastly*, Upon these words, *But deliver us from evil*, he says, That God does not deliver us from all the troubles and afflictions of this life, but that he makes us support them with patience.

After having explained the Lord's Prayer, he discourses of the temper and disposition of mind that is requisite for Prayer, of the place where we are to pray, and of the time proper for Prayer. He would have him that is to pray, to recollect and prepare himself, that so he may perform it with the greater attention and fervency; and that after having purified his mind from the thoughts of this World, and banished from his heart all passions and earthly affections, he should reflect upon the excellency of the life to come; That he should drive from his heart all thoughts of hatred and enmity; That he should lift up his hands and eyes towards Heaven, when nothing hinders him; for he allows sick Persons to pray sitting or lying. He observes that kneeling is necessarily when we ask God pardon for our Sins. Concerning the place of Prayer, he says that every place is proper to pray in, but that Custom will have it that we should chuse the most retired part of the House for our Prayer; and that we should prefer the place which is set apart for the Assemblies of the Faithful, where the Angels are present, where we may be sensible of the Efficacy of Jesus Christ, of that of the Holy Ghost, and of the Suffrages of the Saints departed. He would have us always turn our selves to-



*Origen.* wards the East, whether we be in our Chamber, or in an open place. Lastly, He distinguishes four Branches, or Common Places of Prayer; *The Doxology*, which ought to be said, says he, at the beginning of Prayer, praising and glorifying the Father of Jesus Christ through the Holy Ghost; It ought to be followed with *Thanksgiving*; Afterwards we must make a *Confession*, or an Accusation of our selves for our Sins; to which we ought to add the craving of *Heavenly Benedictions* for us and our Friends. Lastly, We must conclude our Prayer by *praising God* through the Son in the Holy Ghost. And this is a great part of what is contained in this Treatise of *Origen's*, which sufficiently shews it to be of great use. There is nevertheless one passage which may create a great deal of difficulty to those that read it: For he therein affirms, That we ought to address our Prayers only to God the Father, and not to Jesus Christ; because the Son of God being different from the Father, 'tis absurd to direct our Prayers to him. This expression is very harsh, and difficult to excuse: yet we may say, That he

*Origen.* would have us address our Prayers to the Father alone, for fear we might seem to acknowledge several Gods; and that when he says, That Jesus Christ is *an Essence different from the Father*, he takes the term *Essence* for *Person*. And indeed he owns in several other places, and principally in the fifth and eighth Book against *Celsus*, That we may and ought to direct our Prayers to Jesus Christ. Be the thing as it will, it cannot be denied but that he has asserted in this place several Propositions favourable to the Opinion of the *Arians*, on which it is difficult to put a good Construction.

There is nothing more for me to do, to compleat all that relates to *Origen*, than to give an Account of the Quarrels and Disputes which arose in the Church after his Death, upon the Account of his Person and his Writings: But this not being a Subject which any ways relates to the Design which I have proposed in this Work, I do not think it necessary to engage my self in this Relation, which otherwise would be but of very little use.

## AMBROSE and TRYPHON, Disciples of ORIGEN.

*Ambrose, and Tryphon.* **A**MBROSE would not have deserved to be reckoned among the Ecclesiastical Authors, had he not been *Origen's* Friend, and contributed very much to the Publishing of his Works, both by furnishing him with Amanuenses, and by continually pressing him to his Work. He had been a *Marcionite*, and though he was converted, yet he retained some of his Errors, (if we believe *St. Hierom.*) However he was ordained Deacon, and generously confessed the Faith of Jesus Christ, with *Theodotus* the Priest in the time of the Emperor *Maximus*. He was a Person of Quality, and wanted not Parts, which he shewed in some of his Letters to *Origen*, that were extant in *St. Hierom's* time, but now are all lost. He died before *Origen*, and *St. Hierom* says that he was blained because, though he died Rich, yet he left nothing to his Friend, who was Poor. *Tryphon* who was likewise *Origen's* Disciple, and who had written some Letters to him, was looked upon in

*Ambrose, and Tryphon.* *St. Hierom's* time as a Man very well versed in the Learning of the Sacred Scripture, which still appears, says this Father, by several Works which he had composed; but more particularly by a Treatise concerning the *Red Heifer* in the 19th Chapter of *Numbers*, and upon the Division of the Sacrifices made by *Abraham* in the 15th Chapter of *Genesis*: From whence it appears, that *Origen's* Disciples following their Master's Genius, applied themselves wholly to Allegories.

[It is most probable, that *Tryphon's* Commentaries, are, in imitation of his Master *Origen's*, Allegorical; yet it is only probable, at least, for any thing, that *Mr. Du Pin* has to say against it: and when things are lost, to determine concerning them positively, is only beating the Air; and though we our selves know how little weight can be laid upon our words beyond conjecture, yet it may lead others into mistakes, who think we can prove what we say, though we do not.]

## BERYLLUS.

*Beryllus.* **B**ERYLLUS Bishop of *Bosra* in *Arabia*, after he had been, as we have said, undeceived of his Error by the Conference which he had had with *Origen*, wrote several small Treatises, and particularly some Letters, wherein he returned *Origen* Thanks for

*Beryllus.* his Conversion. The Conference which *Origen* had with him upon the occasion of his Error was extant in *St. Hierom's* time; but at present we have nothing of his remaining.

## St. CYPRIAN.

*S. Cyprian.* **S**T. *Cyprian* (a) was by Birth an *African*, and taught Rhetorick with great Reputation before he was a Christian (b). He was converted (c) by the Persuasion of a Priest called *Cecilius*, from whom he took afterwards his Surname. From the time that he was a Catechumen, he made a Resolution with himself to live continently, believing, as his Deacon *Pontius* tells us, who has written his Life, that it was almost impossible otherwise to come to the Knowledge of the Truth. Presently after he was baptized, he sold all his Goods to assist the Poor. He was afterwards ordained Priest, and after the Death of *Donatus* Bishop of *Carthage*, he was Elected Bishop in his place, in the year 248 (d), by the Suffrages of the Clergy, and the People of *Carthage*, and the Choice was confirmed by a great Number of Bishops, who were then assembled in that City. The Persecution of *Decius* beginning two years or thereabouts, after his Ordination; the Heathens being enraged because he encouraged his People to stand firm to the Religion

*S. Cyprian.* of Jesus Christ, demanded him several times in a full Theatre, to expose him to the wild Beasts. And this obliged him to retire from *Carthage*, according to the Command which he believed, he had received from God in a Vision. In this Retreat he wrote several Letters to his People, his Clergy, the Confessors, and the Clergy of *Rome*, of which we may see a Catalogue, with an Account of their Subjects in the Sequel of this History. When the Fury of the Persecution abated, *St. Cyprian* came back to *Carthage*, and called a Council there the 15th of *May*, in the year 251, wherein he, with the Bishops his Colleagues, regulated whatever related to the Penance of those who had fallen in the time of Persecution, either by taking Tickets or Testimonials from the Magistrates, certifying that they had committed Idolatry; or by offering Incense publicly upon the Altars of their Gods, or by eating the Meat which was sacrificed to them. For the first they ordained that they should be reconciled; but for the latter, they judged it necessary to leave them still under Penance, and

(a) *Saint Cyprian.*] His own Name was *Thascius*, as appears by the Letter to *Pipin*, and the Acts of his Passion.

(b) *Before he turned Christian.*] This is all we are able to say of what concerned him before his Conversion, because *Pontius* the Deacon in his Life, and *St. Jerome* in his Catalogue tells us no more of him. What *Baronius* has cited, taken out of the Oration of *St. Gregory Nazianzen*, concerning one *St. Cyprian* a Martyr, does not belong to our Bishop of *Carthage*: 'Tis commonly believed that *St. Gregory* speaks of another *St. Cyprian*, but 'tis a great deal more probable, that the Greeks, who knew but little of what passed in the West, feigned these Circumstances in the Life of *St. Cyprian*

Bishop of *Carthage*, as it was a familiar thing with them to adorn and set off the Lives of Saints, with several uncertain and fabulous Narrations.

(c) *He was converted.*] His Conversion might happen towards the year 246. Having been baptized at *Easter* or at *Whitsontide*, he writ his Letter to *Donatus* in *Autumn*. He tells us in his 59th Letter to *Cornelius*, which was written in the year 252, that it was four years since he had been made a Bishop. Thus he was a Bishop 10 years. He calls *Donatus* his Predecessor.

(d) *The year 248.*] The Persecution under *Decius* began at the end of the year 249, or else at the beginning of the year 250.



*S. Cyprian.* not allow them Reconciliation till they became dangerously sick, provided also that they had begun to do Penance before they fell sick. For as for those who staid till they were seized with some desperate Distemper, before they desired to undergo their Penance, it was thought expedient wholly to refuse them Absolution, because then, (says St. Cyprian) *'Tis not so much their Sorrow for their Sin, as the Fear of Death that obliges them to desire it. Quia eos non tam Delicti Penitentia, quam Mortis Admonitio petere compellit.* As for those Ecclesiasticks, who had fallen into Idolatry, it was ordained that they should for ever be excluded from the Clergy, that they should communicate no more with the Faithful but as Laymen, and that even some of them should be obliged to undergo the Severities of Penance. They Excommunicated *Feliciſſimus* and those of his party, who had disturbed the Tranquility of the Church of *Carthage*, in St. Cyprian's Absence. Perhaps it was at this Synod that *Privatus*, a Heretick of the Colony of *Lambesa*, presented himself, who had been already condemned in a Synod of Ninety Bishops, and seeing himself so far rejected, that they would not so much as hear him make his Defence, embraced the Party of *Feliciſſimus*. The Council, after they had made these Regulations, wrote a Synodical Letter to *Cornelius*, lately Elected Bishop of *Rome*, who assembled likewise a Synod of sixty Bishops, and several Priests, who followed the Rules of the *African* Council in the ordering of publick Penance, and Excommunicated *Novatian*, who joyning himself to *Novatus*, refused the Grace of Reconciliation to those Persons, who had once fallen into any sin, and caused himself to be ordained Bishop of *Rome*, in opposition to *Cornelius*, by three Bishops, whose Credulity and Easiness he had abused in this Matter. This for a time made a kind of a Schism in *Rome*, for *Novatian* drew to his party, not only some Priests, but also the Confessors who were ready to suffer Martyrdom. The Heads of both parties being desirous to obtain the Favour of St. Cyprian, and of the other *African* Bishops, wrote Letters to them, and sent their Deputies into *Africk*. But *Novatian's* were received very ill, and the *African* Bishops, who had for some time suspended their Judgment, and ceased to send Letters of Communion to either of the two parties, till they were informed of the Matter by two of their own Brethren, whose Names were *Caldonius* and *Fortunatus*, whom they had dispatched to *Rome* on purpose to learn the true state of the whole Affair: after they were fully instructed by them, and two other *African* Bishops, who were present at the Ordination of *Cornelius*, after what manner he had been ordained, decided it in Favour of him, and sent him Letters of Communion, having first confirmed the Judgment he had passed against *Novatian* in *Italy*. The Judgment of the Church in *Africk*, and the eloquent Letters of St. Cyprian, brought the Confessors of the *Roman* Church over to *Cornelius's* party. Thus the *Novatians* finding themselves cryed down in *Italy*, to be revenged upon St. Cyprian, raised Disturbances in *Africk*, where they caused one *Maximus*, a Deputy of *Novatian* to be chosen Bishop; and on the other side, *Feliciſſimus* the Deacon, an Enemy to St. Cyprian, got *Privatus* of *Lambesa*, whom we have already mentioned, to ordain, in opposition to him, one whose Name was *Fortunatus*, and afterwards came into *Italy*, to get his Ordination ratified there by *Cornelius*, and by the rest of the *Italian* Bishops, pretending that this *Fortunatus* had been ordained by five and twenty Bishops, and that St. Cyprian favoured the Party of the *Novatians*. *Cornelius* immediately rejected *Feliciſſimus*, and those of his Faction, but at last being either frightened by their Menaces, or else shaken by their Discourses, he entertained some Suspicions to the Prejudice of St. Cyprian, and writ to him after a very disobliging manner; to this the Saint returned a vigorous Answer, exposing his Weakness, and acquainting him with the Malice of his Enemies.

In the mean time, while *Feliciſſimus* endeavoured to create a Misunderstanding between St. Cyprian and *Cornelius*, that holy Man assembled a Council of sixty six Bishops at *Carthage* in *April*, in the year 252, wherein some Ecclesiastical Regulations were made concerning a certain Priest, whose Name was *Victor*, whom his Bishop had received to Grace contrary to the Decision of the Council, and also concerning the Baptism of Infants. About the same time he opposed one *Fortunatianus* a Bishop, who still held his Bishoprick, though he had sacrificed to Idols, and offered to reconcile those, who after they had held out for some time, at last yielded to the Violence of Torments, and who had undergone Penance for this their Transgression three whole Years.

St. Cyprian after this, having had several Revelations, which inclined him to believe that the Church was to be persecuted within a short time, was of opinion, that in order to prepare the Christians for this new Assault, it would be necessary to fortifie them with the Eucharist, and to that Effect, to reconcile them to the Church. So

in the year 253, he assembled a Council of several Bishops, who were all of the same Judgment, and signified their Resolution to Pope *Cornelius*, that he might use the same Conduct in his own Church. Soon after happened the Persecution of *Gallus*. Pope *Cornelius* was sent into Banishment, and suffered Martyrdom the very same year. *Lucius* who succeeded him, was immediately banished, from whence he returned after the Death of *Gallus*, in the beginning of the year 254: but he did not long enjoy the Comforts of Peace, but suffered Martyrdom, after he had held the Sec of *Rome* for the space of eight Months only. *Stephen* was elected in his place towards the end of that year, or the beginning of the next. Under this Pope the Celebrated Dispute about the Validity of the Baptism of Hereticks was warmly discussed between the Churches of *Africa* and *Rome*. St. Cyprian being consulted in the year 255 by *Jannarius*, and the other Bishops of *Numidia*, whether it was necessary to re-baptize those, who after they had been baptized by Hereticks, desired to be re-united to the Church, returned this Answer, as did several *African* Bishops assembled in Council, that no Baptism could be valid out of the Church; that it was absolutely necessary to re-baptize those who had received the Baptism of Hereticks; and in one word, that this Question had been already decided by the *African* Bishops their Predecessors. *Quintus* having also sent the same Demand to St. Cyprian, he made the same Answer, and sent him the Decision of this Synod, which was moreover confirmed in another *African* Council held in 256, which wrote to *Stephen* about it, to exhort him to embrace this Discipline. But he was so far from submitting to the Reason of the *Africans*, whether because he imagined they had a Design to condemn the *Roman* Church, or because he thought this Question was of too great Consequence, that he was enraged against St. Cyprian and his Colleagues, and used their Deputies ill: Nay, he prohibited all Christians belonging to his Church, to receive or lodge them, depriving them not only of Ecclesiastical Communion, but also refusing them the common Civilities of Hospitality. The Letter he writ back was full of Injuries and Invectives, and his Decision was comprised in these terms: 'If any one comes to you, of whatsoever Heresie he is, let there not be made the least Alteration in what has been regulated by Tradition, but only impose Hands upon him, and so receive him. This Letter being brought into *Africk*, St. Cyprian moved at the Proceedings of *Stephen*, sent his Letter, with a Refutation of it, not only to *Pompey* of *Africk*, but also to *Firmilian*, and the other Bishops of *Cappadocia*, who were all of the same Opinion with St. Cyprian, touching the Baptism of Hereticks. *Firmilian* having received it, writ a long Letter, wherein he amply refutes the Opinion and Letter of *Stephen*, and establishes the Discipline which St. Cyprian defended; saying, it had been observed in his Country by an immemorial Custom, and confirmed in two numerous Synods held at *Iconium* and *Synnada*. As soon as St. Cyprian had received this Letter, he assembled a Synod at *Carthage*, in which the Letter he had writ to *Jubianus* upon this Question was openly read, and all the Bishops gave their Suffrages in favour of St. Cyprian's Opinion: Thus I have delivered in a few Words, the History of this famous Quarrel between two great Bishops, both of whom the Church still reverences as Saints."

However, If I may be allowed to make some Reflections upon their Opinions and Conduct, I shall not scruple to observe after St. *Austin*, that St. Cyprian shewed a great deal more Moderation in this Dispute, and that we can by no means excuse that Heat and Passion which so far transported *Stephen*: For though the first maintained his Opinion vigorously, yet he did it with abundance of Candor, and always declared he would leave other Bishops the Liberty to do as they judged convenient, and openly professed he would separate himself from the Communion of no body upon the score of this Controversie, *Neminem separantes*, said he often, *aut a Communione submoventes*. Whereas on the other hand, Pope *Stephen* not only asserted his Opinion with a world of Heat and Rigor, but also treated those Bishops unworthily, who followed a Practice different from his own, calling them false Christians, false Apostles, and Seducers, and refusing their Deputies not only the Communion of the Church, but even Lodging and Hospitality. As for what respects the Merits of the Cause, though 'tis commonly believed that the Pope had the Truth on his Side, yet there is sufficient reason to doubt whether he did not in the heat of his Opposition to St. Cyprian, carry things too far on the other side, and whether the Opinion of St. *Austin*, which the Church has since embraced, That we ought to receive those Persons without Baptism, who have been baptized by Hereticks in the Name of the Trinity, and to re-baptize those who have not been baptized according to that Form: Whether this Opinion, I say,



*S. Cyprian.* does not steer the middle Course between *Stephen's* (f), who seems to have maintained that all those who had been baptized by Hereticks should be received without Re-baptization, which way soever they were baptized, *à quacunque heresi*, and *St. Cyprian's*, who asserted that all such ought to be re-baptized. Be it as it will, 'tis certain that *St. Cyprian* never altered his Opinion (g); that the Greek Churches were for a long time after him divided upon this Question (h); that the Council of *Arles* first decided it in the West (i); that it is not improbable that this was the Council which *St. Austin* (k) calls the *full Council*, which first decided this Controversie; that *St. Austin* followed its Decision, and proves it at large in his Books against the Donatists; that the Western Church has embraced this Opinion, and that though the Eastern Churches (l) have not agreed with her absolutely in this Point, yet they always made a distinction between Hereticks, and differently received them. It would be no difficult matter to justify all this; but as this is no proper place to discuss this Question, so it would carry us too far from our Subject. The Reader need only consult our Annotations, to be better satisfied.

To compleat what remains of *St. Cyprian's* Life, it would be necessary here to transcribe the ancient Acts of his Passion, and what his Deacon *Pontius* has related concerning it; but the Description of his Martyrdom does not concern the Subject or Design of this Work; and therefore I shall only observe, that towards the beginning of *Valerian's* Persecution, in the Year 257, on the 30th of *August*, he was banished to *Curubis*, a City about ten or twelve Leagues distant from *Carthage*, by the Command of *Aspasius Paternus*, the Proconsul; that after he had tarried there eleven Months, he was re-called by the Proconsul *Galerius Maximus*, who confined him to his own Gardens near *Carthage*; that being informed that the Proconsul had sent some Soldiers to seize and carry him to *Utica*, he retired into a private Place, that he might not suffer Martyrdom out of his own Church, or after any other manner than in the Presence of his own People; and that at last being come back again to his Gardens, after the Proconsul's return to *Carthage*, he was apprehended, and carried before him; where after he had generously made Profession of the Christian Faith, he had his Head cut off in a Place called *Sexti*, near the City of *Carthage*, on the 14th of *September*, in the Year 258, under the Consulship of *Tuscus* and *Bassus*.

The first (m) Letter which *St. Cyprian* writ to *Donatus*, contains a Relation of a Conference he had with that Friend a little after his Baptism: wherein after he has spoke of the marvellous Effects of that Sacrament, he eloquently lays open the Perils we run in this World, the Crimes and Injustices that are there committed; and

(f) *Between that of Stephen, who seems to have maintained.* What induces us to believe that *Stephen* was of this Opinion, is, in the first place, because he makes no Distinction at all, but says plainly, *à quacunque Heresi*. Secondly, Because *St. Cyprian* and *Firmilian* take *Stephen's* Words in this sense; now who can imagine that they would have engaged themselves in a Dispute, without so much as knowing the Opinion of their Adversary. Thirdly, There were scarce any Hereticks before *Stephen*, who baptized in the Name of the Trinity, so that it had been only a chimerical Question about a thing which had never been practised, to dispute whether it were necessary to re-baptize those who had been baptized in the Name of the Trinity by Hereticks, since there were almost no Hereticks that used to baptize after that manner. Fourthly, the ancient Author of a small Book written against the Opinion of *St. Cyprian*, makes no mention of this Distinction of Hereticks, but generally approves all Baptism whatever given in the Name of Jesus Christ. Fifthly, *St. Augustine* never cites *Stephen's* Decree for his Opinion; on the other hand, he opposes the Opinion of *Stephen* and *St. Cyprian*. And in his sixth Book *de unico Bapt. c. 14.* he tells us *Stephen* maintained that no body was to be re-baptized, *in nullo iterandum Baptisma*. There are several other Reasons which I pass over in silence.

(g) *St. Cyprian never altered his Opinion.* There is not the least probability that *St. Cyprian* altered his Opinion. In the time of the Council of *Arles*, the *Africans* still continued this Practice, and in *Optatus's* time they distinguished between Hereticks and Schismaticks, receiving the latter without Baptism, but re-baptizing the former.

(h) *Divided upon this Question.* *Denis of Alexandria* in *Eusebius* testifies that the Eastern Churches were divided upon this Question. *St. Athanasius* rejects the Baptism of Hereticks. *St. Basil* in two Canons of his Letter to *Amphilochius* examines the different Customs of several Churches about this Question, and inclines to the Party of those who reject the Baptism of Hereticks as invalid.

(i) *First decided in the West.* The Council of *Arles*, *x. c. 8.* *De Afris qui propriâ lege utuntur ut re-baptizent.*

(k) *Calls the full Council.* This Question has been discus-

afterwards shewing the Excellence and Happiness of those Persons who consecrate themselves to the Service of God; he exhorts his Friend to live a retired Life, to renounce the World, and to apply himself diligently to Reading and Praying. This Letter, which we are to consider as the First-fruits of *St. Cyprian's* Works, is written in a very gay florid Style, by no means suitable to the Matter in hand, as *St. Austin* observes in his Book of the *Christian Doctrine*; adding, That this Martyr did not follow the same manner of Writing in his other Letters, but that he took up a more masculine and graver way of Writing, and which was more becoming a Christian. These Letters are divided according to the Order of Time into five Classes (n): The first comprehends those which he wrote in his first Exile. The second those which he wrote under the Pontificate of the two Popes, *Cornelius* and *Lucius*. The third, those which he wrote under the Pontificate of *Stephen*. The fourth those which he wrote during his last Exile, towards his latter End. The fifth, those of which we cannot set down the precise time when they were written, which are but few. But besides this general Order, which it is easie to observe, we are to take notice what Letters follow each other immediately, and this indeed has been attempted by *Pamelius*, but with very little Success. The Order he has followed, has been reformed by a Learned Person, who has translated *St. Cyprian's* Letters into our Language, in the Preface which he sets before his Translation. And lastly, He that published a new Edition of *St. Cyprian* in *England*, has disposed them in a new Order, according to the Series of Time. We shall follow either of them as we see convenient.

The first of those Letters that were written in the first Exile of *St. Cyprian*, in all probability is that which is the fourth in *Pamelius's* Edition, addressed to his Clergy, that is to say, to his Priests and Deacons, wherein he exhorts them to acquit themselves in his Absence of their own Functions and his, so that nothing may be defective in relation to Order and Discipline: He recommends to their Care those Christians who were imprisoned for the Religion of Jesus Christ, to assist them in their Necessities, and to advise the Christians not to go in Multitudes to the Prisons, for fear of provoking the Pagans; that the Priests, who went to offer the Sacrifice of the Altar in Prison, should go thither each in their Turns, along with a Deacon; and lastly, that the Christians should accommodate themselves to the Times, and take care, as much as in them lay, to soften the Rigour of the Persecution.

[What *Du Pin* renders to offer the Sacrifice of the Altar; in *St. Cyprian*, is only to offer. It is well enough known that the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was called a

fed with mighty Heat in our time, though it be but of small Importance. It is certain that the Council of *Arles* has decided it agreeably to the Opinion of *St. Austin*, and that the *Africans* gave the Name of a full Council to Councils consisting of more than one Province, as was that of *Arles*. However it is, the Council of *Nice* has not decided this Question, but only ordained that the *Paulianists* should be re-baptized. Now it is not certain whether they baptized in the Name of the Trinity, or no: And *St. Athanasius* himself seems to affirm the contrary; besides that, though they had not baptized in the Name of the Trinity, yet we cannot say that this Council has determined the Question.

(l) *The Eastern Churches.* Those of the East did not make use of *St. Austin's* Distinction either in the Council of *Constantinople*, or in the Council that was held in the Emperor's Palace; but they distinguished between three sorts of Hereticks. Those that were to be re-baptized as the *Paulianists*, and the ancient Hereticks, together with the *Eunomians* and *Sabellians*, who did not observe three Immersions. Secondly, those that were to be anointed, such as were the *Arians*, the *Macedonians*, the *Novatians*, the *Quarto decimani*, and the *Apollinarians*: And lastly, those who had nothing more to do than barely to make an Abjuration, as the *Eurychians*, the *Nestorians*, the *Severians*, the *Acephali*, and the *Monothelites*.

(m) *The first Letter.* 'Tis rather a Treatise than a Letter, but all *St. Cyprian's* Works were called Letters, as it appears by *Ruffinus* in his Apology. *St. Pacian* calls the Book of *Lapsis*, a Letter, *Ep. 3. ad Sempronianum*. *St. Austin* likewise not only calls the Treatise to *Donatus* but the Book of *Unity*, the Treatise of *Zeal and Envy* by this Name; and in some other places he gives the title of the Book to the Letters. It is an easie matter however to distinguish the Letters from the Treatises; We leave the Treatise to *Donatus* amongst the Letters, tho' it is a Treatise.

(n) *Into five Classes.* In the *English* Edition before the other Letters of *St. Cyprian*, we find four that are said to have been written before his Retirement, but they bring no Proofs or Conjectures strong enough to support this Opinion, and therefore we had better own that we cannot tell when they were written.

Sacrifice,



*S. Cyprian.* Sacrifice, the Lord's Table *an Altar*, and the Administration *Offering*, in *St. Cyprian's* Time; and it has been as often proved by all that have given an Account of the Belief of the Fathers in this Matter, That their Opinion was widely distant from that of the Church of *Rome* in this Point.]

This first Letter was soon followed by another, mentioned by him in his sixth Epistle, wherein he commends the Confessors for their Courage, and exhorts them to do nothing unworthy of such glorious beginnings. Monsieur *Lombert* is of Opinion that it is lost, whereas the Editor of the *Englisch* pretends that it is the eighty first Letter which *Pamelinus* supposes to have been written during his last Exile; but it is more probable that this Letter was written in his first, because he there excuses his Absence, which he would never have done in his last, where he was detained against his Will (o).

It happened at this time, that a Subdeacon of *Carthage*, named *Clementius*, who had gone to *Rome* towards the beginning of the Persecution, came back to *Carthage*, bringing two Letters with him from the Clergy of *Rome*, during the Vacancy of that See by the Death of *Fabian*: One of them was directed to *St. Cyprian*, and gave him Intelligence of the Martyrdom of *Fabian* Bishop of *Rome*; the other was addressed to the Clergy of *Carthage*, exhorting them to take care of the Flock of *Jesus Christ* in the Absence of their Pastor, and encouraging the Faithful to continue steadfast in the Faith of *Jesus Christ*, and to raise up those who had the Misfortune to fall; to look after the Prisoners, the Needy, the Widows, and Catechumens; to reconcile the relapsed Penitents at their Death to the Church, and to bury the Bodies of the Martyrs. It reproached the Pastors who abandoned their Flock in the time of Persecution; which Passage seems indirectly to condemn *St. Cyprian's* Retreat. This Letter is the second in the Order of *Pamelinus*.

*St. Cyprian* answered this Letter of the *Roman* Clergy, by congratulating them for the glorious Martyrdom of *St. Fabian*; and having received a copy of the Letter which the Clergy of *Rome* had writ, to his, though it was both without Inscription and Subscription, yet he sent to *Rome* to know whether this Letter was really writ by the Clergy of that City, giving them to understand that he was concern'd at their seeming to disapprove his Retreat: This is the third Letter. Some time after this, the Proconsul coming to *Carthage*, persecuted the Christians after a cruel manner, causing some of the Prisoners to be put to Death, and amongst the rest, *Mappalicus*, who suffered Martyrdom on the 17th day of April. *St. Cyprian* being inform'd of this, made use of their Example to encourage the other Confessors to imitate their Constancy and Generosity: and this he did in the 8th Letter. At the same time also he writ the 36th, addressed to his own Clergy, to whose care he recommends the Confessors that were in Prison, requiring them to inter the Bodies of those who died there, to reverence them as Martyrs, and to send him word of the Day of their Death, that he might offer Sacrifices in remembrance of them. Some of the Christians being then returned home from their Exile, without receiving Orders to do it, *St. Cyprian* writ a Letter to them, which is the 8th according to *Pamelinus's* Account, wherein he takes occasion to blame their Conduct.

[Mr. *Dodwell*, in his 5th Dissertation upon *St. Cyprian*, tells us what kind of Sacrifices these are: They could not be offered as Propitiations, because the Church believed the Martyrs were already Blessed. They were only Anniversary Celebrations of the Memory of the Martyrdom of those who suffered so gloriously for the Faith. Thus all the Saints were also remembered in the Diptychs of the Church: Thus the Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, and the blessed Virgin herself, though no Man ever thought they could stand in need of the Prayers of the Faithful. But the Christians were careful, even in the most Primitive Times, to pay all possible Honours to the memories of those who made a glorious Confession of the Faith. The Acts of *St. Polycarp's* Martyrdom, which are the oldest we have, shew how solicitous the Christians of *Smyna* were to have his Ashes, not to worship them, as they themselves declare, but by paying the last Respect to them that was possible, to shew how willing they should have been to suffer in the same Cause, if they had had an equal Call. Nay, all Christians that died in the Communion of the Church, had in those early Ages some Honours paid to them after their Death. Therefore *St. Cyprian* commanded that no Honour should be paid to *Geminus Victor* because he had left

*Geminus Faustinus*, a Priest, his Executor by his Will: And so *Du Pin's* Words, when he speaks of this Business afterwards, are to be understood; for the same Phrases are used, when he speaks of the Commemoration of Martyrs Anniversaries, and of this of *Geminus Victor* there forbidden.]

The Persecution that still continued, as it augmented The Number of Martyrs, so it augmented the Number of the Lapsed, that is to say, of those Christians who were so weak as to deny the Faith of *Jesus Christ*, and offer Incense to Idols, or else such as, to avoid Persecution, got Certificates or Attestations under the Hands of some Judge, to certify that they had sacrificed. Now those who had once fallen away, being thrown out of the Church, and excluded from Communion, addressed themselves to the Martyrs, whose Credit and Authority in the Church at that time was extraordinary, who gave them Tickets, wherein they desired that they might be admitted to Reconciliation. They writ to *St. Cyprian* on the same account, praying him to take this their Desire into consideration, and to receive these Persons whom they recommended, whenever the Church should be in Peace. But some of them happening to abuse these Tickets of the Martyrs, demanded to be reconciled immediately, and addressing themselves to *Felicissimus*, and some other Priests, who were Enemies to *St. Cyprian*, received Absolution from their Hands. *St. Cyprian* being inform'd of these irregular Proceedings, after he had continued some time in silence, writ a Letter full of Zeal and Earnestness to his Priests and Deacons (this is the ninth) wherein he severely reproves the Priests, who forgetting their Rank, and the Duty they owed their Bishop, had rashly absolved those who had fallen into Idolatry. He reproaches them with deceiving the Faithful, inasmuch as they reconciled them before they had done Penance for their Transgressions: He remonstrates to them, that if in Sins of less Scandal and Consequence, it is necessary to undergo publick Penance for some considerable time before the Party offending is re-admitted into the Church, by Imposition of Hands from the Bishop and Clergy, it is a strange perverting of Discipline to admit these to the Communion, who, though they have shamefully denied the Faith of *Jesus Christ*, and sacrificed to Idols, yet have undergone no Penance for their Crime, nor received the Imposition of Hands of the Bishop and Priests; that as for the Martyrs, they were excusable, because they did not know the Law; but that those who gave them this false Reconciliation were highly to be blamed: That it was a scandalous thing for Ecclesiastics to abuse the easie Temper of the Martyrs, whom they rather ought to have dissuaded, in case they requested any thing which was contrary to the Discipline of the Church; but that indeed the Martyrs had demanded nothing like it, since they only Writ to him to grant the Favour of Reconciliation to those to whom they had given Tickets, when the Persecution should cease. At last he threatens some of his Clergy who had shown themselves rash, indiscreet, and presumptuous upon this Occasion, if they continued in their Obstinacy, to forbid them to offer till such time as they gave an account of their Behaviour before himself, and the Confessors, and the Congregation of the faithful. He writ likewise at the same time to the Confessors, to advise them not to be so free of their Tickets, or give them to all Petitioners, but to inform themselves better of the Character of those Persons, to whom they designed this Indulgence; and then dissuades the People from soliciting their Admission into the Church with so much Precipitation, by making them sensible that a rash Absolution was so far from appeasing God's Anger, that it would rather draw his Vengeance down upon them. The Letters are the Tenth and Eleventh.

His Clergy returning him no Answer, obliged him to write a second Letter to them, wherein, after he has complained of their Silence, he gives the Priests and Deacons leave to reconcile those, who having fallen into Idolatry, had received Tickets from the Martyrs when they were dying; and Orders them to Baptize the Catechumens that were in danger. This Letter is the Twelfth in *Pamelinus's* Order, and was written towards the beginning of the Summer 250. His Clergy sending him word, that they did not fail to advise those that had fallen, not to be over hasty, but to undergoe Penance; and yet, notwithstanding all the Remonstrances they made, there was some amongst them who daily pressed them; he answered as he did before in his former Letter, that they ought to reconcile those who had received Tickets, from the

(o) Detained against his Will.] The five and thirtieth Letter is placed after this, in the Edition lately put out in *England*, but it seems to me to have been written towards the end of the Persecution, because he there speaks of his Re-

turn. We are to pass the same Judgment upon the sixth, and seventh, and the fifth, which were all written at the same time.



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 S. Cyprian. ~~~~~  
 Martyrs, when they were dangerously Sick; but that others, though they had received Tickets, ought to wait till the Bishops could assemble to fix this Business, by common consent. This Letter is the Thirteenth.

About this time having received Information, That the Letter, a Copy whereof he had by him, without any Subscription, came from the Clergy of *Rome*, he writ to them to justify his Retreat, and give them an account of the Pastoral Care he had of his Flock, all the while he was absent. This he does in his Fourteenth Letter, wherein he at large acquaints the Clergy of *Rome* with all that had passed upon the Occasion of the Lapsed; and tells them of the Resolution he had taken conformable to theirs, not to give Absolution to those that had fallen, except they were in Danger of Death, till such time as several Bishops could meet to deliberate upon the Affair, by communicating the same to their Churches.

At the same time *Celerinus*, a Confessor at *Rome*, writ a Letter to *Lucian*, a Confessor at *Carthage*, wherein he desires him to pray to God for his Sister, who having fallen away in the Persecution, was enjoyn'd Penance: This is the Twentieth. *Lucian* sends him word again, that he had reconciled all those who had fallen, pursuant to the Order he had received from the Martyr *Paul*, but upon condition that they would apply themselves to their Bishops, and do publick Penance for their faults: This is the Twenty first Letter; and indeed this *Lucian* had given Tickets in the Name of *Paul* and *Mappalicus*, to all the Lapsed, who presented themselves before him, after he was informed of the Penance they had done after their Fall, and had Writ to St. *Cyprian*, desiring him to acquaint the Bishops with it: This Letter is the Fifteenth. St. *Cyprian* having received it, sent word immediately to his Clergy, that since the Demand of the Confessors concerned all the Bishops, he durst not prevent them, or take upon himself the Decision of a Matter, wherein all his Brethren had a share; that therefore he would not reconcile the Penitents till Peace was restor'd to the Church, and he had the advice of the rest of his Brethren: This Letter is the Seventeenth. At the same time he sent a Copy of a Letter of a certain Bishop named *Galdonius*, who was of the same Opinion with himself, as to the Reconciliation of those that had fallen, together with his own Answer to it. These two Letters are the Eighteenth and Nineteenth. At this Juncture arrived Letters from *Rome*, one from the Clergy, the other from *Moses*, *Maximus*, *Nicostratus*, and the other Confessors.

The first is addressed to the Clergy, the second to *Sturminus*, *Aurelius*, and some other Persons. The Scope and Design of both, is to exhort those who had fallen into Idolatry, not to use over much hast in getting themselves reconciled, but to wait a sufficient time to undergo a true Penance. These Letters that were full of an Evangelical Spirit, rejoiced St. *Cyprian* exceedingly, and secured him from the Complaints that were made against him. He thought himself therefore obliged to thank the Clergy and Confessors of *Rome* in two Letters, which he wrote to them. In that directed to the Clergy, the 22d in order, he gives them an Account of all that had happen'd in *Lucian's* Affair, he complains of the Rashness of that Man, and tells them very properly to this Subject, *That the Martyrs don't make the Gospel, but the Gospel the Martyrs.*

In the other, which he sent to the Confessors (the 24) he commends their Zeal exceedingly, and tells them, That to be true Martyrs, we ought always to observe an inviolable Sanctity in our Words, and not to destroy the precepts of *JESUS CHRIST*, when we pretend to die for him. He ordained *Saturus* a Reader, and *Optatus* a Sub-deacon to carry these Letters, because it was the Custom of Bishops in those days to send their Letters by none but Clergy-Men. He acquainted his Clergy with this Ordination in his 25th Letter, and sent them a Copy of the Letters he writ to *Rome*, and excused himself for being obliged to do this Business in the Absence of his Clergy. The Clergy of *Rome* being fully inform'd of St. *Cyprian's* conduct, sent him a Letter of *Novatian's* composing full of Esteem and Respect, which was brought him by *Optatus*, and *Saturus*. They acknowledged, that though St. *Cyprian* being assured by the Testimony of his own Conscience, was therefore under no great Necessity to justify himself; yet he deserved, however abundance of Commendation, for desiring that his Actions might be approved by his Brethren; that if he had communicated his Resolutions to them, it was not because they were his Judges, but only that they might partake the Glory of it with him, by supporting and authorising them, as they do in the 30th Letter, wherein they declare, that they were of St. *Cyprian's* Opinion,

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 S. Cyprian. ~~~~~  
 That it was necessary to tarry till Peace were restored to the Church, That so the advice of the Bishops, Priests, Deacons, and Confessors, who continued firm to the Church might be consulted, before they regulated a Matter of that great importance: That as for themselves and their Neighbours, they would determine nothing till they had a Bishop: That in the mean time they defer'd to give those Persons Absolution who were able to tarry; but as for those who were in danger of Death, and had given sufficient Marks of a sincere Repentance, and unfeigned Sorrow, they looked upon themselves obliged to relieve them in that necessity, leaving to God the Judgment of those Persons. This Letter is writ with a World of Elegance and Politeness, and abounds with admirable thoughts upon the retarding of Absolution, and also upon that Penance that is necessary to satisfy God. 'Let those People, say they, who by reason of their Crimes, have deserved to be ejected out of the Church, knock at the Gates, but not break them open; Let them come to the Church-Porch, but let them go no farther: Let them demand Peace and Absolution, but let it be with Modesty, Humility, Patience, and Submission: Let their Tears and their Sighs intercede for them, and testify the real sorrow they have for their Sins.'

The Confessors of *Rome* likewise returned an answer to St. *Cyprian* at the same time. Their Letter, which is the 25th, though not so polite as the former, is equally Learned. They thank St. *Cyprian* for the Letter he sent them, and assure him they received no small Satisfaction and Comfort from it; they looked upon the Condition of those Persons who had suffered Martyrdom to be extremely happy, since they went directly to Heaven, and thought themselves to be unfortunate, because they were deprived of that Blessing. They commend St. *Cyprian* for his great Vigilance over his Flock, though he was constrained by Necessity to be absent from it. In short, they were of Opinion, that Penitents ought not to be admitted to Reconciliation, before the Church was in a State of Tranquility, shewing how necessary Repentance is to blot out our Transgressions, and how dangerous it is to close up a Wound before it be thoroughly healed.

These Letters being mighty advantageous to St. *Cyprian's* Affairs, he dispatched a Copy of them to his Clergy, with Orders to shew them to the Faithful of *Carthage*, and to the Bishops that were Strangers, as we find in the 31st Letter: But notwithstanding all this Advice, the *Lapsi*, in a full Body writ a Letter to St. *Cyprian* in the Church's Name, wherein they demanded of him to grant them reconciliation, as being a thing they might justly claim, pretending that *Paul* the Martyr had given it to all of them before he died. St. *Cyprian* sent them word, in the 26th Letter, That the Church consisting only of the Bishop and Clergy, and all the Laicks who continued firm and steadfast, he wondered how they durst be so bold, as to Write to him in the Name of the Church, and demanded Reconciliation of him as a thing that was their Due, instead of Writing to him after a submissive manner, as some had done before, who, though they had received Tickets from the Martyrs, yet humbly signified to him that they acknowledged their Fault, that they were heartily sorry for it, and were by no means urgent to receive the Peace of the Church: That he desired them therefore, for the Time to come, to let him know precisely what they requested, and to send him their Names, that he might know what to do. He wrote also the 27th Letter to the Clergy, to inform them, that if any of his Priests and Deacons, or else any Stranger should be so presumptuous, as to communicate with the *Lapsi*, before that Affair were solemnly decided, he declared him to be cut off from Communion. He commends them for separating themselves from *Gaius* a Presbyter of *Didida*, and his Deacon, who communicated with the Apostates, though they had been twice reprimanded by the Bishops; and declares, that he will not judge the cause of *Philumenus* and *Fortunatus* the Deacons, and of *Favorinus* the Acolyth, who had withdrawn themselves in the heat of Persecution, but that they must tarry till his return before he examined their Cause, not only with his Colleagues, but also with the People; that in the mean time he would have them deprived of the Distribution that was given to the Clergy, though in such a manner, as should not do any Prejudice to the Merits of their Cause. He afterwards, in his 28th Letter, Acquaints the Clergy of *Rome* with all that he had regulated and done about those that had fallen; and they for their Part, return him a very obliging Letter, wherein they commend his steadfastness, and condemn the Precipitation of those that were so eager to be reconciled

(p) *Celerinus the Confessor.*] These Letters are placed in this Year, because it is not unlikely that they were written

some time after the Persecution was begun. This of *Celerinus* was written after *Easter*.



*S. Cyprian.* to the Church; but at the same time they excused the Martyrs, who sent them to their Bishop. Towards the end of the Letter, they thank him for the information he had given them concerning *Privatus* of *Lambesa*, and assure him that they think themselves obliged to shew, that they are not indifferent in those things which relate to other Churches, because 'Pastors ought to watch in common' for the Body of the whole Church, the several Parts of which are extended in many Provinces. This Letter is the 29th. Towards *October*, *Celerinus* of *Africa*, after he had generously confessed the Christian Faith at *Rome*, came back to *Carthage*; and going to find out *St. Cyprian* in his Retirement, comforted him exceedingly, by letting him know what an affection *Moses*, and the other Confessors of *Rome* bore unto him. This obliged him to write another Letter to them, to acquaint them how sensibly he received their Good-will, and to encourage them to persevere in the resolution they had taken upon them to dye for *JESUS CHRIST*. This is the 17th Letter in the Order of *Pamelius*. It contains an admirable Commendation of Martyrdom; he observes in it, that it was almost a full Year since they were in Prison; but then endeavours to satisfy them, that their Recompence would be proportionable to the Length of their Sufferings, and that immediately after their Martyrdom, they would receive the Happiness of enjoying *GOD*. These Confessors, animated by this eloquent Letter, suffered Martyrdom soon after the Receipt of it.

In *December*, *St. Cyprian* ordained the Readers, *Aurelius* and *Celerinus*, both of whom had confessed the Faith of *JESUS CHRIST*, and signified this Ordination immediately after to his Clergy and People, in his 32d and 33d Letters, wherein he excuses himself for having Ordained them before he had consulted his Church, because we need not stay for the Testimony of Men, when we have that of *GOD*. He gives them both an extraordinary Character of their Virtue, and the great Constancy they shewed in suffering for the Christian Faith. He says, they deserved to be advanced to the highest Dignities of the Church, but that he judged it more convenient to Ordain them only Readers, because they were so very young: That in the mean time he designed to make them Priests; and therefore ordered them to give them their Distributions, as if they were so already. At the same time he associated *Numidicus* the Priest to his Clergy, who was as illustrious for the strictness of his Virtue and Faith, as for the Glory of his Confession; for after he had, by his Exhortations, sent a great Number of Martyrs to *GOD* before him, who were either burnt or stoned to Death, and saw his Wife, whom he entirely loved, cast, among several others, into the Fire, with Joy, he himself was half burnt, bruised with Stones, and left for Dead. This is related in the 34th Letter, which was writ in his Favour.

In the beginning of the Year 257, the Confessors that were in Prison at *Carthage*, being set at Liberty, some of them were licentious in their Behaviour. *St. Cyprian* being inform'd of it, writ two Letters, one to his Clergy, and the other to the Confessors. In the first which is the 35th according to *Pamelius's* Order, he sends his Clergy Word, that he earnestly desired to come back to *Carthage*, but that the Time not permitting him to do it, he conjured them to supply his Absence, to have a particular Care of the Poor, and to exhort the Confessors not to lose the Honour of their glorious Confession by their Sins, but to suffer themselves to be governed by the Priests and Deacons; that as for himself he could not regulate the affairs of his Church alone, having obliged himself, when he was first made Bishop, to do nothing of his own Head, without the Advice of his Clergy, and the Consent of the People.

In the Letter which he writ at the same time to the Confessors, he advises them to a strict Observance of the Discipline of the Church, lest otherwise they should seem to renounce *JESUS CHRIST*, by their irregular way of Living, whom they had confessed before with their Tongues. He commends those who behaved themselves discreetly, and vigorously reprehends the rest; he exhorts all Christians to live soberly, and to forsake all Vices, that so they may be perfectly changed, and become perfect, when Peace, which *GOD* promises to send in a short time, shall be restored to the Church. He gives the same Advice to his Clergy in the 7th Letter, where he tells them, that as the Persecution had been occasioned by the Corruptions of the Manners of the Christians, so it would be impossible to obtain a Cessation of it from *GOD*, by any other Means, than offering up Prayers to him in the Spirit of Union, and living a Vertuous Life. Soon after he writ the 35th Letter to his Clergy, wherein he assures them, that he passionately desired to

come and see them, but that he was obliged to have a Regard to the Peace of the Church; and he was afraid that his Presence might exasperate the Pagans; that as soon as ever they sent him Word that all was calm, and *GOD* should inform him of it, he would speedily repair to them. In the mean time he recommended the Poor to their Care, and sent some Money to *Rogatianus* the Priest, to supply their Necessities; as also to relieve Strangers, and those that were Sick.

*St. Cyprian* being not in a Capacity at that time to go to *Carthage*, dispatched two Bishops, whose Names were *Caldonius* and *Fortunatus*, to relieve the Poor with Money, and to examine those Persons who were thought worthy to be chosen into Ecclesiastical Offices. *Feliciissimus*, who had always caballed against *St. Cyprian*, and asserted, that it was necessary to admit those that had fallen into a Reconciliation, hindered these Alms and Examinations, as much as lay in his Power, and threatened to separate himself from those that should receive any thing, and obey their Bishop. After this, he retired to a Mountain, with those of his own Party, and declared himself their Head. *St. Cyprian* being informed of this Defection, writ to the two Bishops, signifying, that since *Feliciissimus* had threatened to communicate no longer with those who were in his Place, he would deprive him and all the rest of his Faction, from the Communion of the Church; and that, setting this Crime aside, he deserved to be Excommunicated for the Rapines, the Cheating, and Adulteries of which he was accused. This Letter is the 37th. He writ likewise the 39th Letter to his own People, wherein, after he had represented what a grief it was to him, that this Disturbance retarded his return, he remonstrates with some Vehemence, that as there is but one Church, so there is but one Chair in every Church, whereof the Bishop is Master; that we cannot set up Altar against Altar, nor establish a new Priesthood: and that those who revolt from their Bishop, and separate themselves from his Communion are out of the Church. In short he threatens, at the same time, to exclude those for ever who should joyn themselves to *Feliciissimus*. *Caldonius*, *Fortunatus*, and the rest of *St. Cyprian's* Clergy, had no sooner received these Letters, but they excommunicated *Feliciissimus*, and those of his Cabal, and acquainted *St. Cyprian* with it in the 83d Letter. And thus I have given the true Order, as well as the Subject of all those Letters that were written to *St. Cyprian*, during the time of his first Banishment.

The order of the Letters written after his Return is less perplexed and confused in *Pamelius's* Edition than in that of the former. The 40th and 41st Letters are the first in this second Order, and are addressed to *Cornelius*. *St. Cyprian* had sent him word of all that had passed in *Africk*, upon the Difference he had with *Novatian*, and informed him (9) of the Faction of *Feliciissimus*. At the same time also he writ the 43d Letter to the Confessors of *Rome*, to dissuade them from *Novatian's* Party, and gave *Cornelius* information of it in the 42d Letter, wherein he acquaints him, that he had given Orders to his Subdeacon *Metius*, who carried it, to shew to him, lest he should suspect him to entertain a Commerce with the Schismatics. In the mean time, *Primitivus* the Priest, who had carried *St. Cyprian's* first Letter from *Carthage*, being returned thither, brought him a Letter from *Cornelius*, in which he complains that the Letters that were sent him from *Adrumetum*, were not directed to him, but to his Clergy, ever since *Juvenalis* and *St. Cyprian* were arrived there. To this *St. Cyprian* answers in the 44th Letter, that the Reason of this was, because they had acquainted the Christians of that Colony with a Decision lately made in *Africk*, which, by reason of their Bishop's Absence, they were ignorant of, viz. That they should neither Write to *Novatian* nor *Cornelius*, but to the Clergy of *Rome*, till they had received certain News from *Caldonius* and *Fortunatus*; and that since *Cornelius's* Ordination was now approved of by all the World, he himself in particular had writ about it to all the *African* Bishops. Towards the end of this Letter he prays, That *GOD*, who chose and established Bishops, would not only vouchsafe to protect and defend them, but give them Grace and Knowledge necessary to repress the Licentiousness of offenders with Vigor, and to manage the good Inclinations of the Penitents with Gentleness and Clemency.

In the mean time the Confessors of the Church of *Rome* returning from their Error, and being received by *Cornelius* in an Assembly of the *Roman* Clergy, where five Bishops made their Appearance; *Cornelius* communicated this News to *St. Cyprian* in the 45th Letter, which he sent to him by the Hands of the *Acolyth* *Ni-*

(9) The Cabals of *Feliciissimus*.] These Letters were carried by *Metius* the Subdeacon as well as the one and fortieth.



*S. Cyprian.* *cephorus*, wherein he gives him a particular account of whatever had passed in relation to the Confessors, and how they had acknowledged their Fault, and desired to be publicly pardoned, owning that they had been abused by the Perfidiousness and Artifices of *Novatian*; and that, though they had communicated with him, yet they were always in their hearts united to the Church, and acknowledged at the bottom, that as there was but one God, one Christ, and one Holy Ghost, so there ought to be but one Bishop in a Catholick Church: That after this solemn Profession, they had been received with the Approbation of the People; and that they had granted the Favour to *Maximus* the Priest, to keep his Rank and Dignity. The Person that carried this, brought *St. Cyprian* another Letter from *Cornelius*, wherein he informs him of the Departure of *Novatus* and his Companions, *Nicostratus* the Deacon, *Evaristus* the Bishop, *Primus* and *Dionysius*: This is the 47th Letter. *St. Cyprian* having received these two Letters, answered them by two others. In the first, which is the 46th, he rejoices with *Cornelius* at the Return of the Confessors. In the second, which is the 48th, he paints *Novatus* in his true Colours, and accuses him of several Crimes. He tells him, it was he who by his Caballing, had got *Felicissimus* to be ordained a Deacon in *Africk*; and that coming to *Rome* afterwards, he had been the cause of *Novatian's* being Ordained; but that it was no wonder that this Man could not continue in the Church, who had violated all the Laws of Christian Morality, the Ecclesiastical Discipline; that he had plunder'd the Orphans and Widows; that he had cheated the Churches, by laying out their Money to other Uses; that he had suffered his own Father to die of meer Poverty; and that he had been the cause of his Wife's proving Abortive, by Kicking and Ill-using her; that he ought not only to be deprived of the Priesthood, but also of the Communion of the Church, for his Crimes; and that he had prevented the Judgment which the Bishops ought to have passed against him by his voluntary Separation. At the same time likewise, the Confessors of *Rome* writ to *St. Cyprian*, signifying, that after they had deliberated among themselves, concerning the Welfare and Peace of the Church, forgetting what had passed, and leaving the Judgment of it to God, they had reconciled themselves to *Cornelius*, to the Clergy, and all the Church of *Rome*. *St. Cyprian* congratulated them upon their Return, in such a manner as sufficiently testified the Joy he had at such welcome News; as also the Sorrow he had formerly entertained at their falling away. These Letters in *Pamelius's* Edition, are the 49th and 50th.

Towards the beginning of the Year 252, *Antoninus* an African Bishop, who had been of *Cornelius's* Side, having received a Letter from *Novatian*, to acquaint him, that *Cornelius* had received *Trophimus*, and several other Persons who had offered Incense to Idols, was a little staggered at it, and writ to *St. Cyprian*, praying him to inform him what was *Novatian's* Heresie, and why *Cornelius* had received *Trophimus*, and the other Apostates. *St. Cyprian* perceiving him to waver, endeavoured to confirm him by a long Letter; wherein, after he has justified the Conduct that was observed at *Rome* and in *Africk*, concerning those that were fallen, he defends *Cornelius*, and demonstrates the Validity of his Ordination. He begins it with making a sort of a Reproach to this Bishop for his Inconstancy, telling him, it by no means became discreet Persons, who had built their Judgments upon solid Grounds, to suffer themselves to be carried away with every Wind, and to be always changing their Opinions. After this he proceeds to justify the Measures that were taken with those that had fallen into Idolatry, whether by taking Certificates, or Sacrificing to Idols. He tells him, as long as the Persecution lasted, he had been of Opinion, that it was their Duty to deny them Reconciliation, to encourage them the better to suffer Martyrdom; but that after Peace was once restored to the Church, and after a mature Deliberation upon this Affair, in a numerous Assembly of Bishops, it was thought convenient to keep a Temper, not by taking away all Hopes of Pardon from those that had fallen, for fear they should live as Pagans, when they saw themselves intirely shut out of the Church, but by obliging them to undergo a long Penance before they could be reconciled; that this had been regulated in Councils of several Bishops, held in *Africa* and at *Rome*. He afterwards comes to the Person and Ordination of *Cornelius*, and tells him, that he had not all on the sudden arrived to the Episcopacy, but that he had formerly passed through all the Ecclesiastical Dignities; that he had neither desired it, nor stickled for it, but that he had received it with all Humility; that, in a word, he had used no manner of Violence, as some have done, to get himself made a Bishop, but that he had suffered it rather in receiving the Episco-

*S. Cyprian.* pacy against his Will, *Non, ut quidam, vim fecit, ut Episcopus fieret, sed vim passus est ut Episcopatum coactus acciperet*; that he had been elected Bishop by several Bishops, who happened to be then at *Rome*, in expectation of the Choice of the Clergy, and the Suffrages of the People, and with the general Approbation of all Churches, the See being at that time vacant by the Death of *Fabian*; that after this Ordination, which was approved by all the Bishops in the World, whoever would get himself ordained in the See of *Rome*, must necessarily be out of the Church; that no Credit was to be given to the secret Calumnies that were published against him; that his Colleagues, after they had diligently examined the Accusations of his Enemies, found him to be Innocent; that he had never received any Certificates from the Magistrates, nor communicated with those Bishops that had Offered Incense to Idols, but that he had followed the Regulations which the whole Church had made concerning Apostates; that as for *Trophimus*, he had only received him for the Good of the Church, and to procure the Return of several Christians, whom he had brought along with him back again to the Church; that for this Reason he had been received, but on this Condition, to be in the Number of the Laity, and not as the *Novatians* had reported, in Quality of a Bishop; that since the Benefit of Reconciliation was allowed to Adulterers and Robbers, he saw no reason why Idolaters should be totally excluded; that amongst these, some were more to be blamed than others, that the *Libellatici*, [Those who had Certificates of their having Sacrificed, though they had never done it,] were more excusable than those that had sacrificed to Idols; that the first of these had been reconciled immediately, and that it had been determined, that Absolution should not be refused the latter upon the Point of Death, because there was no Repentance in Hell; with Exception always to those who deferred to do Penance till they were in Danger. After this he largely proves and demonstrates the reasonableness of this Conduct.

He observes that some of his Predecessors formerly had absolutely refused Absolution to Adulterers, but that they had not therefore condemned their Brethren, who acted indifferently, nor torn the Church, by making a Separation; that no body ought to be alarmed at what *Novatian* taught, since he was out of the Bosom of the Church; that he could not be Bishop of *Rome*, since the Roman See was filled by *Cornelius*, who had been legally Ordained, and whose Ordination had been approved by all the Bishops in the World; that the Church being a Body whose Members were spread over all the Earth after the same manner, there was only one Episcopacy diffused in the Person of several Bishops united together; and that though *Novatian* had been rightly Ordained, yet he forfeited that Dignity by separating himself from his Colleagues, and disturbing the Repose of the Church, and that there were no hopes of Salvation for him, being out of the Church. In short, *St. Cyprian* shews that it is cruel and unreasonable to oblige Sinners, as *Novatian* had done, to undergo Penance, and yet refuse them the Favour of Reconciliation, to exhort them to make satisfaction for their Sins, and yet deny them that Cure which their Satisfaction deserves, to say to them, Weep and Sigh Night and Day, Wash your Sins in your Tears, endeavour to efface them by your good Works, and yet at the same time add, you must die out of the Church; do all you can to procure your Peace, though you shall never be able to obtain the Peace you so earnestly desire.

But *Cornelius* did not defend *St. Cyprian* at *Rome* with the same Resolution and Constancy as this Saint defended his Party in *Africk*; for *Felicissimus* arriving there with a Company of factious Persons to get the Ordination of *Fortunatus* approved, whom he had caused to be Ordained in opposition to *St. Cyprian*, *Cornelius* at first rejected him, and turned him out of the Church, without vouchsafing so much as to hearken to him, and writ to *St. Cyprian* about it. But seeing no body came from *St. Cyprian*, and that he had sent him no Directions about it, whereas on the other hand it was openly discoursed, That *Fortunatus* had been ordained by Twenty five Bishops; that *St. Cyprian* favoured the Party of the *Novatians*, and that if the Church of *Rome* refused to receive the Letters which they brought against him, they would read them in Publick. The Pope was not a little affrighted at the Menaces, and wrote a second Letter to *St. Cyprian*, wherein he acquaints him that he was sensibly concerned at these Accusations, and wondred why he would omit to give him Satisfaction in this Affair. *St. Cyprian* surprized at the Boldness of *Felicissimus*, and the Weakness of *Cornelius*, returns him a generous Answer, in which he tacitly reprehends him for this Procedure. He tells him, that if the Insolence of Wicked Men renders them terrible to Bishops, and that if they can obtain by Menaces and Violence what they could never pretend to get by



*S. Cyprian.* by Reason and the regular Course of Justice, then there is an end of Episcopacy. As for himself, he declares, that he feared not the Obloquies of his Enemies; that Discipline must not therefore be laid aside, because we are reviled with Calumnies, and ill-affected Persons endeavour to affright us by their threatening Speeches; that the Original of Heresies and Schisms is solely owing to the Disobedience shewn to the Bishop, whom God has established; and because People don't consider that there is only one Bishop and Judge in a Church, who for that time supplies the Place of Jesus Christ; that a Bishop being once Canonically Elected, and acquitting himself worthily in the Functions of his Ministry, whoever separates from him does actually withdraw himself from the Church; that we ought not to impute this Loss to the Bishop, but to themselves, who voluntarily chose it; that the Reason why Bishops are obliged to have so great a Care in the Discharge of their Consciences, is that no body might pretend to leave the Church for their ill Administration; that his own Election was without any Blemish, as having been substituted in the room of a deceased Bishop, Elected by the Suffrages of the People in the time of Peace, protected by God in his Persecution, united inviolably to his Colleagues, approved by the vigilant Administration of his Office for four years, demanded often in the Cirque and Amphitheatre to be exposed to Lions, and that very lately too upon the occasion of a publick Sacrifice. He informs him at last with all that had passed in *Africk* concerning the false Bishop *Fortunatus*, who was set up by the Faction of *Felicitissimus*, and ordained by *Privatus* of *Lambesa* a Heretick, particularly marked out in the Letters of *Fabian* and *Donatus*, and condemned in a Council of Nine Bishops. He tells him, that he forbore to write to him concerning this Matter, because he supposed he knew him well enough, since he was one of the five Priests who had separated themselves from his Church a long while ago, and because he himself had ejected *Felicitissimus*, the Chief of that Faction, out of the Church; that *Novatus's* Party had likewise chosen one *Maximus* an African Bishop, and that he had scarce troubled himself to write about these Matters now, but since *Fortunatus* boasted that he was Ordained by Twenty five Bishops, he assures *Cornelius*, that except the Heretick *Privatus* of *Lambesa*, there was only four Bishops, and those too all Apostates, that assisted at his Ordination. After this, he accuses *Felicitissimus*, and those of his Faction, for reconciling those that had fallen in the time of Persecution, without staying till they had done Penance for their Crime, contrary to the Decree of the African Council. He likewise describes the furious Excesses of this Cabal, and adds; 'After all these Irregularities, after having Elected an Heretick to be a Bishop, they have still the Impudence to go to Rome, and carry Letters from Schismatics to the Chair of St. Peter, to that Chief Church, which is the Spring of Sacerdotal Unity. But what can their Design be, since they are still resolved to persevere in their Crimes? Or what Benefit can they expect from going to Rome? If they repent of their Faults, they ought to understand that they must come back again hither to receive Absolution for them, since it is an Order established all the World over, and indeed but reasonable, that every ones Cause should be Examined where the Crime was committed. Every Pastor has received a part of Jesus Christ's Flock to govern, and shall render an Account of his Actions to God alone. Upon this account it is not to be allowed, that those Persons who are under our Charge, should run to and fro, and sow Dis-

sension amongst Bishops by their Temerity and Artifices; but on the other hand, it is necessary for them to defend themselves in that Place, where they may be confronted by their Accusers, and the Witnesses of their Crimes. Their Cause has been examined, Sentence has been pronounced against them, and it would be below the Gravity of Bishops to be justly reproached with being Wavering and Inconstant. He concludes all with laying open the Method which he used with Schismatics, that were desirous to come back again to the Church. He says that he is extremely indulgent to those who acknowledge their Fault, and are heartily concerned for it; that his People complain of his Clemency, and that he rather offends by being too mild than too severe, but that at the same time he continues inexorable to those that pretend to enter the Church by Menaces and Force. They ought to be persuaded, says he, that the Church shall be always shut against them. He adds, That he was not in the least apprehensive of their Threats, and that a Bishop who conforms himself to the Rules of the Gospel, and keeps the Precepts of Jesus Christ, may perhaps be murdered, but can never be overcome. At last, he warns and conjures *Cornelius* to order this Letter to be read to his flourishing Clergy that presided at Rome together with him, that so if these malicious Reports, that were industriously spread about him, had left any ill Impression, it might be entirely effaced by the Reading of this Letter. It was writ four years after his Election to the Bishoprick, that is to say, in the Year 252.


(r) About April, in the very same year, St. Cyprian, who had been consulted by *Fidus* an African Bishop, upon the occasion of a Priest, whose Name was *Victor*, to whom his own Bishop *Therapius* had granted Reconciliation, and upon the Baptism of Infants, proposed these Questions in a Council of Sixty six Bishops, who were come to Carthage at the Festival of Easter, according to the Custom. They were surprized to hear that *Therapius* had so strangely slighted the Authority of a Decree which they had Synodically passed the Year before; but nevertheless, after they had maturely weighed every thing, they were of Opinion that the Reconciliation he had received from his Bishop was not to be reversed, and so they permitted him to enjoy Lay-Communion, contenting themselves with Admonishing their Colleague, and advising him to do so no more for the time to come. As for what concerned the Baptism of Infants, they declared it was necessary to Baptize them immediately after their Birth, and that there lay no Obligation upon Christians to tarry till the 8th day. St. Cyprian returns this Answer to *Fidus* in his Fifty Eighth Letter.

Soon after, St. Cyprian being consulted by some of his Brethren, who were assembled at *Thapsus* to ordain a Bishop, about the Case of some Penitents in the City of *Thapsus*, who having generously confessed Jesus Christ, had at last yielded to the Violence of their Torments, but had done Penance for it three years afterwards; he answers them in the Two and fiftieth Letter, that in his Opinion, they ought by no means to refuse Pardon to such sort of Persons; that their generous Confession ought to atone for the Infirmary of the Flesh, and that, since it had been judged expedient to grant Reconciliation at the Hour of Death, to all those that had fallen, we ought to shew greater Indulgence to those who had maintained the Combat a long time, than to those who had yielded merely through Cowardise: Nevertheless, since this was a Question of great importance, he promises to propose it to the Synod that was to meet about Easter.

(r) About April in the same Year.] The Author of the Annals of St. Cyprian, in the English Edition, believes that this Synod was not held till the end of the Year 253, after the Persecution of *Gallus* and *Volusian* was ended: but if it was assembled at that time, the Bishops ought not to have blamed *Therapius*, for giving the Peace to *Victor*, since they themselves had freely granted it to all People before the Persecution of *Gallus*; and indeed so far was he from doing any thing against the last Decree, that he rather seems to have put it into Execution; for it is not true that St. Cyprian makes any mention in this Letter of the two Decrees of the preceding Synods; he only speaks of the first, whereby it was ordained that the Peace should not be given to those that had fallen, unless they fell into any dangerous Disease, or in case of Extremity. St. Cyprian's Words are these, *Qua res satis non movit recessum esse à Decreti nostri auctoritate, ut ante legitimum & plenum tempus satisfactionis, & sine petitu & conscientia plebis nullâ infirmitate urgente, ac necessitate cogente pax ei concederetur.* He speaks only of one Decree, *Decreti nostri*, and not *Decretorum*, and he does not distinguish between two, for *infirmitate urgente* and *necessitate cogente* signifie the same thing. And though *Therapius* the Bishop had reconciled *Victor* before the Persecution, and his Conduct ought for that reason to be blamed, yet it could never be doubted after the Persecution

was over, whether this Reconciliation were valid; besides there is no great probability that *Fidus* should ever be so ill advised as to accuse *Therapius* for giving Absolution to *Victor* long after, and at a Juncture too, when all Bishops gave it to those that were fallen. 'Tis infinitely more probable that this Council was held after the first Council of Carthage, which prohibited the giving Absolution to those that had fallen, unless in case of extream Sickness, and the second which granted the Peace to all that had fallen. 'Twas likewise in this Interval, that the 52 Letter was written, but after this Council, which in all probability was held about Easter, in the Year 252. For if Absolution had been granted to all the lapsed, the Question of the Bishops concerning those Persons who yielded only through the Violence of their Torments, and St. Cyprian's Answer had been impertinent; and what is more, it was written three years after the Persecution of *Decius*. Therefore this could not happen but at the beginning of the year 253, and consequently the Synod of Carthage which granted the Peace, was held in the same year, and not in 252, as Bishop *Pearson* says. Thus if we would be exact in our Chronology, we ought to place the first Synod of Carthage about Easter, in the year 251, the second at Easter 252, which is that of the Sixty six Bishops, and the third at Easter in the year 253.



 About this time also he writ against *Fortunatianus*, who had been Bishop of *Assuri*, his Sixty third Letter, directed to *Epicetus*, who was Elected in his Place, and to the People of that City. This *Fortunatianus* had the unhappiness to fall into Idolatry, and was upon that account divested of his Bishoprick: After his Deprivation he laboured earnestly to re-possess himself of it, and to perform his respective Functions as formerly. St. *Cyprian* condemns these Proceedings in this Letter, wherein he demonstrates how necessary a thing Sanctity is to make our Sacrifices acceptable, and advises the People not to suffer him to exercise his Office, but to separate from him, in case he continued in his Design. Towards the end of this Letter, he exhorts the Penitents that were amongst them, not to be impatient at the length of their Penance, but to endeavour to satisfy God, and to continue knocking at the Gate of the Church: Which Passage evidently discovers, that it was writ before the Decree of the Council of *Carthage*, which granted Absolution to all Penitents.

This Council was held in the Year 253, about the time that the Emperors *Gallus* and *Volusian* dispatched Letters to all Parts, to oblige the People to Sacrifice to Idols: so that the Christians had reason enough to apprehend a general Persecution. Now to encourage them the more to fight against the Enemies of their Faith, the *African* Bishops thought it convenient to grant Reconciliation to those who were in a State of Penance since their Fall, and having accordingly determined it in this Assembly, they writ a Letter to *Cornelius*, which is the 53d amongst those of St. *Cyprian*, to acquaint him with their Decree, and to advise him to do the like: They represented to him, that though they had resolved to prolong the Penance of Apostates, and not to reconcile them till the Hour of Death, yet since they were informed that the Church was going to be persecuted, they judged it expedient to strengthen the Christians, that so they might the better bear the Attacks of their Enemies, and to animate them to the Combat, by giving them the *Body and Blood of Jesus Christ*, which would inspire them with Vigor to suffer Martyrdom courageously. That if there were any Bishops who thought themselves obliged to do otherwise, it would certainly lye at their Doors, to render an Account to God of so ill-tim'd a Severity; that as for themselves, they had only done what they owed to Charity, as well as to their own Consciences, by declaring, that the time of Persecution drew near, and not hiding that which God had revealed to his Servants. A little after this Decree, St. *Cyprian* writ an excellent Letter to the *Thibaritans*, which is the 55th in *Pamphilus's* Order, wherein he exhorts them in a very vigorous and moving manner, to suffer undauntedly for Jesus Christ.

Some time after St. *Cyprian* being informed that *Cornelius* was sent into Banishment with many of the Faithful of *Rome*, he writ immediately to him to congratulate him upon the account of his Constancy, which he had so visibly shewn by being the first of his Church, that confessed the Name of Jesus Christ: He extols his Action, and from thence takes occasion to triumph over *Novatian*, saying, that the Confession of *Cornelius* had evidently discovered which of those two was the true Bishop; and that the Constancy of those who had fallen away in *Decius's* Persecution, sufficiently proved, that there was good reason to reconcile them to the Church. At last he exhorts *Cornelius* to pass Night and Day with all his People in Fasting, Watching, and continual Praying, because the Day of Combat and Triumph was at hand.

It was perhaps at this time, that is to say, towards the end of the Reign of *Gallus* and *Volusian*, that the Empire being invaded on all sides by the *Barbarians*; and several Christians happening to be taken Captives by them in *Numidia*, the Bishops of that Country contributed to redeem them, and wrote to St. *Cyprian*, desiring him to assist them in that Conjuncture.

St. *Cyprian* intimates to them in the 59th Letter, that he was extremely afflicted at the Misfortune that had befallen his Brethren, that Christians, being all Brothers one to another, ought to be concerned at the Captivity of the Faithful, who were carried away Prisoners, as much as if it were their own case: That their Suffering ought to represent to them the Person of Jesus Christ, who made himself a Captive to deliver us from the Cap-

tivity, wherein we were enthralled: That the extreme Peril of the Virgins who were consecrated to God, and had reason to apprehend the loss of their Virginity, was a convincing Motive to hasten their Delivery. He tells them therefore, that he returns them his Thanks, because they were willing to let him have a Share in their Works of Charity, and for giving him a fertile Field to cast his Seed in, that so he might one day reap a plentiful Harvest out of it: That all the Christians of his Church had readily and liberally contributed to raise a Sum of Money upon this Occasion: That he had sent them this Sum, which amounted to an Hundred Thousand Sesterces, that is to say, 7500 Livres, to distribute it as they should think fit, and together with it, the Names of those who had contributed towards it, that so they might remember them in their Prayers and Sacrifices.

*Lucius* who was Elected Bishop of *Rome*, after the Death of *Cornelius*, being now returned from his Exile, where he had been sent immediately after his Election; St. *Cyprian* writ the 57th Letter, wherein he congratulates him at the same time, both upon the Score of his Banishment and his Return; as he had before writ a Letter to him, to compliment him for his Election and glorious Confession (s).

About the same time *Pupienus*, an *African* Bishop, giving credit to the Calumnies which *Felicissimus*, and the Enemies of St. *Cyprian* had published against him, writ him a very disobliging Letter, wherein he assured him, that he could not with a safe Conscience communicate with him, because he did not look upon his Ordination to be lawful; and upon that he accuses him of Pride, and of being the Occasion of the Divisions that were in his Church. St. *Cyprian* answered him in the Sixty eighth Letter, That he wondred extremely how he came to call his Ordination in Question, after he had been Elected Bishop of *Carthage*, by the consent of the Clergy and People, that is to say, by the Judgment of God himself, and had exercised that Function for the space of six years, which shews, that this Letter was writ in the year 254. That it had been approved by all the World, and acknowledged even by the Pagans themselves; That an infinite Number of Prelates, Martyrs, Confessors, and holy Virgins had owned him for their lawful Bishop; that after this, he desired *Pupienus* to judge in his Favour, and to ratify the Judgment of God, and of Jesus Christ; that he had done him wrong in listening to scandalous Calumnies, and such too as were justly punishable, against his Brother, and against a Bishop: That even the Pagans were sensible of the Effects of his Humility, and that *Pupienus* had formerly known him when he communicated with him: That there were no Divisions in his Church, because all his People lived in a wonderful Union with him; and that those only continued without the Church, who deserved to be ejected out of it, if they had been within. After this, he exhorts *Pupienus* to repent of his Rashness and Pride, and promises to communicate with him, provided he is sorry for his crime, and endeavours truly to satisfy God. He tells him, that God had informed him in a Vision, that whosoever would not believe in Jesus Christ, when he established a Bishop, should believe him against his Will, when he came to take Vengeance upon him: That he very well knew, that the World made these Visions and Dreams pass for ridiculous, ill-grounded Imaginations, but that the same thing had been said of *Joseph's* Dreams. At last, he concludes with these Words: *You have my Letter, and I have yours; they will both be read on the Day of Judgment, before the Tribunal of Jesus Christ.*

Towards the beginning of Pope *Stephen's* Pontificate, St. *Cyprian* was consulted by the Bishops of *France* and *Spain*, about two Affairs of great Consequence. To give the Reader a short Account of that which related to *France*, he is to know, That the Heresie of *Novatian* having spread it self in that Country, *Marcianus*, Bishop of *Arles*, being infected with it, joyned himself to *Novatian*, and brought over several Persons to his Party. And because he was not excommunicated by Name, he arrogantly insulted over his Brethren. *Faustinus* Bishop of *Lyons*, and the other Bishops of that Province, writ to *Stephen* and St. *Cyprian* about it, earnestly desiring that they would concur with them in excommunicating *Marcianus*. *Stephen* neglecting to send them any Answer, *Faustinus* writ the second time to St. *Cyprian* about it, who advised *Stephen* in the 66th Letter (t), to satisfy the De-

(s) *His Election and glorious Confession.*] The English Annalist says, that this Letter was written before the Death of *Gallus* and *Volusian* in 252, because St. *Cyprian* there speaks of the Persecution as not being quite over, or at least as being still to be feared; but this does not prove that *Lucius* returned before their Death, but only that though these Emperors were dead, there was reason still to apprehend a Persecution,

and he actually suffered Martyrdom soon after, at the beginning of the Empire of *Galienus*, or under *Emilian*.

(t) *Who advised Stephen in his 66th Letter.*] *Baronius* and some others have made use of this Letter to advance the Authority of *Rome*, but with small Success; for first of all St. *Cyprian* only advises *Stephen* to do what he himself might do, and what he had really done. Secondly, the *Gallican* Bishops



*S. Cyprian.* fires of the Gallican Bishops, and dispatch Letters into *Provence*, and principally to the Inhabitants of the City of *Arles*, wherein he should declare *Marcian* Excommunicated, and give them notice to elect another Bishop in his room. He remonstrates to him, that since this Bishop had joyned himself to *Novatian*, who was notoriously excommunicated, there was no necessity of having a new Judgment against him; that all Bishops were obliged to take care that Admission into the Church should not be denied to Penitents; that the numerous Body of Bishops being united to one another, by a Bond of mutual Charity, they were all bound, in case any one should make himself Chief of an Heresie, or the Flock of Jesus Christ, which they feed in common, should be attacked or carried away, to come to their Relief, and to re-unite the Sheep of Jesus Christ, like good Shepherds that truly love their Flock.

The Bishops of *Spain* likewise had recourse to *St. Cyprian*, about an Affair of the same Nature, *Basilides* and *Martialis*, one the Bishop of *Leon*, the other of *Astorga*, having been publicly proved to have taken Certificates of their having sacrificed, and convicted of several other Crimes, were deposed, and *Felix* and *Sabinus* elected in their Places. *Basilides* owning his Crime, had voluntarily quitted his Bishoprick, and was placed in the Rank of Penitents, where he thought himself over happy, if he could but communicate as a Laick: Nevertheless, these two Bishops being afterwards pushed on by their Ambition and Envy, used their utmost Endeavours to regain their Sees; and finding they could not compass their Designs there, they went to *Rome*, not to demand their Re-establishment from *Stephen*, but only that he would be pleased to admit them to his Communion, which they said would be very serviceable to them to procure their Re-establishment. They acted their Parts so dextrously, that *Stephen* granted them what they requested; so upon this they went back to *Spain*, where they became more insolent than ever, and would by all means re-possess themselves of their Sees by Force. The Clergy and People of *Spain* writ to *St. Cyprian* about it, and deputed *Felix* and *Sabinus*, who were ordained Bishops in the room of these two Apostates, to go to him, to know what they were to do in this Exigence. But *Felix*, Bishop of *Saragossa*, whom *St. Cyprian* calls a great Defender of the Faith, writ to him likewise in particular. The Saint judging this to be an Action of no small Importance, read the Letters sent him from *Spain*, in a Synod of the African Bishops, who after they had diligently examined the Matter, came to this Resolution, that the Deposition of *Basilides* and *Martialis* ought to stand good, as well as the Ordination of *Felix* and *Sabinus* in their place. They writ a Synodical Letter concerning it to the Clergy and People of *Leon* and *Astorga*, which is placed the 67 amongst those of *St. Cyprian*, and sent them word, that they had no reason to suffer *Basilides* and *Martialis* to re-enter upon their Episcopal Functions, after they had been found guilty of such enormous Crimes, and *Basilides* himself had acknowledged so much; that since the People had Power to elect

writ to *St. Cyprian* as well as to *Stephen*. Thirdly, they addressed themselves to them, because *Marcianus* had alledged in his own defence, that these Bishops had not excommunicated him. Fourthly, *St. Cyprian* does not write to him to cite or depose *Marcianus*, but only to declare him separated from the Communion, and to advise the People of *Arles* to elect another Bishop, because he was notoriously excommunicated and deposed, for joyning himself to *Novatian*, who was then out of the Church. Fifthly, he does by no means ground the Necessity of *Stephen's* writing into *France* upon his Authority, but only upon a Motive of Charity, whereby Bishops were obliged to assist one another, and upon the Unity of the Episcopacy. Monsieur *Launoy* has endeavoured to bring the Truth of this Letter into question, and has proposed some Conjectures to shew that it is spurious, but they are weak and ill-grounded, and scarce any body has been induced to embrace his Opinion, because this Letter is really *St. Cyprian's* Stile, which has a peculiar Character, as *St. Austin* well observes, by which it may be easily known. The first difficulty relates to the Time of this Letter, but this is easily answered, by saying that it was written at the end of the year 255, and that the Quarrel between *Stephen* and *St. Cyprian* began not till the year 256. The second is taken from the Silence of the Ancients, but we ought not to be surprized that this particular Fact was not taken notice of, since that of *Basilides* and *Martialis*, which are not questioned by Monsieur *Launoy*, were also as much forgotten. Add to this, that *St. Austin*, Lib. 6. de Bapt. contra Donatist. Ch. 15. makes mention of a Letter of *St. Cyprian* to Pope *Stephen*, which takes no notice of the Question about Baptism, and cannot be any other than this. The third Objection of Monsieur *Launoy* is, that it is not to be found in several Manuscripts, as in that of the Vatican, and above twenty more, according to the English Edition; but then it is to be found in three ancient ones, as *Rigaltius* has observed, and there are three several Letters of *St. Cyprian* that are wanting in some Manuscripts. The principal and

*S. Cyprian.* good Bishops, and to reject the bad, they would appear culpable before God, if they communicated any longer with them; that the Ordination of *Felix* and *Sabinus* was lawful, since it was made with the Consent of the People by the neighbouring Bishops; that it ought not to be reversed, though *Basilides* had surprized *Stephen*, who, by reason of his great Distance from the place, could not exactly inform himself of the truth of Affairs; that this Conduct was so far from effacing their Crimes, that on the other hand it augmented their Guilt, because, tho' *Stephen* was in some sort excusable for suffering himself to be deceived merely out of Negligence; yet we ought to have a Detestation for those Persons, who had so maliciously imposed upon his Easiness; that they extremely commended their Faith and Zeal, and desired them to maintain a Correspondence no more with Bishops of such a profligate Character, who were notorious for so many Crimes. In the same Year another Synod of Bishops was held (u) in *Carthage*, who being consulted by *Jannarius*, and the rest of the Numidian Bishops about the Baptism of Hereticks, returned them this Answer, that it was necessary to re-baptize all those who had been Baptized by Hereticks, according to the ancient Regulation made by *Agrippinus* in *Africk*.

*St. Cyprian* writ the same Year to one *Quintus*, a Bishop, who had ordered the same Question to be put to him by *Lucian* the Priest. This Letter is the 71st, as *Pamelius* has ranged them. He assures him, that some of his Brethren were of a different Opinion from him in this Affair, who pretended that it was the ancient Custom before *Agrippinus*, not to re-baptize Hereticks after they had been once admitted into the Church. To weaken the Authority of this pretended Custom, he lays it down for an undoubted Truth, that we are not to be determined by any Customs of that Nature, but to examine whether they will bear the Test of Reason; That *St. Peter*, in his Dispute with *St. Paul* upon the Business of Circumcision, did not treat that Apostle with Arrogance and Pride; That he never alledged his Primacy, or told him, that the new Disciples of Jesus Christ, as *St. Paul* was, who had likewise been a Persecutor of the Church, ought blindly to obey him, and not to question his Decisions, but gave him the Hearing, and humbly received the Counsel of Truth which *St. Paul* gave him, and readily submitted to the Powerful Reasons of that Apostle, teaching us by that Behaviour to be peaceable and Patient, and not to espouse our own Opinions with Heat and Obstinacy, but to embrace the Advices of our Brethren, whenever they are useful and agreeable to Truth.

Some time after this, *St. Cyprian* assembled at *Carthage* a Council of Seventy one Bishops, as well of the Province of *Africk* as *Numidia*, who confirmed all that had been determined by the preceding Synod, concerning the Baptism of Hereticks, and decreed, that all Priests and Deacons who were ordained amongst them, or who, after having been sometime of their Party, returned to the Church, should be received only in the Quality of

last is taken from the History of *Trophimus*, who came not to *Arles*, of which Place he was Bishop (if we may believe the ancient Author of the Life of *St. Saturninus*, quoted by *Gregory of Tours*) till the time of *Decius*, which is four or five years before this Letter of *St. Cyprian* was written, though it appears by this Letter that *Marcianus* was Bishop of *Arles*, and not *Trophimus*, and the Christian Religion had been a long time established in that City. This we must confess to be the greatest Difficulty, but we may answer it by admitting the Epocha of *Sulpitius Severus*, who tells us, that *Trophimus* came some years before *Decius*, and that it is not the Author of the Life of *Saturninus*, but *Gregory of Tours*, who upon occasion of what this Author says, that *Saturninus* was Bishop of *Tholouse* in the time of *Decius*, adds seven other Bishops of *France*, amongst whom is *Trophimus*, and it is possible that he might reckon some who came some time before. The fifth Epistle of *Zosimus*, which *Queshnellus* has defended against the Conjectures of Monsieur *Launoy*, confirms our Opinion, for there it is said, *Trophimus being sent to Arles by the holy See, was as it were the Spring of all those Rivers that run through the whole Body of France*. Which Passage shews, that it is probable that he came some years before the Empire of *Decius*, though it were a long time after the times of the Apostles, and several years after the Martyrdom of *St. Irenaeus*.

(u) In the same Year another Synod of Bishops was held. This Synod must of necessity have been assembled in the Year 255, as what follows sufficiently shews. It is different from that which was held upon the account of *Basilides* and *Martialis*, at least the Names that are to be seen at the Head of two Synodical Letters, are different. Hence it follows, that there must have been more than one held that very Year, and we are not to wonder at it, because it was the Custom of the Africans to hold two every Year, one in the Spring, and the other in Autumn. This might be assembled in the Month of September, in the Year 255, the next in the Spring 256, and the last in the Month of September in the same Year.

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Laicks : and after this, to maintain that Honour and Friendship which Bishops owed to one another, they acquainted Pope *Stephen* with these Constitutions, by a Synodical Letter, which is the Seventy second amongst those of *St. Cyprian* in *Pamelius's* Order, and towards the end of it represented to him; that since the things they had ordained were conformable to the Christian Religion, and to Truth, they hoped he would make no difficulty to approve them; That nevertheless they knew there were Some Bishops in the world, who could be hardly persuaded to change their Opinions, and yet though they kept up their own particular customs, would never break the Laws of Peace and Charity; That after the same manner they would not pretend to prescribe Laws, or constrain any Persons, since they were satisfied that every Bishop was free to behave himself, as he saw expedient in the Administration of his own Church, for which he was accountable to God alone.

About the same time likewise, *St. Cyprian* immediately after this Council, writ a long Letter to *Jubaianus* a Bishop, who had also consulted him about this Question, wherein he urges abundance of Reasons, and Texts of Scripture to support his own Opinion; and after he has answered the Objections that were brought against it, concludes with this new Protestation, that he had not the least Design to impose Laws upon any of his Colleagues, or to fall out with them upon this occasion, but inviolably to preserve Faith and Charity, the Dignity of the Priesthood, and concord with his Brethren. *Stephen* having answered *St. Cyprian* very roughly, *Pompey* Bishop of *Sabara*, a Maritime City of *Africk*, desired him to let him know what *Stephen* had writ to him. So he sent him a Copy of the Letter, with another of his own, wherein he bestows a particular Answer upon the Pope's Letter, which is the Seventy third, as *Pamelius* has placed them. In it he principally opposes the Truth of the Gospel, and the first Traditions of the Apostles, both to the Custom and Tradition which Pope *Stephen* had alledged for himself. He sent likewise by *Rogatianus* the Deacon, another Copy of *Stephen's* Letter to *Firmilian* Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, and to the other Bishops, giving them an Account of what had been determined in *Africk* upon this Question, and desiring them to acquaint him with the Opinion of their respective Churches. He could not have expected a more favourable Answer than what he received from *Firmilian*, for that Bishop openly condemns, and that in Terms severe enough, the Procedure of *Stephen*; extols *St. Cyprian's* Conduct, declares himself entirely in favour of the last, proves it by several Reasons, and assures him it was the Ancient Custom of the Asiatic Churches; and that it had been regulated many years before in two numerous Synods held at *Synnada* and *Iconium*. This Letter of *Firmilian*, which is the Seventy fourth amongst those of *St. Cyprian*, was written in Autumn in the Year 256 (x).

Before this Letter came to *St. Cyprian's* Hands, he writ to *Magnus*, who had asked his Opinion about the Baptism of the *Novatians*, whether these Hereticks were to be excepted out of the Number of those who were to be re-baptized, since they owned the same Faith as the Catholics did in relation to the Trinity, and Baptized after the same manner. He answers him, I say, in the Seventy fifth Letter (y), that they ought to be re-baptized as well as the rest, forasmuch as there was no true Baptism out of the Church. In this Letter he answers another Question, proposed to him by *Magnus*, concerning the Baptism of *Clinicks*, that is to say, of those that were Baptized in their Sickness, that there was no reason to doubt of the Validity of this Baptism; That the Sacrament was equally efficacious, whether the Person was plunged into the Water, or had it sprinkled upon him. He concludes with repeating his usual Protestation, that he would give Laws to none, but leave them an entire liberty of doing what they thought convenient, and that every one must give an account of his Conduct to GOD alone.

Thus we have given an exact Account of all the Letters extant in *St. Cyprian's* Works, that treat of the Baptism of Hereticks. To these we ought to add the Acts

(x) Was written in the Autumn, in the Year 256.] We are told in this Letter, that it was written about Twenty two years after the Empire of *Alexander*, who died in the year 235, and that it was composed in haste, because *Rogatianus* was obliged to return by reason of the approaching Winter. It could not be written in 257, because *St. Cyprian* was banished at the end of that Year.

(y) In the 75th Letter.] The English Annalist thinks that this is the first Letter which was written concerning the Question of Baptism, because it does not plainly and openly make mention of the Synods that were held in *Africk* upon that Occasion. It appears more probable to me, that it was written afterwards, because it supposes the general Question to be decided, and the Author clearly speaks of some of his Col-

leagues that received the Baptism of Hereticks. He says he knew no reason why Christians should take the part, if he might so say, of Antichrists, which induces me to believe, that it was written after his Quarrel with *Stephen*; besides it is more natural to imagine, that this Question which regards the exception of the general Rule, was made after the Decision. For *Magnus* proposes it to him as a new difficulty. *Yon demand of me*, says he, *whether those that come from Novatian's Party, are to be baptized as well as other Hereticks.*

of the last Council of *Carthage*, consisting of Eighty seven Bishops, who assembled there the same Year in the Month of *September*. In the first place, the Letters of *Jubaianus* to *St. Cyprian*, and those of *St. Cyprian* to that Bishop, were read in the Council. After that *St. Cyprian* proposed to all the Bishops that were present, to deliver their Opinions freely, but yet so as not to condemn or excommunicate those that were of a different Judgment. For none of us, says he, ought to make himself a Bishop of Bishops, or pretend to awe his Brethren by a Tyrannical fear, because every Bishop is at liberty to do as he pleases, and can no more be judged by another, than he can judge others himself. But all of us ought to wait and tarry for the Judgment of Jesus Christ, who alone has Authority to set us over the Church, and to judge our actions. After this Proposition the Bishops gave their Opinions, and concluded all in Favour of *St. Cyprian*.

The Persecution of *Valerian*, that was raised against the Church in the Year 257, put an end to the Controversie about the Baptism of Hereticks. This Emperor, who was pushed on by *Marcianus*, a professed Enemy to the Christians, and a great Protector of the *Aegyptian* Superstitions, declared himself against the Christians, and published an edict against them in *July* that very Year, whereby he prohibited them to meet in the Cemeteries, or any where else upon Pain of Death. Pope *Stephen* having been found in a Cemetery, contrary to the Emperor's Prohibition, suffered Martyrdom for it on the Twentieth of *August*, the same Year, and *Xystus* was elected in his Place (z). On the 30th day of the same Month, *St. Cyprian* generously confessed the Christian Faith before *Paternus*, the Proconsul, and was banished to *Curubis*. At the same time the Præfect of *Numidia* condemned several Christians to the Mines, and amongst the rest many Bishops and Priests of his Province, after he had put some of them to Death, and ordered others to be scourged. *St. Cyprian*, from the place of Exile, sent them a Letter, which, according as *Pamelius* has distributed them, is the 76th, and is the first of the 4th Part of *St. Cyprian's* Letters. In it, with wonderful Eloquence he heightens the Glory of their Confession, and encourages them to suffer with Constancy. He comforts them in their difficulties, and principally the Priests that were not able to offer Sacrifice in those Places, by representing to them that they themselves continually offer'd up their own Bodies as living Sacrifices to the Lord. He excites them at last to use more fervency in their Prayers, that so God may give Grace to all the Confessors, to finish their Course courageously, in order to be crown'd with everlasting Glory. He sent this Letter to three different Places, where these Holy Confessors were dispersed, and remitted some Money to them to supply their present Extremities. It appears by the answers they made him, what Consolation and Joy this Letter gave them in the midst of their Sufferings. These answers are the 77th, 78th, and 79th Letters, written from three several places, in which they return him their Thanks for his great Charity and Kindness in a simple unaffected Style, and assure him, that this Letter had raised their declining Spirits, healed their Wounds, and rendred their pressures more light, and supportable to them.

The 80th Letter, which is directed to the Confessors in Prison, was rather writ in his first Exile than in this, as we have observed after the Author of the *English* Edition. The 81st was writ at the beginning of the year 258, after the Death of Pope *Xystus*, and the return of *St. Cyprian*. It is addressed to one *Succensus*, a Bishop, and in it he sends him word, That he was informed by some Letters he had received from *Rome*, that *Valerian* had directed a Rescript to the Senate, by which he ordered all Bishops, Priests, and Deacons to be put to Death without delay, and that the Senators, the Roman Knights, and all other Persons of Quality, who were Christians, should be deprived of their Offices and Estates; and that if they continued, after this Edict, to make Profession of the Christian Religion, they should be condemned to Die; That the Ladies should not only forfeit all their Fortunes, but be Banished, and that those of *Cæsar's* Household should be sent to Prison. He adds, that this Emperor had dis-

leagues that received the Baptism of Hereticks. He says he knew no reason why Christians should take the part, if he might so say, of Antichrists, which induces me to believe, that it was written after his Quarrel with *Stephen*; besides it is more natural to imagine, that this Question which regards the exception of the general Rule, was made after the Decision. For *Magnus* proposes it to him as a new difficulty. *Yon demand of me*, says he, *whether those that come from Novatian's Party, are to be baptized as well as other Hereticks.*

(z) *Sr. Xystus was elected in his Place.*] This Persecution lasted forty two Months, according to *St. Denis* of *Alexandria*, and *Valerian* was taken by the *Persians* in 261, so it began about *July* 257.



*S. Cyprian.* patched Letters to the Governors of Provinces, wherein he enjoyn'd them to Punish the Christians with all Rigour and Severity, who daily expected to see these Orders put in Execution against them; That Pope *Xystus* had suffered Martyrdom on the sixth day of *August*, and one *Quartus* along with him; That the *Præfects* of the City of *Rome* were very violent against the Christians, causing some of them to be executed every day, and that they confiscated the Goods of all those that were presented before them. In fine, he desires this Bishop to communicate the news to the rest of his Brethren, that all Christians might prepare themselves the better for the Combat.

The last Letter of *St. Cyprian* is that which he writ a little before his Martyrdom, when he withdrew from his Gardens where he was ordered to Reside, because he received information, that the Proconsul had sent some Soldiers to carry him away to the City of *Utica*, and he was not willing to suffer Martyrdom in a place distant from his own Church and People. But least this retirement should be interpreted to proceed from a fearful degenerate Spirit, he acquainted his Clergy and People with the reasons that moved him to preserve himself; and at the same time conjures them not to raise disturbances, but to preserve Peace and Unity, and that no body should be permitted to present himself of his own accord to the Gentiles, since it was sufficient to speak courageously when they were apprehended by them.

Besides these Letters of *St. Cyprian*, the time of whose writing we know, there are five others that respect some points of Discipline, and have no certain Date. The Author of the *English* Edition has placed four of them at the head of all the Letters, and affirms that they were written by *St. Cyprian*, before his first Banishment in the Year 246. The first, which is the Sixty Sixth in *Pamelius's* Order, is directed to the Clergy and People of *Furni*, and is writ against one *Geminus Victor*, who by his Will, had nominated a Priest called *Geminus Faustinus* to be Guardian to one of his Relations. He sends them word, That both himself and his Colleagues were extremely surprized when they were informed of it, because it had been prohibited long before by a Council of Bishops to name any Clergyman in a Will to be a Guardian or Executor, since those that were honoured with the Priesthood, and undertaken the Office of Clerks, ought only to serve at the Altar, and the Holy Sacrifices, and should not take any other employment than that of Praying to the Lord. He shews them that for this very reason the Laity supplied them from time to time, with all things necessary for Life, as in the time of the Old Testament they paid Tithes to the Levites and Priests. He concludes, that since *Victor* had violated a Constitution made some time ago by a Council, they ought not to Pray for him after his Death, or suffer his Memory to be honoured in the Prayers of the Church.

The second, which is the Sixty first in *Pamelius's* Order, was writ upon the occasion of an Actor upon the Stage, who, after he had turned Christian, continued to follow his Profession. *St. Cyprian* tells *Eucratius*, who had consulted him to know whether he should let him stay in the Church, that is was below the Divine Majesty, the Evangelical Discipline, and the honour of the Church, to permit a Man that exercised so infamous a Profession to be in her Communion; That if the Law forbid Men to put on Female Habits, it certainly forbid them much more to Personate the Gestures and Postures of Women, and to represent unseemly and lascivious Actions; That though this Actor had forborn to appear on the Stage himself, yet he was no less Criminal in teaching his scandalous Art to others; That if he pretended in his own excuse that he was Indigent, and had no other way left him to maintain himself, he should be relieved as the other Poor belonging to the Church were, provided he would be content with that little Subsistence the Church allowed him, and did not believe, that this was given him by way of recompence for sinning no more, since he alone reaped the benefit of it.

The third, which is the Sixty fifth in *Pamelius's* Order, was writ to *Rogatianus*, against one of his Deacons, who forgetting the respect he owed to his own Bishop, had treated him after an undutiful manner. *St. Cyprian* and his Brethren, to whom this Bishop had writ about the Matter, answered him that he might have punished him immediately after his Boldness, if he had been so pleased, and that his writing to him about it was only an Effect of his Humility. They enlarge upon the Respect and Obedience

that is due to Bishops, affirming, that the Original of all Schisms and Heresies proceeded from the Contempt that *S. Cyprian.* was shewn to them. At last they advised this Bishop, in case his Deacon still continued to provoke him with new Injuries, to make use of his Episcopal Authority, and to Excommunicate him, together with the other who had joyned himself with him; hoping nevertheless that he would give him full Satisfaction, *Because, say they, we had rather overcome the Evils we receive by Patience, than revenge our selves by the Sacerdotal Power.*

The Fourth Letter, which is the Sixty second in *Pamelius's* Edition, was writ in the Name of a Council to *Pomponius* a Bishop, who had consulted *St. Cyprian's* Advice about some Virgins, who having made a Resolution to keep their Virginity, had been too familiar with some Persons, and particularly with a Deacon. He commends this Bishop for depriving the Deacon, and the rest that had lived with them, of the Communion. As for what concerned the Case of the Virgins, it was ordained, that those who had lost their Virginity should do public Penance for their Crimes a considerable time, as being Adulteresses in respect of Jesus Christ their Spouse, and that if they would not quit the Company of those Persons, with whom they had maintained this criminal Correspondence, they should be for ever turned out of the Church, without hopes of Pardon and Salvation, since it is impossible to be saved out of the bosom of the Church. And then as for those who had not lost their Virginity, he judged it expedient to admit them to the Communion of the Church, but with this warning, That if they still continued to live in the same House with those Persons, they should be punished after a more severe manner, and must no more expect to be pardoned so easily. Thus I have briefly run over these four Letters, which the Author of the Annals of *St. Cyprian* has placed at the head of his English Edition, and pretends to have been written before any of the rest; because *St. Cyprian* (yz) makes no mention of any Persecution either present or past in them, as he does in almost all the rest. [The Reader ought to consult *Mr. Dodwell's* Learned Dissertation upon this Letter to *Pomponius*, wherein he will see what gave occasion to those Virgins to live in so scandalous a manner with the Deacons, fully explained.]

There remains nothing now but the 63 Letter, which the Author of the Annals in the English Edition, affirms to have been written in the year 253 (aa), in the time of the Persecution under *Gallus* and *Volusian*. It is addressed to *Cecilius* and condemns the Error, or rather the Abuse of some Priests, who offered only Water in the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. He confronts this ill Custom, which was introduced in some places, with the example and precept of Jesus Christ, and shews that we ought to offer in the Chalice nothing but wine mingled with Water. He speaks of this after such a manner as may incline us to believe that it was absolutely necessary in his Opinion to mingle Water with the Wine, for he tells us, that as the Body of Jesus Christ could not be only of Meal unless it were tempered with Water, so likewise the Blood of Jesus Christ could not be of wine alone, if it is not mingled with Water. But besides that, in the Explication of these Words we may understand them of the Body of Jesus Christ taken in a Mystical sense, we ought not to wonder that the Fathers speak often thus of Customs established in their own time when they are Ancient; such as this is, which came from the example of Jesus Christ, and the Tradition of the Apostles; we are not at all to wonder, I say, if they speak of them as of necessary things, without scrupulously examining whether they are of absolute necessity, taking them in the rigorous sense. He observes in this Letter, that they used in his time to Celebrate the Sacrifice of the Mass in the Morning; and that Baptism was a necessary preparation for the Eucharist. He speaks of this Sacrament in such terms, as plainly shews, that he believed it really contained the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ; and yet he lays down several Mystical Reasons to explain why they made use of Bread, and Wine mingled with Water. He tells us, that *Jesus Christ* is figuratively represented by the Wine, and that the Water which is mingled with it signifies the Union of the People with *Jesus Christ*. Upon these grounds it is that he says, that if we offered pure Wine, the Body of *Jesus Christ* would be without us; and that if we offered only Water, we should be without *Jesus Christ*; And lastly, That as several grains of Corn ground and kneaded together make one Loaf, so after the same manner we are

(yz) *St. Cyprian.* The principal Reason is, because he does not speak of any Persecution in his Letters, though this reason is not absolutely convincing.

(aa) Pretends to have been written in the Year 253.] Because it appears that *St. Cyprian* was then a Bishop. *Cum mediocritatem*

*nostram semper humili & verecundâ moderatione teneamus:* Besides that, there he speaks of the Persecution, and says, that this was the cause why some of the Faithful abstained from offering Wine. [This rather, as I intimated above, was the true Reason of this Innovation.]



one and the same Body in *Jesus Christ*, who is that Celestial Bread. [See here the power of Prejudice! The extract which Mr. *Du Pin* has given of this Letter, demonstrates that St. *Cyprian* understood the Institution of the Eucharist to be only Mystical; *Cacilius* desired to know what St. *Cyprian* thought of a Custom newly taken up of using Water alone in the Morning when they administered the Lord's Supper; It was in dangerous times, when by their Breaths the Christians might have been discovered, if they should have drank Wine so Early: This Innovation of theirs does not seem to have proceeded from a wilful Contempt of the command of Christ, but from the Notions they had always been instructed in, concerning the Eucharist. They believed that the Lord's Supper was only a commemorative Sacrifice; and so they thought the Death of *Jesus Christ* could equally be remembered by Water in a Morning, as by Water and Wine together in an Afternoon. The Question then is, whether if St. *Cyprian* had believed that *Jesus Christ* was Corporeally present in the Sacrament, he would have used such Mystical Arguments to persuade them to break off so unwarrantable a practice. He ought according to Roman Catholick Principles to have confuted their Error by a right Explication of the Nature of the Eucharist: He ought to have shewed them that it was not a Mystical but a Real Sacrifice, and that *Jesus Christ* is as literally offered up in that Sacrament as he was upon the Cross; and especially he ought to have told them, that Water could not have served instead of Wine, because upon Consecration it could not have been Transubstantiated into the Blood of Christ, and so by consequence it had been no true Sacrament for want of that real Presence, since *Jesus Christ* had never given his Ministers a Power to turn any thing besides Wine into his Blood, upon Pronouncing the words of the Institution. Whereas here St. *Cyprian* owns the Eucharist to have been a Mystical Sacrifice, and gives this as a principal Reason why Water alone without Wine is ineffectual, because there was a positive Institution from which the Church had no Warrant to recede.

This is further confirmed by his secondary Arguments; In the first place, he says there must be Wine, *Quia non potest videri Sanguis ejus, quo redempti & vivificati sumus, esse in Calice; quando Vinum desit Calici, quo Christi Sanguis ostenditur: Because, says he, his Blood by which we are redeemed and quickned cannot seem to be in the Cup, if the Wine that represents the Blood of Christ be not in the Cup.* If St. *Cyprian* had believed Transubstantiation he ought to have said, *That the Blood of Christ is not in the Cup, unless Wine had been put into it.* But he says, *It cannot seem to be there, i. e. cannot be typically represented by Water so well as by Wine.* This is no force upon his Words; because he afterwards brings several Texts out of the Old Testament to prove that the Blood of Christ was represented by Wine, and not by Water, and that Baptism only was typified by Water by the Prophets. This reasoning does not agree with modern Glosses; no Man ever searches for a mystical reason, when he can give a plain one. Wine after Consecration is not a Figure of Christ's Blood, but the Blood it self, according to the Church of Rome. And it is improper to say, that the Blood of *Jesus Christ* could not seem to be in the Cup if the Wine did not represent it, if the Wine were believed to be the real Blood; To be, and to be represented are very different things. And tho' St. *Cyprian* calls the Eucharist a Sacrifice, yet since he describes it as a commemorative one, by which we are mystically united to *Jesus Christ*, by Faith in him, it is im-

possible to gather from thence, that he believed any other Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament, than that which is taught by the Church of England.]

Hitherto we have not been willing to interrupt the order of the Letters, by mingling them with his other Books, according to the Series of the time they were written in, because we could not possibly have made an Abridgment of them without breaking the Continuation of the Letters, but nothing hinders us now from doing it: We shall carefully set down the years wherein they were composed, and this will be full as well for the Chronology of them, as if we had introduced them among the Letters.

It is probable that St. *Cyprian's* first Book, I mean after his Address to *Donatus*, is, that small Treatise, intitled, *The Vanity of Idols* (bb), wherein he refuted the Pagan Religion which he had lately quitted. This Treatise may be divided into three Parts. In the first, he proves that the Deities of the Heathens are not true Gods; In the second, he shews that there is only one God; And lastly, in the third, he shews that *Jesus Christ* is the WORD of God, who was sent to bring Salvation to Men. The two first parts are almost word for word taken out of *Minutius Felix*, and the last out of *Tertullian*.

The first Books of the *Testimonies to Quirinus* (cc) were also in all probability writ by St. *Cyprian* before he was Bishop, when he wholly employed himself in reading and studying the Holy Scriptures. These Books are a Collection of several Texts out of the Bible, and principally the Old Testament upon different Matters. In the first Book he cites those passages that prove, that the Jewish Law was to be only for a time; that it ought to be abolished, and the Jews to be rejected; that *Jesus Christ* was to come to establish a New Temple, and New Sacrifices; a New Priesthood, and a New Church; that the Gentiles ought to believe in him, and through his means to obtain Remission of their Sins. In the second he urges those places that concern the Mystery of the Incarnation of *Jesus Christ*, and particularly those that shew that *Jesus Christ* is the Wisdom and WORD of God, who took our Nature upon him, to redeem Mankind, with the Prophecies wherein it is foretold that he was to be born of the Race of *David* in the City of *Bethlehem*; that his first Coming was to be without Glory; that the Jews were to Crucifie him; that he should rise the third Day, and come at last to judge the World. The third Book was composed after these (dd), upon a quite different Subject.

It is a Collection of several Testimonies, taken as well out of the Old as the New Testament, containing many Precepts of Morality, that either have a relation to Christian Virtues, such as are the Fear and Love of God, Patience under Sufferings, Martyrdom, and Virginity; or that dissuade from Vices, such as Anger, Evil Speaking, Pride, the superfluous Ornaments of Women, and the inordinate Love of Riches: Or lastly, those that lay down the Manner how Christians ought to behave themselves towards their Superiors; so that we may justly say of this Treatise, that it is a very useful Collection of all the Morality in the Holy Scriptures.

The Book of the *Discipline, or the Conduct and Apparel of Virgins*, seems to be the first Work that St. *Cyprian* composed, after he was ordained Bishop (ee). The Design of it is to instruct the Virgins, with the care of whom he was entrusted, to preserve in their Habits, and the whole Tenour of their Life a truly Christian Modesty. He begins with recommending Discipline, that is to say, a good

(bb) That small Treatise, intitled, *the Vanity of Idols*.] This Book is cited by St. *Jerome*, *Epist. 84. ad Magnum*. *Cyprianus, quod Idola Dii non sunt, quâ brevitate, quâ historiarum omnium scientiâ, quo verborum & sensuum splendore perstrinxit.* It is probable that it was written in the year 247.

(cc) The first Books of the *Testimonies to Quirinus*.] These Books are not only cited by *Bede*, and by *Gennadius*, but also by St. *Jerome*, *advers. Pelag.* and by St. *Austin*, *lib. contra duas Epist. Pelag. c. 8. & 10.* who testifies that *Pelagius* the Heretick had made a Collection of several Testimonies out of the Scripture, to imitate, or rather to compleat the Work of St. *Cyprian*. St. *Jerome* cites the third Book. He and St. *Austin* have drawn some passages out of it, so that though they are not to be found in several Manuscripts, yet we are not in the least to doubt of them. *Quirinus*, to whom this Work is addressed, was in all probability a Neophyte, when it was written to him; for St. *Cyprian* calls him his Son, and tells him in his Preface, that he sent him these Testimonies to give him the first tinctures of the Faith, and that he presented him with a little Water drawn out of the Divine Fountains, which he might make use of till he could go to drink of them himself at the Spring-Head.

(dd) Has been composed since these.] In the Preface of the first Book he only speaks of two Books, and the third is not to be found in some ancient Editions: but it is cited, as we have ob-

served, by St. *Jerome* and St. *Austin*, *Retract. lib. 2. c. 1. advers. Pelag. c. 9. de Predestin. Sanct. c. 3.* and 'tis properly speaking, a Work by it self: For the two first were written to instruct *Quirinus* in the first grounds of the Christian Faith, and the design of this is to teach him the Precepts of Morality. Some few Texts of Scripture may have been since added to it, which follow the vulgar Latin. This Treatise might perhaps be written in the year 249.

(ee) After he was ordained Bishop.] He was then a Bishop, for he speaks to them, as having Authority over them, and calls himself their Father. *Pontius* insinuates, that it was not composed till after his Retirement; for, to prove that St. *Cyprian's* Retirement was of great advantage to the Church, because of the Books he wrote, during his Solitude, he places the Book about the Conduct of Virgins in this number. *Who is it, says he, who has taught the Virgins to preserve Discipline, to wear modest Apparel, agreeable to their Condition?* But *Pontius* in this place enumerates the Works of St. *Cyprian*, like a Rhetorician, since the first he mentions is the Epistle to *Donatus*, which was certainly written before his Confinement, and in all appearance the Luxury of Women, the use of frequenting Baths, and the other Irregularities he reprehends in that Treatise, better agree with a time wherein the Church had long enjoyed Peace. Be it as it will, *Pontius* always places the Book of the Conduct of Virgins first.

Conduct;



*S. Cyprian.* Conduct; as being the Guardian of Hope, the Anchor of Faith, and the Guide to the way of Salvation. He shews by several Texts of Scripture that it is of great Necessity, and afterwards addressing himself to the Virgins, and extolling their Condition, he exhorts them to maintain this Discipline with the greatest Exactness, as having more need of it than any Persons besides. He convinces them, that Christian Continence can by no means suit with prophane Ornaments; that their Wealth did not excuse this Vanity of dressing; that God gave them Riches not to throw away upon idle Superfluities, but to employ them to good Uses, to feed and relieve the poor; that a great Fortune, unless employed after this manner, does only become a great Temptation; that although these Ornaments that Virgins made use of, did not of themselves destroy them, yet they ought to abstain from them, since they had proved the Ruin of others, by drawing the Eyes of young Men after them, and by that means kindling the fire of Love in their Hearts; that rich Attire and Care in Dressing only became Prostitutes, and that the Scripture always speaks of them after this manner; that they abused the Works of God to set themselves out, and that they disfigured the Image he made by the Painting and Curling, and abundance of other Ornaments. After this he advises the Virgins, carefully to avoid all those things that might injure their Chastity, and severely reprehends those who were not ashamed to go to publick Baths, though they did it without entertaining the least ill design. In short, after having given these Instructions to the Virgins, he takes occasion to speak of the great advantages of Virginity, and tells them it was the nearest State to that of Martyrdom; that Virgins avoid the curse pronounced against the first Woman; that they are equal to the Angels; that Virginity is not of absolute necessity, but that it is a great deal more excellent than any other Condition. At last he concludes with desiring the Virgins to remember him when they should receive the Remcompence of their Virginity. *Tantum mementote tunc nostri, cum incipiet in vobis Virginitas honorari:* Words which make it appear that in St. Cyprian's time they believed that the Saints interceded for us before God.

The Treatise concerning those that had fallen away in the time of Persecution, and that of the Unity of the Church were composed in the year 251, immediately after the Persecution of Decius. This last was writ upon the occasion of the Schism of the Novatians, and the Faction of Felicissimus; and the first was writ against those of the Faction of Felicissimus that rashly granted the grace of reconciliation to all that had fallen in the Persecution. He read both these Books in an African Council held that very year, and afterwards sent them to Rome, as he testifies in his fiftieth Letter, according to *Pamilius's* Order.

In his Treatise concerning those who had fallen away during the Persecution, he begins with giving Thanks to God that Peace was restored to the Church; and makes an honourable Elogium of the Holy Martyrs and Confessors. He deplores the lamentable fall of those Persons that had Apostatized, and observes that God never permits a Persecution but to punish the Corruptions and Vices of the Christians. He detests the crime of those who had presented themselves before the Magistrates to deny the Faith of Jesus Christ, and carried their Children to the Altars of the Gods to make them, if it were possible, partakers of their Crimes, and cause them to lose, as one may say, the Grace of Baptism. He observes that a Love for the World and an Inclination to earthly things occasioned the Fall of the greatest part of those Persons who had Apostatized, and even hindered them from flying to avoid the Persecution: He affirms that the fault of those who were overcome by the extremity of their Torments was a great deal more excusable; but that those who had fallen away merely out of fear of suffering, before they ever did suffer, could alledge nothing in their own defence. After he has shewn the greatness of the crime of these Apostates, he passes to the Remedies, and greatly blames those that admitted them to a rash and over hasty Reconciliation. He maintains that a Priest of God ought by no means to deceive Christians by a pernicious Complaisance, but to heal them with wholesome Remedies, herein imitating a skillful Chirurgeon, who makes deep Incisions that so he may perfectly heal up the Wound, and never hearkens to the Complaints and Crys of his Patient, who will certainly thank him for it as soon as he is healed; that the liberty some Persons had assumed to themselves to grant Reconciliation unadvisedly to those that had fallen, was a new calamity that succeeded the Persecution; that this false peace was pernicious, as well to those that gave it, as fatal to those that received it; that a Sinner ought to have time sufficient to expiate his Sin by a true and lawful Satis-

*S. Cyprian.* faction; that it was abominable Sacrilege to approach the Holy of Holys, and to receive the Body of Jesus Christ, while their Hands were still polluted with sacrificing to Idols, and had scarce digested the Meats offered to false Gods; that this in Effect is to drink the Cup of the Lord, and the Cup of Devils, to eat at the Table of the Lord, and at that of the Devil, and to offer violence, as one may say, to the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ; that they deceive themselves who think that the Reconciliation which is given them before they have expiated their Crime by a publick Penance, and purified their Conscience by Sacrifice and Imposition of Hands from the Bishop, is a true Reconciliation; that is rather a War, a new Persecution, a new Temptation, whereof the Enemy makes use to consummate the destruction of those that fell, by taking away from them the Spirit of Repentance; that they ought not to flatter themselves because they were absolved by the Martyrs, since Jesus Christ only can pardon Sins; that the Merits and Works of the Martyrs can indeed do much, but that only for the day of Judgment, and that it is downright rashness to believe that they can without distinction grant Remission of Sins to all the World, against the express Command of Jesus Christ; that if what the Martyrs ordain is just and lawful, it ought to be granted at their request; but if what they demand is against the Law of God, and the Gospel, it is not reasonable that it should be granted; besides, that it is not to be presumed that those who are Martyrs for the Gospel, would attempt any thing in Derogation to it. After this to strike Terror into those who had fallen, he relates several Examples of Persons, whom God had severely punished for being so bold as to receive the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ after their Apostacy. Then he addresses himself to those who had taken Certificates from the Magistrates, which testified that they had sacrificed, though they had really done no such thing, and advises them not to flatter themselves, as if there was no necessity of repenting, since to confess that one has committed a Crime, is effectually the same thing as to commit it, and that this Declaration was a solemn renouncing of the Christian Religion; that though this Crime did not appear very shameful in the Eyes of Men, yet it was heinous before God, who knows the most secret Motions and Inclinations of our Hearts. At last he mightily extolls the Piety of those who had neither offered Sacrifice, nor taken Certificates; However, since they had a desire to do it, he exhorts them to confess themselves largely and with Sorrow before the Priests of God, discovering the Secrets of their Conscience, to quiet their Consciences, and to search out a remedy for their Wounds, though they appeared to be slight and insignificant; and he persuades those that were conscious to themselves of this fault, not to be ashamed of discovering it, and to do Penance for it, that so they may obtain Pardon. He concludes all with an Exhortation to Sinners, to renounce the Pleasures and Vanities of the World, and to satisfy the Divine Justice by a long and sincere Repentance.

In his Treatise of the *Unity of the Church* (ff) he begins with advising all Christians to joyn Prudence to Simplicity, and to take diligent care to keep themselves from the secret Attacks of the Devil, as Heresies and Schisms, whereby he draws Christians, before they are aware, to separate themselves from the Unity of the Church. After this, he demonstrates, by several Reasons, that the Church of Christ is essentially One, and that there cannot be more. He tells us, *That for a visible Mark of this Unity, Jesus Christ had built his Church upon St. Peter; and that he gave the Power of his Keys only to him, tho', after his Resurrection, he gave equal Power and Authority to all his Apostles;* that as the Church is One, so there is One Only Episcopacy, a part whereof every Pastor truly and really possesses; that such as are out of this Church, have no Salvation to hope for; that a Man may be killed indeed out of the Church, but that he could not be crowned unless he were actually in the Church; that Schism and Heresie are the most enormous Crimes a Man can be guilty of, which God has always punished with the greatest Severity; that the Example of a few Confessors ought not to stagger or scandalize any one; for besides that, we are not to imitate them in the faults they may commit; there was still a very great number of them that continued stedfast in the Unity of the Church. At last, he exhorts all Christians whatsoever, to return to it again, to promote Union by their joyned Endeavours, and to have no manner of Commerce with Schismatics.

[In the Account which our Author gives of this Discourse of St. Cyprian, he seems not to be so fair as he is at other times. He says from St. Cyprian, *That for a visible Mark of this Unity of the Church, Jesus Christ had*

(ff) In the Treatise of the Church.] Pontius mentions this Treatise. It is cited by St. Austin in his second Book, *Contra Crescen.* and by Facundus, lib. x. cap. 16. under the name of the

*Treatise of Unity;* and in some ancient Editions, it is intitled, *A Treatise of the Simplicity of Pastors.*



*S. Cyprian.* built his Church upon St. Peter, and gave the Power of the Keys only to him; tho', after his Resurrection he gave equal Power and Authority to all his Apostles. St. Cyprian's words are these, *Loquitur Dominus ad Petrum, ego tibi dico, inquit, quia tu es Petrus, & super istam Petram edificabo Ecclesiam meam, & porta inferorum non vincent eam, &c. & iterum eidem post Resurrectionem suam dicit, Pasce oves meas. Super unam edificat Ecclesiam suam. Et quamvis Apostolis omnibus, parem potestatem tribuat, & dicat, sicuti remiseritis peccata, remittentur illi: Si cui tenueritis, tenebuntur; tamen ut Unitatem manifestaret, Unitatis ejusdem originem, ab uno incipientem sua auctoritate disposuit. Hoc erant utique & ceteri Apostoli, quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio præditi & honoris & Potestatis, sed exordium ab unitate proficiscitur, ut Ecclesia una monstraretur.* The Lord said unto Peter, I say unto thee (says he) that thou art Peter, and upon that Rock I will build my Church, and the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it, &c. and again, after his Resurrection, he says to the same Peter, "Feed my Sheep. He builds his Church upon one. And though he gives equal Power to all the Apostles, and tells them, whose Sins ye retain, they shall be retained, and whose Sins ye forgive, shall be forgiven; yet that he might make that Unity manifest, he ordered by his own Authority, that the Original of that very Unity should begin from one. For the other Apostles were the same as he, equally Partners of Honour and Power, but the beginning springs from Unity, that the Church may be shewed to be but one.

Here is no Distinction made of different Powers granted before and after the Resurrection. *S. Cyprian* seems to have designed to obviate this Objection; and lest any Man should think that any Primacy, except that of being named first was intended, he says, that the other Apostles were St. Peter's equals, both in Honour and Power. But this passage has had foul dealing shewed to it long ago; *Manutius* published it at Rome with Interpolations in his Edition in 1563. *Rigaltius* was ashamed of it, and so printed it in his Notes faithfully. The wonder is, how Mr. *Du Pin* should say, *That Jesus Christ gave the Power of the Keys to St. Peter only*, when he had the *Oxon.* Edition before him, and all the other Editions that preceded *Manutius's*, of which he has given us a Catalogue. One sees the Reason now, why he desires afterwards that some Catholick Divine (as he calls them) would reprint St. *Cyprian*, and illustrate him with Catholick Commentaries. This is the Reason why the *Oxon.* Edition could not satisfy him: Bishop *Fell's* Notes are too candid and sincere for any one of that Communion; so that though he could not omit speaking honourably of it, lest his judgment should have been questioned, yet the want of *Catholick Commentaries* was so very deplorable a thing, that he thought by this sly insinuation to depreciate so valuable an Edition of so great a Father: for St. *Cyprian* alone cannot be put into all Mens Hands without danger; and it is an answerable argument how little Antiquity favours their Cause, when the Father who wrote more and more earnestly for Catholick Unity, and the support of Ecclesiastical Discipline against Schismatics, and Disturbers of the Peace of the Church, than any Man before the Council of Nice, cannot be brought to speak as they would have him, without using the most palpable misrepresentation, and the most unjust dealing that can be shewn to the Writings of any Author whatever.]

The Treatise about the Lord's Prayer immediately follows that of the Unity of the Church, in *Pontius* the Deacon's Catalogue, and it is probable, that it was composed soon after, towards the beginning of the Year 252. In this Book he highly recommends Amity and Concord, which shews that he writ it soon after the former, when he had his Head full of the same thoughts, and at a juncture when it was necessary to inforce them the second time on the World. we may divide it into seven Parts: In the first, he demonstrates, that the Lord's Prayer is the most excellent and efficacious Prayer, since Jesus Christ himself composed it for our use. In the second, he sets down Rules how we ought to Pray, and tells us we must do it with a World of Reverence and Modesty; that the tone of our Voice ought not to be high; that when Christians assemble together to celebrate Divine Sacrifices with the Bishop, it is convenient that they should remember to be moderate, and not to make a confused noise with their Voice, because it is not the Voice, but the Heart which is to be elevated to Heaven; that we must pray with great humility, which he confirms by the example of *Hannah*, the Mother of *Samuel*, and of the Publican mentioned in the Gospel. In the third part, he instructs us what things we are to pray for; and taking occasion to explain the Lord's Prayer, he observes in the first place, that we do not say, *My Father*, but *Our Father*, because the Prayer of every Christian is a common Prayer, who does not Pray for himself alone, but for the

whole Congregation of the Faithful, which make up but one body; that we invoke God by the name of Father, *S. Cyprian.* because we are made his Children by Baptism; that we beseech him that his name may be sanctified in us, that is to say, we pray him to sanctify and purify us continually to the end of our Life; that the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, which we expect, is the recompence we hope to receive in the other Life, at the day of Judgment; that when we pray to God that his *Will may be done*, our meaning is not, that he would do whatever pleases him, but that he would Work in us what he would have us to do, that is to say, that he would make us accomplish his Will, which no body is able to do by his own strength alone, without the assistance of God's Mercy; that this Will of God, which we are required to fulfil, is no other than what Jesus Christ has done and taught, that is to say, Humility, Stedfastness in the Faith, Prudence, Justice, Mercy, a good Deportment, to do wrong to none, to preserve Peace with our Brethren, to love God with all our Heart, and to prefer nothing before Jesus Christ, since he himself preferred nothing before us; that when we pray that his *Will may be done in Earth, as it is in Heaven*, we mean (according to his Explication) in our Body, and in our Mind, or rather in the Unbelievers as well as the Believers. After this he says, that the *daily Bread* we pray for in the Lord's Prayer, may be understood either of Spiritual or Corporeal Bread; that the Spiritual Bread we beg for is the Body of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist, which the Christians who are truly devoted to Jesus Christ desire to receive, daily fearing to be separated from it by some great Sin; that if we understood it of Corporeal Bread, the meaning is that we are not to beg of God what is necessary for our Sustainance every day, unless we carry our desires farther: That in Praying to God that he would *Forgive us our Trespases*, we acknowledge that we Trespas continually, and impose upon our selves at the same Time a Law not to obtain remission, but only upon condition, that we forgive our Brethren the Trespases they have committed against us: When we desire of God that he would not permit us to *fall into Temptation*, we intimate, that our Enemy has no power over us, if God does not give him leave to tempt us, and that he never gives him leave but for two Reasons, either to punish us for our sins, or else to try us: That the Lord's Prayer concludes at last with a Petition, which is a sort of an abridgment of all the rest; for when we beseech God to deliver us from all Evil by his Almighty Power, nothing more remains for us to ask.

In the fourth part he tells us, that Jesus Christ has instructed us to pray as well by his Example as by his Words; and since he who was without Sin Pray'd often, certainly we who are Sinners are to Pray continually. In the fifth, he recommends vigilancy and attention in our Devotions, exhorting us to think upon nothing but only him to whom we address our selves, and to banish all carnal Thoughts out of our Hearts. To impress the greater Authority upon this Exhortation, he takes notice of the Prayer which the Priest repeated at that time, when he celebrated the Eucharist, saying, *Sursum corda, Lift up your Hearts*, and observes, that the People answer'd, *We lift them up to the Lord.*

In the sixth part, he advises all Christians not to content themselves with vain barren Prayers, but to joyn Almsgiving, and other Actions of Piety to them. And lastly, in the seventh part, he Discourses of the Time of Prayer, after he has taken notice, what are the most solemn hours to Pray in. He concludes with affirming, that Christians ought to Pray to God at all times; and since the serious performance of these duties will procure for them, one day, everlasting Happiness, they ought even now, to begin to thank God. This Treatise of St. *Cyprian* was so highly approved by St. *Austin*, that he recommended it to the Monks of *Adrumetum*, to whom he addressed his Book about Grace and Free-will, to read it over carefully, and to learn it by Heart; and he observes, that this Saint speaks after such a manner in this Treatise, as shews that he was persuaded we ought to Pray to God to give us his Grace to perform what he commands us to do in his Law. And indeed, amongst all the Treatises that were composed in the first Ages of the Church, perhaps there is not one that ascribes so much to the Grace of Jesus Christ as this does, or contains more formal Passages to prove the efficacy and necessity of it.

The Exhortation to Martyrdom, directed to *Fortanatianus*, at a time when the Christians expected the Persecution of *Gallus* and *Volusian*, was writ in the Year 253. 'Tis a Collection of Texts of Scripture, to excite all Christians to confess the Name of Jesus Christ Courageously, and to suffer Martyrdom for the Truth. In the first Chapter he cites those places, that discovered the vanity of Idols. In the second those that shew, that we must only Worship God. In the third, those that mention the severe



*S. Cyprian.* severe Punishments wherewith God threatens to visit those that Sacrifice to Idols. In the fourth and fifth, those that declare, that God will not easily pardon Idolatry, but punishes those with Death who counsel others to adore Idols. In the sixth, he urges those Texts that may induce us to consider that since we have been redeemed and enlivened by Jesus Christ, we ought not to prefer anything before him, since he himself prefer'd nothing before us. In the seventh, those that represent to us, that since we have once escaped the snares of the Devil, and the Ambushes of the World, we ought to take heed that we fall into them no more, but make the best use of that delivery. In the eighth, those that recommend Perseverance in the Faith, and all other Virtues. In the ninth, those that shew, that Persecutions and afflictions are sent only to try us. In the tenth, those that give us Consolation, and teach us not to be afraid, since God is more powerful to Protect us, than the Devil to overcome us. In the eleventh, those that prove, that it was foretold, that the World would hate us, and stir up Persecutions against us; and that Good Men always suffered. In the last, there is a Collection of Texts to encourage Christians to suffer Martyrdom, out of hopes of finding a sufficient recompence in Heaven. Here is an Abridgment of this Treatise made by St. Cyprian himself, which he sent at the end of his Letter to *Fortunatianus*, to whom he dedicates this Book. He observes in this Letter, that it is the duty of the Bishop to train and exercise those Soldiers, whom Jesus Christ has committed to his Charge; and that Observations drawn out of the Holy Scripture, are the best Arms he can give them.

The Treatise of Morality was composed upon occasion of a certain Pestilence (*gg*) that afflicted the Roman Empire, but principally *Africk*, the Year after the Death of *Gallus* and *Volusian*. He shews in his Treatise, that Christians ought not to be afraid of Sickness or Calamities, but that they rather ought to wish for them, since they furnish them with an opportunity to exercise their Patience, and to merit the Rewards of Heaven; that they ought not to fear Death, but rather to desire it, since it delivers them from all the miseries of this Life, and unites them to Jesus Christ for ever; that we ought not to be surpris'd, that the Pestilence seizes Christians as well as Pagans, since all the miseries of the Flesh are equally common to both, nay, that a Christian ought to suffer more than the other; that the difference that ought to be between him and one that does not know God, is, that the latter complains and suffers his evils with impatience, whereas a Christian shews his Faith at such a juncture, by being not afraid of Death, and his Vertue in bearing every thing patiently, and his Charity in helping his Neighbour; that though the Good die as well as the Bad, yet their end is very different, because the Good after their Death, are sent into a place of refreshment, whereas the Wicked are thrown headlong into a place where they are Tormented for ever; that the first die to be put into a better state of security, and the last to be more severely punished: That Sicknesses prepare us for Martyrdom, and make us Martyrs of Jesus Christ; that for this reason we ought not to be afflicted, because they deprive us of the Glory of Confession, since not to mention, that it does not depend upon our selves to be Martyrs, and that it is the Grace of God to let us dye with a Will of suffering Martyrdom, God will crown us as if we had really suffered it: That it would be to no purpose to beg of God, that his Kingdom may come, if the Captivity wherein we are does still please us: That we ought not to bewail those of our Brethren, whom God has taken to himself, since we have not lost them, and they have only gone a Journey before us, which we are all to make one time or another: That we do in some sort distrust the promises of Jesus Christ, if we concern and afflict our selves at the Death of our Neighbours and Friends, as if they were no more, and that we ought rather to rejoyce that they are passed into a better Life, and enjoy a state of repose and tranquility that will never end: At last he exhorts all Christians heartily to wish for the happy day of their Death,

(*gg*) Upon occasion of a certain Pestilence.] It had its rise in *Arabia*, then spread it self in *Aegypt* and *Africa*, from whence it passed into all the West. It was an Epidemical Distemper, a great deal worse than a common Pestilence. It began under the Empire of *Gallus* and *Volusian*, and lasted several years; it raged with twice the violence, under the Empire of *Galerius*, as we have already observed. This Treatise was written in the year 253, or 254.

(*hh*) Judge.] It has been commonly believed, that he was Proconsul: But the Author of the English Edition has very well observed, that St. Cyprian does not speak to him as to a Proconsul; and that what he says of him, viz. that he often came to him to dispute with him, and that he drew several Persons over to his Party, is by no means suitable to the Character of a Sovereign Magistrate of *Africk*.

which will free them from the exile of this Life, and give them admission into the Kingdom of Heaven, which is *S. Cyprian*. their Country, where they will be everlastingly in the Company of the Saints, and with Jesus Christ.

His Treatise to *Demetrianus* a Judge (*hh*) in *Africa*, was likewise composed during the rage of this Pestilence, immediately after the Death of *Gallus* and *Volusian* (*ii*). He there refutes a Calumny, which the Pagans frequently formed against the Christians for being the cause of those Wars, Famines, Plagues, and other Calamities that wasted the Roman Empire. He shews, that those misfortunes that daily happen in the World, which grows old every day, ought to be rather attributed to the Crimes and Impiety of Men; and the Christians were so far from being the occasion of them, because they did not adore false Gods, that the Pagans rather drew down all these heavy Visitations upon Mankind, because they did not Worship the true God, and Persecuted those that Worship'd him: That all this was the immediate hand of God, who to revenge himself for the contempt they shew'd of him, and of those that served him, punished Men after this rigorous manner, and made them feel the weight of his displeasure: That the Gods of the Pagans were so far from being able to exercise this Revenge, that they were fettered and ill used, as I may say, by the Christians, who ejected them by force out of the Bodies of those Persons, whom they had possess'd: That the Christians suffered patiently, as being assured that their Cause would be soon revenged, that they endured the same Evils which the Pagans did in this World, but that they comforted themselves, because after their Death they should possess everlasting Joy, whereas the Pagans at the day of Judgment would be condemned to everlasting Torments. He exhorts them at last, with great zeal and ardour, to quit their Errors, and to repent of them while they are in a condition to do it; because after this Life is once over, there is no room for Repentance, and afterwards the Satisfaction is useless, since it is here upon Earth, that every Man renders himself worthy or unworthy of everlasting Salvation: That neither Age nor Sins ought to hinder any one from suffering himself to be Converted, since, as long as we are in this World, there is still time for us to Repent, the Gate of the Divine Mercy being never shut to those that diligently search the Truth. *Though you were, says he, at the point of Death, if you pray'd to have your Sins forgiven, and implored the goodness of God, you would obtain remission of your Crimes, and pass from Death to Immortality. Jesus Christ has procured this favour for us by conquering and triumphing over Death on the Cross, by redeeming those that Believe with the price of his Blood, by reconciling Man to God, and communicating a new Life to him by a celestial Birth. Let us follow them all if it is possible, and receive this Sacrament, and his Sign, &c.*

It is probable, that the Treatise of *Mercy and Alms-giving* (*kk*) was writ when St. Cyprian gathered considerable Alms to redeem the Christians, who had been taken Prisoners by the Barbarians, towards the Year 253. He demonstrates in this Book, by several Authorities of Scripture, and many Convincing Reasons, the necessity of giving Alms; he refutes the frivolous excuses, and vain pretences used by Rich Men to avoid the doing such acts of Charity; and observes, that in his time every one brought a Loaf at the Celebration of the Eucharist, (which was always once a day, in the Morning before it was Light, and often at Night after Supper.)

St. Cyprian tells us himself, in his Letter to *Jubaianus*, that he composed his Book of *Patience*, upon the occasion of a Question concerning the reiteration of the Baptism of Hereticks, to shew that we ought to preserve Charity and Patience in all Disputes with our Brethren. So this Treatise was composed, at the beginning of the Year 256, and St. Cyprian sent it as soon as it was finished to one *Jubaianus* a Bishop (*ll*), together with the Letter which he writ to him. In it he exhorts Christians to Patience, by the Example of Jesus Christ, and the Saints as well of the Old as the New Testament.

(*ii*) After the Death of *Gallus* and *Volusian*.] This Treatise was written during the Plague, to shew that the Christians were not the cause of it. He there speaks of the late Fall of Kings, which is to be understood of the Death of *Gallus* and *Volusian*, who were killed by their Soldiers.

(*kk*) The Treatise of the Works of Mercy and Almsgiving.] This Treatise is cited by *Pontius*, by St. Jerome, *Ep. ad Pamm.* by St. Austin, *contr. Jul. contr. Pelagianos & alibi.*

(*ll*) To one *Jubaianus* a Bishop.] *Ep. ad Jub. Teneatur à nobis patienter, & firmiter Charitas animi, Collegii honor, vinculum fidei, & concordia sacerdotii; propter hoc etiam libellum de bono patientia, quantum valuit nostra mediocritas, permittente Domino, & inspirante conscripsimus, quem ad te pro multis dilectione transmissimus. Pontius mentions it, St. Jerome cites it, advers. Lucif. and St. Austin in several places.*



The Book of *Envy* was writ a little after that of *Patience* (mm). In it he dissuades Christians from that Vice, which is the occasion of all Mischief, and exhorts them to the practice of Charity and Christian Humility.

Hitherto we have only mentioned those Works that unquestionably belong to St. Cyprian, I shall now speak a few words of those that are falsely attributed to him, which are put by themselves in *Rigaltius's* and the English Edition. There is a great number of these Books, some of which are really useful and ancient, though we don't know their Authors, some carry the Names of their Authors at present, and some are of a later date, and deservedly despised.

In the number of the first, we must place the following Treatises. That *against publick Shews*, the Book of *Charity*, and the Homily *against Novatian*, all which works seem to proceed from one Author; and might be attributed to St. Cyprian (nn), if it were not for the difference that is so visible between the Style of this Father, and that of these three Books.

The Treatise or Homily *against Gamesters* (oo), is yet more different from St. Cyprian's Style than any of the former, being an intricate confused Book, and abounding with barbarous Words. The Scriptures are cited there after another manner than they are in St. Cyprian; and the Author mentions a Book, Intituled, *The Doctrine or Doctrines of the Apostles*, which, in all probability, was composed since St. Cyprian's time.

The Book of *the Celibacy of the Clergy* is extremely useful: In it he proves, that Churchmen ought not to live with Women; some have attributed it to St. Cyprian upon the Faith of some MSS. others to St. *Austin*, others to St. *Jerome*, and lastly, others to *Gaudentius Brixienfis*. However, it is certain, that it was never writ by St. Cyprian, as the difference of Style, and the barbarous words (pp), sufficiently witness. Nor is it a Translation out of *Origen* but the work of some Latin Author: In short, it is neither written in the Style of St. *Jerome*, nor *Origen* (qq).

The Author of the English Edition supposes that this Treatise was writ in the time of Venerable *Bede*, when the famous Question of the Celibacy of Churchmen was so warmly discussed in the West: But this is only a bare conjecture, supported by no solid reason; so that we can say nothing positive concerning the Author of this Work.

The Book of *the Twelve Abuses of the Age*, which is likewise attributed to St. *Austin*, was neither written by that Father, nor by St. Cyprian; for, besides that, it has not the least resemblance of their Style or manner of Writing, the Scripture is always cited there, after St. *Jerome's* Version. *Pamelius* has ascribed it to one *Erardus*, whose Name he found in the Margin of this Treatise in a MS. of St. *Austin*. Others again bestow'd it upon St. *Patrick Bishop of Ireland*, and some upon St. *John Climacus*.

To these Treatises we must joyn an Oration in praise of *Martyrdom*, and another about *double Martyrdom*, both which were composed by some Author who is not very ancient, for his Diction. The first is penn'd in an elaborate affected Style; and it seems probable, that the Person that made it, only tried how he could make an Harangue in form. He begins with an *Exordium*, as if he delivered it before an Assembly; the Periods are carefully wrought, his Thoughts are odd and uncommon, and the whole Turn is extremely Stiff. The Oration about *double Martyrdom* is writ after a more negligent way by some young Author, who had a mind to imitate St. Cyprian's Style. *Gravius* imagined that *Erasmus* was the Author of this Cheat; but in all probability, so able a Man as he was, would have carried on the Imposture better than it is managed in this Book: For though the Author pretends

(mm) The Book of *Envy* was writ some time after that of *Patience*.] It was written after the Book of *Patience*, because when he writ to *Jubaianus*, he sent him only the Treatise of *Patience*. It is cited by *Pontius*, by St. *Jerome*, in *Epist. ad Gal. c. 5.* and by St. *Austin* in many places.

(nn) Might be attributed to St. Cyprian.] I say it might be, for besides the difference of Style, which is obvious to every Eye, they are not attributed to St. Cyprian in the Manuscripts, but only in the Printed Books.

(oo) The Treatise against Gamesters.] It was writ by some Bishop, but we are not to conclude, that it was by a Bishop of Rome, because he calls himself the Vicar of Jesus Christ, for anciently that name was given to all Bishops.

(pp) Barbarous Words.] Such as *Repulforium*, *Constitutionarios*, *Vulgaritatis*, *Flumirorum*, *Probrositatis*, *Participiis*, *Adunari*, *Vanificat*, *Egestosam*, *Procurativa*, *Absentarii*, *Conjugaliter*.

(qq) In short, it is neither written in the Style of St. *Jerome*, nor *Origen*.] That which has given occasion to attribute it to *Origen*, is, because the Author seems not to condemn a Man's making himself an Eunuch; but *Origen* was at last of a contrary Opinion, and repented of his Action. There is only one

that he writ it 240 Years after Jesus Christ; yet he makes no scruple of telling us, that the Christian Religion was farther extended than the Empire. He speaks of the Persecution under *Dioclesian*, and *Maximin* or *Maximian*, of a War against the Turks, and makes mention of Monks and their Practices: And these are the Books falsely attributed to St. Cyprian, which may be of some use, whose Authors are not known.

The Treatise of the Cardinal, or principal Works of Jesus Christ, which was attributed to St. Cyprian, though it does not resemble his Style, has been reitord upon the Faith of several Manuscripts, to *Arnoldus Bonsewallis*, a Friend of St. *Bernard's*, who addressed it to Pope *Adrian IV.* and who composed some other Treatises besides this, in the very same Style, viz. one concerning the Sayings of Jesus Christ, another upon the Cross; the Work of the Six Days, and the Praises of the Virgin, all which are Printed in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*; and lastly, a Treatise of Meditations, which was never Printed before, but has been added in the English Edition of St. Cyprian, to all the other Works of the same Author.

The Explication of the Apostles Creed belongs undoubtedly to *Ruffinus*. The Treatise of the Baptism of Hereticks, Published by *Rigaltius*, but directly contrary to St. Cyprian's Opinion in the matter, was writ by an ancient Writer who lived before St. *Austin's* time, and perhaps was a Contemporary of St. Cyprian.

The other Treatises attributed to St. Cyprian are not only spurious, but are full of nothing else but Impertinencies and Errors. The first is a Treatise of the Mountains of *Sion* and *Sina*, writ by some body who was wholly besotted with the dreaming Enthusiasms of the *Rabbines* and *Cabalists*. The *Supper* is a ridiculous impertinent Book. The *Revelation of John Baptist's Head* is a fabulous Story, writ after the time of St. *Athanasius*, St. *Cyril*, *Theodosius*, the *Vandals*, the *Chronicle of Marcellinus* and *Pipin*, whom it mentions. His Preface attributed to *Celsus*, upon the dispute of *Papiscus* and *Jason* addressed to *Vigilius*, and the Treatise against the Jews, are two Books, wherein there is nothing regular or solid. The two Treatises directed to the Martyrs, and the Confession or Repentance of St. Cyprian the Martyr, are Books which the Modern Greeks have attributed to the Martyr Cyprian, who perhaps is the Bishop of *Carthage*, whose Life they have amplified.

The Secrets and Prayers of St. Cyprian, are Treatises full of Superstition and Impiety. There remains nothing behind but a Calendar upon *Easter* (rr), Printed under St. Cyprian's Name in the English Edition. 'Tis the Work of an ancient Author, but the Style is wholly different from that of St. Cyprian. I say nothing of the Poems that are attributed to him, because they go likewise under *Tertullian's* Name, and I spoke of them when I gave an Account of that Author. [A Man must have a very nice taste of Styles, that can throw away a Book that is almost all Calculation, from any Author to whom it is attributed, if he has no other Reason to reject it.]

St. Cyprian is the first of the Christian Authors that was truly Eloquent, as *Lactantius* has observed; and we may say, that there has been never another since him, \* if we except *Lactantius*, who was Master of so much true, noble, and genuine Eloquence. He professed Rhetoric with mighty Reputation, before he was Converted to Christianity; and what he writ afterwards is admirable in its kind. For as *Lactantius* adds, 'He had an easie, fertile, agreeable Invention; and what is more, a Spirit of Perspicuity reigns throughout all his Works, which is one of the best Qualities belonging to any Discourse. He has a great deal of Ornament in his Narration, an easie Turn in his Expressions, and Force and Vigour in his Reasonings, in such a manner that he had all the

\* This can only be understood of the Latins.

Manuscript in the King's Library, that attributes it to *Origen*; as some Modern Authors think, after *Vincentius Bellovacensis*: But it rather resembles the Style of *Gaudentius Brixienfis*, were it not, that in no Manuscripts or Printed Editions it is ever attributed to him.

(rr) A Calendar upon Easter.] It has been cited under St. Cyprian's Name, by *Paulus Diaconus*. The Scripture is cited there according to the Version made use of by St. Cyprian, but there are some words in it that have nothing of the Purity of St. Cyprian, and the turn of the Phrase is wholly different. To discover the Truth of this, we need only set down the very first Period. *Multo quidem, non modico tempore anxii sumus & astuantes, non in secularibus, sed in sanctis & divinis scripturis quarentes invenire, quidnam sit primum diei, non mensis, in quo mense prescriptum est Judais in Egypto XIV. Luna comedere Pascha.* Cyprian would have never used such a turn as this is to express his Thoughts. This Author tells us, That Jesus Christ celebrated the Passover five times, and died the sixth, in the 16th year of *Tiberius*, after he had Preached for the space of an year only. This System is ancient.



S. Cyprian. three Talents required in an Orator, which are to please, to teach, and to persuade; and it is not easie to say which of these three he possesses in the most eminent degree. As St. Jerome said, that his Discourse resembled a Fountain of pure Water, having a sweet and gentle Stream, so we may say, that it does likewise very often resemble an impetuous Torrent, that carries away with it every thing it meets, since he was capable of raising what Passions he pleased, and of persuading us to do whatever he had a mind to. Whether he gives Consolation, or whether he exhorts or dissuades, he does it with so much force, that one cannot possibly avoid being sensibly comforted or encouraged, or deterred by what he says. His Eloquence is natural, and far removed from the Style of a Declaimer. There is no insipid, mean Railery, no common Proverbs; in short, nothing that has the tincture of ordinary Literature in his Writings, but the Christian and the Bishop speak all along: A Man may see that his Tongue spoke out of the abundance of his Heart, and that as he had searched into the deepest Christian Truths, so he expressed them nobly and generously: Though we must at the same time own, that after all his endeavours to speak as distinctly and purely as was possible, there is something of the African Genius in him; and he could not forbear now and then to intermix some harsh terms (ff). So difficult a matter it is to vanquish Nature, or to abstain from those words we daily hear from those with whom we converse.

His studying and reading of *Tertullian*, whom he looked upon to be his Master, might in some measure contribute to corrupt his Style: But then on the other hand we must acknowledge, that it furnished him with some Advantages, and that he has borrowed several Thoughts out of him, which he sets off and beautifies, though he was Religiously careful to avoid all his Faults and Errors. For, at the bottom, the Characters of these two Authors are exceeding different. *Tertullian* is harsh and obscure; *St. Cyprian* is polite and clear; *Tertullian* is hot and fiery; *St. Cyprian*, though he does not want all necessary force upon occasion that requires it, is soft and gentle: *Tertullian* reproaches his Adversaries, and insults over them in a bitter railing manner; *St. Cyprian* is infinitely more moderate, and if he is obliged at any time to speak some Truths that displease them, he takes care to soften them by the agreeableness of his Narration: *Tertullian* vents abundance of false Reasons, and teaches several Errors; on the contrary, *St. Cyprian* argues almost every where with a World of Justice and Solidity, and is exempt, I mean, not only from gross Errors, but even from those of small consequence, commonly found in the Fathers of the *Three first Centuries*; He says nothing concerning the Mysteries of the Trinity, or the Incarnation, that carries any difficulty with it, or stands in need of an explication. He rejects the Error of the *Millenaries*, and that of the State of the Soul before the Day of Judgment. He is the first that spoke clearly of Original Sin, and the Necessity of the Grace of Jesus Christ. He plainly distinguishes between Baptism and Imposition of Hands, as two different Sacraments. He speaks of the Eucharist as of a Sacrament, wherein the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ is received, and which requires great Purity and great Preparation to be worthily received. He establishes the matter of this Sacrament, but he urges the necessity of mingling Water with the Wine, with too much heat. He is the first that talked largely of Penance, and of the Power of the Priesthood to bind and unbind. He zealously demonstrates how necessary it is towards Salvation, to be within the Church: he discourses very advantageously of the Bishop of Rome, and looks upon the Bishop of that See to be the Superintendent of the first Church in the World. But then he was of Opinion, that he ought not to assume any Authority over the rest of the Bishops that were his Brethren, or over their Churches: That every Bishop was to render to God an account of his own Conduct: That the Episcopal Authority is indivisible, and that every Bishop has his Portion of it. That in case of necessity, all Bishops may assist their Brethren with their Counsels, though they are not under their ordinary Jurisdiction: That Causes ought to be determined in the respective Provinces, where the Accusers and Witnesses are to be found: That Councils or Assemblies of Bishops are extremely useful: That the Keys were given to the whole Church in general, in the Person of St. Peter, to denote Unity: It may be proved out of his Writings, That they used to Offer Sacrifice for the Dead in his time; That they were persuaded that the Saints interceded for us, and that Sacrifices were Offered in Honour of their Memory: That they made use of Holy Water, that they had Virgins who made Profession of Virginity; and that

(ff) Some harsh Terms.] Such as *exambire*, *remissa*, *sanctificari*, *magnanimitas*, *mortalitas*, *confundi*, *abstinere* to excommunicate, *Dominicum*, &c. words which are not Latin. He has likewise some harsh turns; as for example, he uses the Pronouns, *se*,

this condition was mightily honoured amongst the Christians. I take no notice of abundance of other points of Discipline and Morality, which may be observed in the Abridgment we have made of his Works, where the Reader, as he peruses them, may collect them for himself; and indeed, they are of great importance to all People.

The first Edition of *St. Cyprian*, which appear'd a little after the Invention of Printing, neither bears the name of the Printer, nor of the City where it was Printed. It is more Correct, and freer from Faults than the following ones.

The second Edition is that of *Spire*, by *Wendelmaus*, in the Year 1471, in Folio. It is mighty full of Errors.

In the year 1512, *Remboldus* caused this Author to be printed at *Paris*, and was the first that divided the Letters into several Books. Afterwards *Erasmus* having reviewed and corrected it, printed it with a Preface and some Annotations, in the beginning in 1520, and 1525, for *Frobenius*. It was likewise printed the very same year at *Colen*. Afterwards at *Paris*, for *Langelier*, in 1541. At *Antwerp* in *Octavo*, in the year 1542, by *Crinitus*, and for *Frobenius*, in 1549. At *Lyons* for *Gryphius*, in *Octavo*, in 1544, and 1550. At *Basil*, according to *Erasmus's* Edition, in Folio, for *John Hervagius*, in 1558. *Gravins* caused it to be printed with some Notes at *Colen*; and it was also printed at *Lyons*, in 1535, 1543, 1549, and 1556, in *Octavo*. At *Venice* in the same Volume, in 1547. After these Editions, which are none of the most correct, *Manutius* caused it to be printed at *Rome*, corrected by several Manuscripts in 1563, in Folio, in a very neat Character, and augmented with a fifth Book of Letters. *Morel's* Edition at *Paris* in the year following, is larger and more accurately done. It was printed too at *Geneva*, in the year 1593, with the Notes of *Goulartius* and *Pamelius*.

*Pamelius*, after he had taken pains with *Tertullian*, set himself to publish a more exact Edition of *St. Cyprian's* Works. He is the first that disposed the Letters according to the Series of Time, distributing them, as we have done into five Classes: but he has not been very exact in distributing those of the same Class in their natural Order. He likewise writ *St. Cyprian's* Life, and has made large Observations upon this Author; wherein he applies himself more to confirm the Doctrine and Discipline of our Times, than to explain the Difficulties of his Author.

*Pamelius's* *St. Cyprian* has been printed twice at *Antwerp*, in 1568, and 1589. And at *Paris* in 1607, 1574, 1616, 1632, and 1644. These Editions are compared with several ancient Manuscripts, and the former Editions. In Imitation of him, *Rigaltius*, after he had published *Tertullian*, undertook *St. Cyprian*, and without making the least alteration in the Order observed by *Pamelius*, he only corrected the Works of this Author, upon the different readings of two Italian Manuscripts, which *Monfieur de Monchal*, Archbishop of *Tholouse*, had copied in the Margine of his *St. Cyprian*, and made some Notes to explain the most difficult places; and some Observations to enlighten the Discipline that was in vigor in this Saint's time. Some of these Observations seem to be bold, and he endeavours to excuse himself for them in his Preface. This Edition was printed at *Paris* for *Dupuis*, in 1648.

In the year 1666, *Dupuis* reprinted the Works of this Saint, as he did those of *Tertullian*, that is to say, he added to the Text, which is conformable to the Edition of *Rigaltius*, the entire Notes and Observations of that learned Man; together with some choice Observations of *Pamelius*, and joyned to this Author *Minutius Felix*, *Arnobius*, *Firmicus*, and the Instruction of *Commodianus*. In the year 1681, *Frederick Reinard*, a Minister in Germany, put out *St. Cyprian's* Letters at *Altdorf*. There is nothing particular in this Edition, but the great number of Manuscripts with which it was compared.

*Monfieur Lombert* having translated the Works of *St. Cyprian* into French, and followed *Pamelius's* Method in his Translation, has reformed some part of this Method in his Preface, and has given us by the assistance of several judicious Men, a more accurate order of the Letters and Treatises of *St. Cyprian*, than that of *Pamelius*. [He is quoted with great respect by the Bishops of *Oxford* and *Chester*, in the *Oxford* Edition of this Father's Works.]

After all, two English Bishops, not long since, put out a new Edition of *St. Cyprian*, which is more correct, and exact, and larger than all the former. The Text is here printed in a very fine Character, revised upon four new Manuscripts, and several different Readings, copied out of other Manuscripts by very able Men. The Margin is all along charged with a very short and clear Summary of all that is contained in the Text. Just under the Text, the different Reading of the Manuscripts and Editions are set down. At the Bottom of the Page are placed the

*sui*, instead of *iste*, *istic* for *hic*, *quando* for *cum*, *quamdiu* for *dóneq*, *imo* for *potius*. He has also some Allusions and Antitheses proper to the Africans.



Notes, some of which are borrowed from *Rigaltius* and *S. Cyprian*. *Pamelius*, and the rest which are new, are made by the Bishop of *Oxford*. Most of them are Theological. His Tracts precede the Letters in this Edition, and are disposed according to the Order wherein they are supposed to have been written. The Letters likewise are distributed after a new Method, but very exact. The Books that are falsely attributed to *St. Cyprian*, are printed at the end in a smaller Character, with the Works of *Arnoldus Bonavallis* that carry his name, with a Book of Meditations never printed before. The Calendar of *Easter* is at the end of the Volume. At the Head of all, there is an Advertisement to the Reader, containing the general Design of this Edition; *St. Cyprian's* Life, by *Pontius* his Deacon; some Testimonies of the Ancients concerning *St. Cyprian*; a Table as well of the Books according to the different Editions, as of the Texts of Scripture cited in the Works of *St. Cyprian*, and the matter of them. This is followed with a Book written by Doctor *Pearson*, Bishop of *Chester*, Intituled, *The Annals of St. Cyprian*, because it contains the History of the Life and Works of

this Saint from year to year. [After all, there are some Dissertations of Mr. *Dodwell's* upon difficult places, wherein he not only explains his Author, but makes large Digressions to clear some of the most considerable Questions in all Ecclesiastical Antiquity; and to illustrate those matters of Fact, and points of Discipline which are only alluded to in *St. Cyprian*, as things at that time perfectly known.]

I have been lately informed, that a Doctor of the Faculty in *Paris*, a Man of prodigious Learning, designs to oblige the World with a new Edition of *St. Cyprian*. It were to be wished, that this Design were put in Execution, it being a matter of great Importance, that *St. Cyprian* should be published by a Catholick Divine, who is thoroughly versed in the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church, and who, in his Annotations would not depart from the Rule of Faith, nor condemn or disapprove the practice of the Church; that so by this means the Works of this Father might without any danger be put into the hands of all People.

## PONTIUS.

*Pontius.* **S**T. *Jerome* reckons *Pontius* amongst the Ecclesiastical Authors, who writ the Life of *St. Cyprian*, whose Deacon he had been. Some Learned Persons, and *Rigaltius* in particular, seem to have doubted whether this Work was not supposititious; and indeed, we must own, that it is written with so much Affectation of Eloquence, that it might well be suspected to be spurious, if *St. Jerome* had not owned it as genuine: But, after the Testimony of that Learned Father, I don't think we ought to question the truth of it. This Life is not

written, as *Rigaltius* has well observed, after an Historical manner, but in the Language of one that desired to be thought an Orator, and has more Rhetorical Ornaments, than Historical Exactness in it. The Narration which ought to be plain and single, is full of Rhetorical Figures; and the Style, which ought to be concise, is swelling. In short, as I have observed already, there is rather an Affectation of Eloquence, than any true Eloquence in this Book.

## CORNELIUS.

*Cornelius.* **C**ornelius was ordained Bishop of *Rome*, towards the beginning of the year 251. Soon after, *Novatian* got himself ordained by three Bishops, but his Ordination being irregular, was condemned, and *Cornelius* acknowledged to be the true Bishop of *Rome* by all the Bishops in the World.

He was sent into Banishment in the Persecution of the Emperor *Gallus*, and then received the Crown of Martyrdom, towards the end of the Year 253. after he had presided in the Roman Chair, two Years and some Months.

There are two Letters of this Pope amongst *St. Cyprian's*, and *Eusebius* mentions three more (a).

In the first, he informs *Fabius*, Bishop of *Antioch*, of what had passed in the Synod held at *Rome* against *Novatian*, and sends him the Opinion of the *Italian* and *African* Bishops.

In the second, he gives a more particular Account of the Decrees of this Synod; and in the third, he describes the manners and actions of *Novatian*. *Eusebius* has preserved a long Fragment of this last Letter, wherein *Cornelius* describes the artifices which *Novatian* had used, to get himself ordained Bishop, by abusing the simplicity and easiness of three Bishops, one of whom having acknowledged his Crime, did Penance for it. He afterwards observes, that there were at that time in the Church of *Rome*, 44 Priests, 7 Deacons, and as many Sub-Deacons, 42 Acolyths, 52 Porters, and Exorcists, without reckoning the Widows and Poor, upwards of 1500, and a very great multitude of People (b).

He adds, That *Novatian* could never hope to arrive to

(a) *Eusebius* mentions three more.] *St. Jerome* reckons four Letters, but he is mistaken, and *Eusebius* takes notice only of three.

(b) And a very great multitude of People.] There were at that

the Episcopal Order, because he was baptized in his Bed, and never received Imposition from the hands of the Bishop, that is to say, the Sacrament of Confirmation, and was afterwards ordained Priest, only at the request of a Bishop, contrary to the Order of the Church, which prohibits the ordaining of those who had been baptized after that manner: He reproaches him for denying his Sacerdotal Function in time of Persecution; as also for obliging those of his own Party, when he gave them the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ (instead of answering *Amen*, as was the Custom of the Church) to swear, that they would never return to *Cornelius's* Party. Lastly, he informs *Fabius*, that the Confessors of *Rome* had left his Party, and that several Bishops, whose names he sends him, were condemned in a Synod. This Letter, as well as the others, sent by *Cornelius* to the East, were in all probability written in Greek. In the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, we find a very short Letter, attributed to *Cornelius*, directed to *Lupinus*, Bishop of *Vienna*; but that Letter does not belong to this Pope, no more than the two others which go under his name in the Decretals. For first of all it is not of the same Style with those we find in *St. Cyprian*. Secondly, the word *Mas*, which was unknown at that time, occurs there. And thirdly, it is unworthy of this Pope, and 'tis plain, it was counterfeited by some ignorant Impostor. The Style of *Cornelius*, as far as we are able to judge of it, by those few Letters of his that are still extant, is not very lofty; though he sets off what ever he says, turning every thing to his own advantage, and does not spare his Enemy in the least.

time several Churches at *Rome*, for they had but one Priest to one Church: And this is the Reason why *Optatus*, speaking of the Churches that were at *Rome* in the time of *Dioclesian*, says, that there were above forty of them.

## NOVATIAN.

*Novatian.* **N**ovatian, who had been a Philosopher before he was a Christian, was, as we have hinted already, Baptized in his Bed, being dangerously ill. He was afterwards ordained Priest of the Church of *Rome*, at the Instance of his Bishop, who obtained this Favour for him from the Clergy and People, who would have opposed it. *Cornelius* accuses him for absconding in a Chamber during the Persecution, and for answering the Deacons, who desired him to go out and Baptize some *Catechumens*,

That he would not be a Priest any longer, but that he would follow another sort of Philosophy. Being Master of a great deal of Wit, Knowledge, and Eloquence, he might have been very serviceable to the Church, if his Ambition to be a Bishop, which was, in a manner, the sole occasion of the Apostacy of the first Heresiarchs, had not carried him to a Separation. After the Death of Pope *Fabian*, he wrote in the name of the Clergy of *Rome*, a very elegant Letter to *St. Cyprian*, which is the thirtieth amongst



**Novatian.** amongst those of that Father, and he still continued in the Communion of the Church during the Vacancy of that See. But as soon as *Cornelius* was chosen in *Fabius's* room, pushed forward by his Envy and Jealousy, he attacked his Ordination, accused him of several Crimes, and published a Libel against him. The principal Plea he made use of, was, That *Cornelius* admitted those who had been guilty of Idolatry to Communion; and to make the best advantage of this Accusation he maintained, that we never ought to suffer those Persons to participate of the Communion, who had fallen into Idolatry. So he separated from *Cornelius*, and from those who believed, that the Church might receive them again. The greater part of those who had suffered Courageously for the Faith of Jesus Christ, not being able to endure that others, who had not shewn the same Constancy and Resolution, should (if I may use the Expression) stand on the same level with themselves, embraced his Party, together with some Priests. *Novatus*, a Priest of *Africk*, who had raised great Feuds against St. *Cyprian* at *Carthage*, joyned himself to *Novatian*, and brought with him those of his own Faction. It was he who gave him that pernicious Advice (a), to get himself Ordained Bishop. *Novatian*, the better to execute this design, sent two of his own Cabal to three simple ignorant Bishops, who lived in a small Province of *Italy*, and prevailed with them to come to *Rome*, under a pretence of accommodating Affairs, and putting a stop to some Divisions. As soon as these three Bishops were come to *Rome*, he shut them up in a Chamber, and caused himself to be ordained Bishop of *Rome* by them, about Ten a Clock at Night, and this after he had made them drunk, if we may believe *Cornelius*. Immediately after his Ordination he dispatched two Letters to the Bishops of the other Provinces, and sent some Deputies into *Africk* to get his Ordination approved: But the *African* Bishops rejected his Deputies, and ratified *Cornelius's* Ordination. The rest of the Bishops also adhered to *Cornelius*: And one of the three who had ordained *Novatian*, acknowledged his Fault, and did Penance for it. The Confessors gave him up to *Cornelius*, who having got him condemned in a Synod of Sixty Bishops, wholly turned him out of the Church. He continued however still to teach this Doctrine, That the Church neither could nor ought to admit those to the Communion who had Apostatized: And as this Severity pleased abundance of People, so he became the Head of a Heresie, which disturbed the Peace of the Church for a very long time.

Besides, this Letter which he writ before his Separation in the name of the Clergy of *Rome*, St. *Jerome* tells us, he composed the following Treatises, viz. of the *Passover*, the *Sabbath*, *Circumcision*, the *High-Priests*, *Prayer*, *Jewish Meals*; of *Firmness of Mind* with the relation to *Attalus*, and many more, together with a great Volume about the *Trinity*, which is, as it were an abridgment of *Tertullian's* Work, that has been by several Persons attributed to St. *Cyprian*; not that *Tertullian* made a Book expressly about the *Trinity*, but because he had borrowed whatever he says out of the Books of *Tertullian* upon the *Trinity*. We have none of these Works under the Name of *Novatian*, but 'tis extremely probable, that the Treatise of the *Trinity*, and that of the *Jewish Meals*, that are to be found in *Tertullian*, are the same which St. *Jerome* attributed to *Novatian*.

And indeed, as for the Book of the *Trinity*, *Ruffinus* observes, that it was not composed by St. *Cyprian*, under whose Name it went, but by *Tertullian*. St. *Jerome*, who saw farther into this matter than *Ruffinus*, takes notice in the Apology which he has composed against him, that it was not written by *Tertullian*, but by *Novatian*. There are seve-

ral Reasons which make it evidently appear, that the Book we now have, is the very same with that mentioned by St. *Novatian*, *Jerome* and *Ruffinus*. For in the first place, it carries the same Title. Secondly, it imitates *Tertullian*, and uses his Arguments. Thirdly, the Style of it is polite enough, and the Terms very Pure. Fourthly, we find some Passages there against the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, a Fault which *Ruffinus* and St. *Jerome* observe to have been in the Book of the *Trinity*, which they cited, and which might have been inserted afterwards by the *Macedonians*. For this Author establishes very Orthodox Principles concerning the Mystery of the *Trinity*, which prove the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, as well as that of the Son.

It is very probable likewise, that the Treatise about *Jewish Meals*, attributed to *Tertullian*, belongs to *Novatian*, as well by reason of the conformity of the Style, as because the Author observes in the beginning, that he wrote two Letters, wherein he demonstrated, that the *Jews* knew not what is the true Circumcision, or what is the true Sabbath. All which agrees with *Novatian*, who, according to St. *Jerome*, wrote two Treatises upon the same Subjects.

The design of this Treatise is to shew, That the Animals forbidden to be eaten by the Mosaic Law, were not absolutely, and in themselves impure. To demonstrate the Truth of this Assertion, he tells us, that the Fruits of Trees were the first Nourishment of Mankind; that afterwards they eat the Flesh of Animals; that the Law came in afterwards, which made a distinction between those Creatures that might be eaten, and those that were prohibited; that under this Dispensation they were called Unclean, not because they were really so in their own Nature, since they were the Creatures of God; but first, to instruct Men to avoid the Vices that were figured, and represented by these Animals (b); and in the second place, to serve as a Remedy against Intemperance; that Jesus Christ, who is the end and accomplishment of the Law, has given liberty to Men to eat of all sorts of Meats, provided they don't violate the bounds of Christian Sobriety; and from thence he takes occasion to reprove the Irregularities and Disorders of some Christians, who lived intemperately. He observes, that this is by no means fitting for those Persons who are to pray Night and Day. At last, out of the number of Meats that are permitted to be eaten, he excepts those that have been offered to Idols, from which the Primitive Christians abstained very Religiously; and he concludes all with these Words, that are an Abridgment of his whole Discourse: 'Having therefore shewn what is the nature of Meats (for he had before discovered the Genius of the Mosaic Law, and explained the nature of the Evangelical Liberty) 'Let us live up to the Rules of Temperance, and abstain from things Offered to Idols, giving thanks to our Lord Jesus Christ his Son, to whom be Praise, Honour, and Glory, for ever and ever Amen.'

Some think that *Novatian* writ this Letter during the Persecution of *Decius*, before he had separated from the Church; but his way of speaking, at the beginning, makes me rather believe, that it was composed after he became Chief of the Party, in the Persecution of *Gallus* and *Volusian*. This Author has abundance of Wit, Knowledge and Eloquence; his Style is pure, clean and polite; his Expressions choice, his Thoughts natural, and his way of Reasoning just: He is full of Citations of Texts of Scripture that are always to the purpose; and besides, there is a great deal of Order, and Method in those Treatises of his we now have, and he never speaks but with a world of Candor and Moderation.

(a) It was he who gave him that pernicious Advice.] St. *Cyprian* in his 41st Epistle tells us, that *Novatus* had ordained a Bishop of *Rome*, as one *Felicitissimus* a Priest had done at *Carthage*; not that he made them so himself, for he was no Bishop, but because he had made him so by his Counsels and Faction.

(b) Represented by these Animals.] As for Example, he says, that the Prohibition of eating Swines-flesh is to intimate to us, that we are not to lead a Carnal Life: That when we are forbidden to eat Weasels, the meaning is, we are forbidden to Steal; that by Crows Pleasures are signified, &c.

## St. MARTIALIS.

**St. Martialis.** Saint *Martialis* came into France with St. *Dionysius*, under the Emperor *Decius* (a) toward the year of our Lord 250. Two Letters attributed to him, one written to the People of *Burdeaux*, the other

to those of *Tholose*, which were said to be found in the Vestry of St. *Peter* of *Limoges* (b) in the Eleventh Century, St. *Martialis*, and have been since frequently Printed (c), and inserted into the last *Bibliotheca Patrum*, though no Man questi-

(a) Under the Emperor *Decius*.] St. *Gregory* of *Tours* is the Man that fixes this Epocha of the coming of St. *Denis*, *Martialis*, and their Colleagues into France. There is no Author extant, who is either more ancient or more worthy to be believed than St. *Gregory*, that has given us any account of their arrival there any sooner.

(b) *Peter* of *Limoges*.] This Story is related by a Monk called

*Gausius*, in a Chronicle which is to be found in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, p. 288, 289. first printed in the year 1521 with *Abdias*, and afterwards in 1571, and 1614.

(c) Frequently Printed.] They were first Printed by *Badus* in the Year 1521, afterwards by *Border* in the Year 1573, with the notes of *Elmenhorstius* at *Helmstadt* in 1614, at *Basil* in 1655, at *Colem* in 1560.



ons that these Letters are Supposititious. For in the first place the Author tells us, that he lived with Jesus Christ, which can by no means agree with him who was Bishop of Limoges in 252. Secondly, in the eighth Chapter of the Second Letter, he saith, that he Baptized King Stephen, and another Tyrant with his Noblemen. Now in the time of *Martialis* there was neither King nor Tyrant in France. Thirdly, he tells us, that in his Time the Temples of the Gods were demolished, and that Churches were built by the King's Authority, which does not agree with the time of St. *Martialis*. Fourthly, the Texts of Scripture quoted in these Letters follow the vulgar Translation, which was composed long after. Fifthly, the Author tells us, that he had eaten with Jesus Christ at the last Sup-

per, though it is certain that none but the Apostles were there.

The Life of St. *Martialis*, Printed at the end of *Abdias*, which carries the Name of *Aurelian* Bishop of Limoges, is a spurious Piece, no less than the Epistles of that Bishop, and full as Fabulous as the History of *Abdias*, to which it is joyned. The Author by a very gross Error supposes, that *Vespasian* succeeded *Nero* immediately. He tells us, that St. *Martialis* received from Jesus Christ after his Resurrection, the same Power which the Apostles had; that he never suffered either Hunger, Thirst, or Pain; and recounts several other Fables concerning him, which are no less ridiculous than those that are to be found upon the same Subject in the two Councils of Limoges, held in the Years 1029, and 1031.

## SIXTUS or XYSTUS.

It is a long time ago, since under the name of Pope *Sixtus*, who presided in the Roman Chair in the Year 257. *Ruffinus* published a Book of a certain Pythagorean Philosopher named *Sixtus*, translated out of Greek into Latin. St. *Jerome* often reproaches him with this imposture (a); St. *Austin* suffered himself at first to be deceived by it, and has cited it in his Book of Nature and Grace, as if it had been composed by Pope *Sixtus*, but afterwards he retracts his Error (b). *Gelasius* placed it amongst the Heretical Books, supposing it to have been written by some Christian. It is still extant (c), being a med-

ley of Philosophical Sentences, useful indeed in themselves, and serviceable to the Truth, but having little of the Spirit of Christianity in them. There is no mention made in it either of Jesus Christ, the Holy Ghost, the Prophets, or the Apostles; and it is full of the Errors of the *Pythagoreans*, and the *Stoics*. It renders Man equal to God, and affirms that he is made of a Divine Substance, and would have him be without Passion, according to the Principle of the *Stoics*, and without Sin, pursuant to the Doctrine of the *Pelagians*. There are several other *Pelagian* Errors to be found in it.

(a) St. *Jerome* often reproaches him with this Imposture.] Ep. ad Ctesiphont. contra Pelag. in Cap. 22. *Jerome* in Cap. 18 *Ezechielis*.

(b) He retracts this Error.] *Aug. lib. 2. retract. c. 42.*

(c) It is still extant.] In the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, but I cannot tell whether it was ever Printed by it self.

## St. GREGORY THAUMATURGUS.

St. *Gregory*, whose Name at first was *Theodorus*, and afterwards surnamed *Thaumaturgus*, that is to say, the worker of Miracles, (by reason of the great number of Miracles he is supposed to have wrought, both in his Life-time and after his Death) was born in the City of *Neo-Cæsarea* in *Pontus*, descended of a Family that was very considerable as well for its Nobility, as for its great Possessions. He was educated in the Idolatrous Worship, having a Father who was extremely bigotted to Paganism. After he had lost him at the Age of Fourteen years, his Mother would have him study Rhetoric to qualify himself for the Bar. His Sister being married to a Lawyer, who was afterwards Governor of *Palestine*, and being obliged to follow her Husband, *Gregory* and *Athenodorus* her Brothers went along with her, intending to go as far as *Berytus*, and there apply themselves to the Study of the Laws in a Celebrated School of that City. but being arrived at *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*, they there met *Origen*, who having exhorted them to study Philosophy, by little and little inspired into them the Principles of the Christian Faith, and soon after made them his Disciples. After they had been with him for the space of five years, *Gregory* being willing to testify the great Obligations he had to *Origen*, and besides, to give him some publick Marks of his Acknowledgment, as he took his leave of him, composed a very eloquent Discourse, which he recited before a numerous Assembly invited to that Solemnity. After his return to *Neo-Cæsarea*, he retired for some time, and lived a solitary Life, and was at last, contrary to his Inclinations, ordained bishop of *Neo-Cæsarea* by *Phœdimus* Bishop of *Amasea*, towards the year of our Lord 240. At that time there were but very few Christians in that City, but the number of them was soon augmented by his Vigilance and care, and by his Miracles, so that this Church became in a little time one of the most flourishing Churches in the World. He assisted at the first Council of *Antioch* held against *Paulus Samosatenus*, as *Eusebius* tells us in the Sixth Book of his History, ch. 23. and Died a little after in the Year 265. This is an Abridgment of this Bishop's Life, drawn out of his Discourse to *Origen*, out of *Eusebius*, St. *Basil*, St. *Jerome* and St. *Gregory Nyssen* in the relation that he gives of the Life of this great Saint.

The Works of this Father (part whereof of *Zimus*'s Version were Printed at *Venice* in Latin in 1574, and at *Rome* in 1594) were collected and Printed in Greek by *Gerrard Vossius*, at *Mentz* in *Quarto* 1604, and afterwards in *Folio* at *Paris* 1621, with some other smaller Fathers.

The first, as well as the most Eloquent Work he has composed, is the Harangue he made to thank *Origen*, which was separately Published by *Hoeschelius* at the end of his Edition of *Origen* against *Celsus* in 1605. He begins his *Exordium*, with the difficulty of commending *Origen* as

he deserved. Afterwards he tells him in what a strange manner the Providence of God conducted him to *Cæsarea*, the Conversations this great Man held with him and his Brother to exhort them to the study of Philosophy, and to possess them with a Veneration for the Holy Scriptures and the Christian Religion; and afterwards he testifies the Regret he had to be obliged to quit a Master whom he had so tenderly loved. This Harangue is very eloquent, and we may say it is one of the most consummate pieces of Rhetoric that are any where extant amongst the Ancients. It was Printed under the Name of *Gregory Thaumaturgus* in Greek, and in Latin at *Antwerp* in 1613. in *Octavo*.

The Second Book mentioned by *Eusebius* and St. *Jerome* as well as the first, is his Paraphrase upon *Ecclesiastes*. It was Translated by *Jacobus Billius*, who attributed it to St. *Gregory Nazianzen* upon the Credit of a Manuscript in the King's Library. But certain it is, that it belongs to *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, not only because we read in *Eusebius*, and in St. *Jerome*, that he composed a Book bearing that Name, which we are no where told of St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, but also because we find there Word for Word a long Passage cited by St. *Jerome*, upon the fourth Chapter of *Ecclesiastes*, as taken out of the Paraphrase upon *Ecclesiastes*, done by *Gregory* Bishop of *Pontus*. I have no more to say of this Book, but only that it is a Paraphrase which largely explains the Moral Reflections in *Ecclesiastes*.

St. *Gregory Nyssen* in his Life of this Father, takes notice of a Creed, which, as he pretends, this Saint received from St. *John* in a Vision which he saw in the Night, and which was still preserved, being as he says, written by the Hand of *Gregory Thaumaturgus*. This Profession of Faith is as follows: 'There is only one God the Father, who is the Father of the Living WORD, his essential Wisdom, his Power, and his eternal Image; it is he who being Sovereignly perfect, has begotten a Son Sovereignly perfect as himself. He is the Father of the only Son. There is only one Lord, the only Son of the only Father, God begotten of God, the Character and Image of the Divinity, the efficacious WORD by which all Creatures were formed, the true Son of the true Father, the invisible Son of the invisible Father, the Incorruptible of the Incorruptible, the Immortal of the Immortal, the Eternal Son of him who is from all Eternity; and there is only one Holy Ghost, who proceeds from God, and was given to Men by the Son, he is the Image of the Son, and a perfect Image of him that is perfect. He is Life, and the principle of Life, to those that Live; He is the Holy Spring, Holiness it self, and the Author of Sanctification. By him God the Father is made manifest, who is above all things, and in all things, and God the Son, who is equally in all things. This is the perfect Trinity



St. Gregory Thaumaturgus. Trinity, which is not divided, but is One in Glory, in Sovereignty and Eternity.

The following Words, which some Persons do still attribute to Gregory Thaumaturgus, belong to St. Gregory Nyssen, who draws this Conclusion from the above-mentioned Profession. 'There is therefore no created Person or dependent Being in the Trinity, it admits in to it nothing that is Foreign, nothing that has been out of it during a time, or which afterwards began to be there; the Father was never without the Son, nor the Son without the Holy Ghost, but the Trinity has ever been immovable and invariable.

There is likewise attributed to St. Gregory Thaumaturgus another Exposition of Faith, much longer, and translated by Turrianus, which some People might believe to be that which is cited by St. Basil, in his Sixty Fourth Epistle, directed to one whose Name was *Ælian*. But it is manifest, that this is different from that mentioned by St. Basil, and that it could not be composed by St. Gregory Thaumaturgus: For, in the first place, it is different from that St. Basil speaks of, which was addressed to *Ælian*, and made in form of a Dispute, wherein he says, That the Father and Son were one in *Hypostasis*, and only distinguished by abstraction of the Mind, the words which the Sabellians abused; whereas in this which is neither addressed to *Ælian*, nor composed after the manner of a Dispute, the Error of Sabellius is clearly rejected; and it is formally said, that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost are Three Persons, and Three Hypostases. In the second place, it cannot be of the time of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus; for the Author expressly refutes the Arians, saying, That those who affirm, that the Son is created of nothing, are Enemies to the Faith of the Church, and that those who reject the Word *Consubstantial*, are out of the Church. Besides, when he explains the Mystery of the Incarnation, he speaks after a manner which makes it credible, that he had the Nestorians and Eutychians in view. *Canisius* attributes this Profession of faith to *Apollinarius*, but it too plainly refutes the Error of that Heretick to be ever his. However it be, it was composed after the time of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus. We ought to pass the same Judgment upon the twelve Anathemas, which follow this Exposition, and are likewise composed out of the Errors of the Nestorians and Eutychians.

No body doubts of the Canonical Epistle of this Saint, which is cited in the sixth Council, and is set down by *Balsamon*. It has all the Characters of Antiquity, which any one can desire in such Monuments. It was written after the Goths had ravag'd Asia, under *Galerius*, and it is directed to a Bishop, whose Name we know not, to instruct him how he was to prescribe Penance to those who had fallen into any scandalous Crimes, during the Inundations of the Barbarians. In the first Canon he says, that those who having been taken Prisoners by the Barbarians, had eaten the Food which was given them, ought not upon that account to suffer Penance, as well because the Barbarians did not sacrifice any Victims to Idols, as also because that which defiles the Man is not the Meat which enters into the Man, but that which goes out of the Man. That for the same reason those Captive Women who had been forcibly carried away by the Barbarians, were not to be blamed; but nevertheless, that those who had lived dissolute Lives before their Captivity, were not easily to be admitted to Communion.

In the second Canon, and the three following, which to speak properly are only one Canon, he detests the Avarice and Injustice of those Persons, who took the advantage of the Captivity of these miserable Creatures to plunder them of their Goods. He shews, that they are obliged to make Restitution, and that they cannot keep in their Possession the Goods of other Men. In the sixth, he endeavours to shew with what Horror the World ought to look upon the Cruelty of those Persons, who detained as Captives those who had freed themselves out of the hands of the Barbarians. In the seventh he ordains, that such Offenders should not be received so much as into the number of Hearers, (this was the first Degree of

Penance) who joining themselves with the Barbarians, had fallen upon the Christians, either by Murdering them, or shewing the Infidels where they were fled for shelter. In the eighth, he decrees the same Punishment against those who should be convicted to have broken open any ones House during the Ravage of the Barbarians; but then he moderates this Rigour in favour of those who should make a voluntary Confession, and these he places in the third degree of Penitents. 'Tis also under this Class, that in the ninth Canon he ranges those who kept back the things which belonged to others, which they found in the midst of the Field, or in their Houses, as soon as they were convicted of it: But if they confessed the Fact, he believed them not to be unworthy to communicate at Prayers, which was the last degree of Penance. In the tenth, he exhorts those that were willing to restore their Neighbours Goods, to do it without making any sordid Gain, by exacting any thing for what they had discovered, kept or found; or for any other reason whatever it might be. The last Canon is an Explication of the different degrees of Penance. Weeping and Groaning, says he, consist in standing without the Church Porch, where the Sinner ought to beg earnestly of those who go in to pray to God for him, and this is the first degree. The second degree is that of Hearers, and is performed in the Church Porch, where the Sinner is to tarry with the Catechumens, and go out with them, after having heard the Holy Scripture, as being unworthy of Prayer. In the Substration, which is the third degree, the Party offending is admitted into the Body of the Church, but must go out with the Catechumens. Lastly, the fourth degree is that of standing up when the Person may tarry in the Church with the Faithful, without being obliged to go out of it with the Catechumens; and this is followed with the participation of the Sacraments. *Morinus* questions whether this last Canon belongs to Gregory Thaumaturgus, and conjectures, that it has been added by one of the Modern Greeks, to explain the Letter of this Saint. This Conjecture seems to be well grounded.

There goes likewise, under the name of this Father, a Discourse about the Soul, addressed to one *Tatian*, which contains the Decision of several Questions concerning the Nature of the Soul, and follows the Principles of the *Peripatetics*, but in truth it has not the least resemblance of St. Gregory's Style; and besides, it seems to be the product of the following Age, when *Aristotle's* Philosophy began to be in some Reputation. To be short, it is rather the work of a Philosopher, than of a Bishop.

I am no less satisfied, that the Sermons which carry the name of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, do really belong to another Author; for besides, that none of the Ancients have ever mentioned them, they are altogether of a different Style, which is so far from approaching the Elegance and Politeness so familiar to St. Gregory, that it is mean and childish. Secondly, The Author of these Sermons speaks of the Mysteries of the Trinity and Incarnation, in such terms as shew, that he lived after the rise of the Heresies of the Arians and Nestorians (a). He often affects to make use of the word *Trinitas* when he speaks of the Virgin *Mary*, and bestows excessive Praises upon her, which were not customary till after the Council of *Ephesus*. Lastly, it is evident, that these Homilies were composed when the Church enjoy'd Peace, and celebrated its Festivals with great Solemnity.

The three Sermons upon the Annunciation resemble the Style of *Proclus* of *Constantinople*, as it has been observed by him, who has made some Notes upon the Homilies of that Author. The last of the three has also been attributed to St. *Chrysostome*, but the difference of the Style shews that it is not his.

The fourth Sermon is upon the Baptism of *JESUS CHRIST*, which Festival was anciently celebrated on the day of *Epiphany*; it is more eloquent than the three preceding ones, and appears to be composed by another Author, who nevertheless was not St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, for the very same reason we have offered before; there we find the term *Trinitas*, and that of *Consubstantial*.

(a) THE Arians and Nestorians.] For Example, in the first of these Homilies, it is said, that *JESUS CHRIST* is born of the Virgin, that he is God and Man without Confusion, and without Change, perfect in the Divinity, and the Humanity, like his Father in all, and consubstantial to us. In

the second, there are extraordinary Praises of the Virgin, whom he calls *Trinitas*, which was not begun to be commonly practised till after the Synod of *Ephesus*. The Trinity is there called *Consubstantial*.



## St. DIONYSIUS of Alexandria.

St. Diony-  
sius of A-  
lexandria.

**D**ionysius (a), who had formerly been a Disciple of Origen, and Catechist of the Church of Alexandria, succeeded Heraclas in the Episcopal See of that Church, in the Third Year (b) of the Empire of Philippus, and 247 of the Nativity of our Saviour. He was one of the most Learned and most Illustrious Bishops of his Age; and being consulted from all parts upon matters of Religion, wrote a vast number of Letters to the most famous Bishops of the Church, besides several Works against the Hereticks, and some Treatises of Divinity and Discipline. St. Jerome has composed a Catalogue of all his Works, and Eusebius has enriched his History with several Passages that he has borrowed out of him. The Fragments that are yet extant in Eusebius and St. Athanasius, make us greatly regret the Loss of his Writings, as Works that would have been of infinite Advantage and Use in the Explication of the Doctrine of the Church. The Catalogue of them, as it is set down by St. Jerome, being without any order, we shall therefore endeavour to make another of all the Volumes of this Dionysius, whereof we have any knowledge, according to the order of time in which they were written, not forgetting at the same time to take notice of those Fragments that are to be found in Eusebius and in St. Athanasius.

The first Letter which he wrote, is directed to Fabius Bishop of Antioch, immediately after the Persecution of the Emperor Decius; that is to say, at the end of the year 250. Eusebius has preserved two Fragments of it in the Sixth Book, Chap. 41. and 44. of his History. In the first, he gives an Account of the horrid Cruelty of the Persecutors that fell so severely upon the poor Christians of Alexandria, as well towards the end of the Empire of Philippus, as also after Decius had published his Edict against them; and he gives us a Narrative of the Martyrdom of several Persons. In the Second, he relates the History of an Old Man, whose Name was Serapion, who having fallen away in the time of Persecution, was enjoyn'd a course of Penance, till being ready to die, he sent a Young Boy to fetch him the Body of Jesus Christ, that he might die in the Communion of the Church.

He describes the Persecution of Decius in his Letter against Germanus, though it was not writ till long after; and he particularly relates what happen'd to himself; how, having been forcibly hurried away out of Alexandria by some Soldiers against his Will, he was conducted to a Town called Taposiris, where being rescued by a Company of Country Fellows that fell upon his Guards, he was obliged to abscond for a while, being only accompanied by some Priests.

This is that Persecution (c), which is mentioned in the Fragment of a Letter to Domitius, and Didymus, related by Eusebius towards the end of the Eleventh Chapter of his History, Lib. 6. It was also about the end of this Persecution, when he was as yet in Exile, that he wrote a Letter concerning Penance to the Brethren in Egypt, wherein he delivered his Own Opinion, as to the manner with which they ought to treat those that had fallen away; and he there distinguishes between the different degrees of Offences. He likewise wrote at the same time a Book upon the same occasion to Conon Bishop of Hermopolis, a Letter to his Clergy at Alexandria, one to the Christians of Laodicea, where Theblymidres was Bishop, and one to the Armenians, over whom Meruzanes was Pastor, which treated of Penance; and a small Treatise of Martyrdom to Origen.

After Peace was restored to the Church in the Year 251. Dionysius having received a Letter from Cornelius Bishop of Rome against Novatian, who had also written to him himself, he answered both one and the other. His Letter to Novatian, whom he calls Novatus, is taken notice of by Eusebius in his 7th Book, Chap. 45. He advises him, if he had a mind to persuade the World that he was Ordained against his Will, as he publicly affirmed, to return back to his Duty, and use all his Endeavours to re-establish Peace and Concord. His Letter to Cornelius is plainly what they called in the Language of those times, a Letter of Communion. He informs him, that he was

summoned to a Synod of Antioch by Helenus Bishop of Tarsus, by Firmilian of Cappadocia, and Theoctistus of Palestine, in which they resolved to confirm the Discipline of Novatus; that word was sent him, that Fabius Bishop of Antioch was dead, and Demetrian elected in his room; that Alexander Bishop of Jerusalem died in Prison. To these Letters he added one to the Christians at Rome, concerning Peace and Penance; and another to the Confessors to dissuade them from the Faction of Novatian. Afterwards he wrote another to the Romans, which he sent by Hippolytus, wherein he discourses of the Duty and Function of Deacons; and two more to the Confessors of Rome, after they had entered into the Unity of the Church. These are the Letters which he wrote under the Pontificate of Cornelius, and are mentioned by Eusebius in the last Chapter of his Sixth Book.

Under the Pontificate of Pope Stephen, that succeeded Cornelius, in the beginning of the Year 255. Dionysius wrote a Letter to him, in which he acquaints him, That all the Eastern Churches were at last agreed to condemn the rigorous Novelty of Novatus, and speaks to him of the Question concerning the Validity of the Baptism of Hereticks, that was in Agitation between him and St. Cyprian. After the Death of Stephen, which happened in the Year 257. he wrote another upon the same Subject to Sixtus his Successor, and begs of him to consider the Consequence of that business, and not to pursue it with the heat of his Predecessor, who had written Letters to Helenus, to Firmilian, and to all the Bishops of Cappadocia and Cilicia, wherein he sent them word, that he would not Communicate any more with them, because they re-baptized Hereticks; which, he says, was determined in the Councils of the Bishops. In the same Letter, he speaks against the Error of the Sabellians, that arose in Ptolemais a City of Pentapolis; against which, as he tells him there, he had written a long Letter, or rather a Discourse which he sent him. He wrote likewise to Dionysius and Philemon, Presbyters of the Church of Rome, about the Baptism of Hereticks. In his Epistle to Philemon, he tells him, That his Predecessor Heraclas caused the Hereticks to abjure their Errors without Baptizing them a-new; that this was the Custom of his Church; but nevertheless that he had been informed, that the Africans had for a long time observed the contrary, and that it was Established in the East in a very numerous Assembly of Bishops held at Iconium and Synnada, and in many other places; that matters standing thus, his Advice was, that their Customs and Decrees ought not to be reversed, since it is written, That we must not remove the Land-mark which our Fathers have given us. This is the true Opinion of Dionysius concerning this matter, and St. Jerome wrongfully accuses him to have been of St. Cyprian's Party, since he tells us in express Terms, That we ought to follow the Judgment of the Church in this Point. He says the same thing in his Letter to Dionysius, who was afterwards Bishop of Rome, and delivers his Sentiments there very boldly against Novatian. Lastly, He wrote a Letter, which is his Fifth, to Sixtus, concerning the Baptism of Hereticks; in which he maintains, That if a Man has been Baptized amongst Hereticks, with Ceremonies wholly different from those of the Church, and comes at last to discover it, after he has continued in the Church a long time, participating of the Prayers, and Communicating as others, without having been Baptized, he needs not be Baptized anew, since he has received the Body of Jesus Christ several times, and answered Amen with the rest of the Faithful. Eusebius seems to mention a sixth Letter, written upon the same occasion to the same Pope; where, as he tells us, he has examined this Question more copiously, though perhaps it is not different from this last.

After Sixtus's Death, Dionysius of Alexandria wrote a Letter concerning Lucian, to Dionysius that succeeded Pope Sixtus, towards the end of the year 258. 'Twas in this, or rather in the following year, that he wrote his Letter against Germanus; in which, after he has described the Persecution he suffered in the time of Decius; he relates what happened to him under that of Valerian; how the Prefect Emilianus prohibited him to hold any more

(a) Dionysius.] He is surnamed the Great, by the Ancients. Euseb. St. Basil. Ep. ad Amphil. Maximus and Metaphrastes give him this Name. He had formerly been a Rhetorician, if we may believe Maximus, upon the fifth Chapter of the Hierarchia Cœlestis. He was unquestionably descended of a good Family. See Eusebius Lib. 7. Ch. 11. and the Notes of Valefius.

(b) The third Year.] 'Tis so set down in Eusebius's History, Lib. 6. Chap. 35. and in his Chronicon 'tis the Fifth. But the Account of his History is the truest; for he supposes in his Chro-

nicon, that Philip reigned Seven years, whereas he was Emperor but Five.

(c) This is that Persecution.] Eusebius refers it to the Persecution under Valerian; but the Circumstances agree with what happened to him under the Persecution of Decius, and not what he suffered under the Persecution of Valerian, in which he was not carried away by Violence. One needs only consulting the two Fragments of his Letter to Germanus (where he gives an Account of what befel him in these two Persecutions) to be persuaded in the matter.



St. Dionysius of Alexandria. Assemblies of Christians; how having refused to obey his Orders, he was sent along with his Presbyters, to a Village near Cephro in Lybia; how these Proceedings did not hinder the Christians from holding their ordinary Assemblies. Lastly, how he preached the Gospel, and converted great numbers of Pagans to Christianity, whilst he tarried at Cephro.

While he continued in this Exile, he wrote some Paschal Letters; that is to say, Letters in form of Homilies upon the Festival of Easter; in which, according to the ancient Custom, he ascertains the time of that Feast. He sent one of them to Flavins, another to Domitius and Dymus, which I imagine to be different from the first that is addressed to the same Persons; wherein he proves, That the Feast of Easter ought not to be celebrated till after the vernal Equinox. He composed a Canon or Table of eight years. He likewise wrote another to the Church of Alexandria, and to many others. Peace was no sooner restored to the Church, but he returned back to Alexandria; though he was immediately obliged to depart from thence, by reason of a Sedition that arose in that City (d).

It was during this Retreat, that he wrote a Letter to Hierax, a passage out of which Eusebius has borrowed, that gives an Account of a Riot that happened at that time. He likewise wrote another Letter to his Church, which he sent to them on Easter-day.

A Pestilence (e) that succeeded this War, obliged St. Dionysius to comfort and encourage his Congregation with another Letter, in which he describes that admirable Charity wherewith the Christians relieved and buried those who were seized with the Plague in a lively manner.

In short, during the whole time of his Retirement, he never ceased to write to his Brethren, and did them more good by his Letters, than he could have done by his Presence. Eusebius mentions another Paschal Letter of his concerning the Sabbath, and one concerning spiritual Exercises, and a third to Hermamon, written in the seventh year of Galienus, which fell out in the year 264. Some Fragments of which he has preserved in Lib. 7. c. 1, 10, and 23. And yet St. Dionysius was not only content to exhort, or instruct the Faithful by his Letters; but he applied himself vigorously to confute and extinguish the Errors that sprung up in his time.

An Egyptian Bishop named Nepos, understanding the Promises of the Gospel in a gross Sense, and maintaining the Reign of Jesus Christ upon Earth for a thousand years, with an inflexible Obstinacy composed a Book which he Entituled, *A Confutation of the Allegorists*, where he endeavoured to prove his Opinion out of the *Apocalypse*. He brought over abundance of People to this Opinion in that part of Egypt that was called *Arfinoe*, which unhappily proved an Occasion of Schism and Division in those Churches. Dionysius happening to be there, judged it expedient to examine this Doctrine publicly: And because they generally set up Nepos's Book as an unanswerable Treatise, he confuted it *Viva voce*, and afterwards wrote two Books against it, Entituled, *Of the Divine Promises*. In the first, he delivers his own Opinion upon this Question. In the second, he answers all the Reasons urged by Nepos, and his Testimonies drawn out of the *Revelations*. Saying upon this last head, that some Persons have rejected the *Apocalypse*, as being the Book of the Heretick Cerinthus, who admitted of no other Beatitude, but that which consisted in carnal Pleasures; that as for himself, he durst not entirely reject it, since it was esteemed by a great many Christians, but that he was persuaded it had a hidden meaning, which could not be comprehended by any body; that he acknowledged that Book to be written by an Author inspired by the Holy Ghost, though he did not believe it to have been written by St. John the Evangelist, but by another of the same Name; as he endeavours to prove by the difference of the Style and Thoughts. Eusebius has preserved considerable Fragments of this Book, from whence we have drawn the above-mentioned Passages. See the third Book of his History, Ch. 28. and l. 7. Ch. 24, and 25.

Another Error, that Dionysius of Alexandria opposed and stifled (if I may use the Expression) in its Cradle, was much more considerable. There were several Bishops in Pentapolis that embraced the Error of Sabellius, who confounded the Three Persons of the Holy Trinity. This Opinion was so deeply rooted and established in those Quarters, that the Son of God was seldom mentioned in their Churches. Dionysius, to whom this Province belong-

ed, by virtue of the Preheminence of the Patriarchal See of Alexandria, to preside and watch over all the Churches of Egypt; sent his Legates to that place to undeceive the People that were in an Error; but being not able to go thither himself in Person, he was constrained to write to them to confute this Heresie. His first Letter was addressed to Ammon Bishop of Berenice, the second to Theleporus and Euphranor, and the last to Ammon and Euphorus. The end which he proposed to himself in writing these Letters, was to persuade these People, who had not been very well instructed, that the Father was not the Son, and that He was not the Father, but the Son that was Incarnate, and died for us. But that happened to Dionysius in this affair, that usually happens to most Men, that while he opposed and attack'd one Error, he spoke very favourably of the contrary. Thus going about to prove, that the Son was a distinct Person from the Father, he chanced to say, That he was the Work of the Father; That he was with respect to the Father, what a Vine is to the Vine-dresser, a Ship to the Builder. And lastly, That the Son did not exist before he was made. These Expressions, that seemed to establish an opposite Error to that of Sabellius, which afterwards was taken up by Arius, gave occasion to some well-affected Catholick Persons, to carry a Complaint to Dionysius Bishop of Rome, against the Bishop of Alexandria. But he being advertised of the Matter, wrote four Books which he presented to the Pope; wherein he refutes not only the Error of the Sabellians, but also that which was attributed to himself; and having desired the Pope to send him all the Objections that were urged against him, he wrote a Treatise which he called, *a Refutation and an Apology*; because he refutes the Errors of other Men, and likewise justifies himself. St. Athanasius, from whom I have borrowed this Account, relates divers other Passages, that were extracted out of this Work, in a Book which he wrote about the Opinion of Dionysius of Alexandria; in which, he invincibly proves against the Arians, (who had the Confidence to make use of his Authority) That his Notions of the Trinity were very conformable to those of the Church, though he did not much approve of the term Consubstantial.

To conclude, Dionysius of Alexandria a little before his Death, defended the Divinity of Jesus Christ against Paulus Samosatenus Bishop of Antioch: For, being invited to the Synod that was held at Antioch against that Heretick in the year 264, and not being able to go thither, by reason of his old Age and Infirmary, he wrote several Letters to the Church at Antioch, wherein he explains his own Opinion, and refutes the Error of Paulus Samosatenus, whom he looked upon as so great a Criminal for advancing this Error, that he would not even condescend to salute him in his Letter, considering him already as an Heretick, and one that was separated from the Church; as we find it observed by the Fathers of the Council of Antioch, and by Eusebius after them, in his seventh Book, Chap. 27. and 29.

Baronius thinks that this Letter of Dionysius, is the same with that which Turrianus published, which is inserted in the first Volume of the last Edition of the Councils, P. 850. But he is mistaken; for that Letter, which the Fathers of the Council of Antioch speak of, was written to the Church of Antioch; whereas we find this is addressed to Paulus Samosatenus, as appears by these first Words, *We answer what you demand of us, that we may oblige you to speak your Thoughts plainly and openly*. From whence it is manifest, That this Letter, if it is not supposititious, was written soon after the first Synod of Antioch, when Paulus Samosatenus promised to renounce his Opinion; and in all appearance seem'd to have chang'd it effectually. But it is probable enough, that this Letter, which is cited by none of the Ancients, and which was unknown to the World before Turrianus's time, was never written by Dionysius of Alexandria. For in the first place, The Fathers of the second Council of Antioch tell us plainly, That Dionysius of Alexandria would by no means salute Paulus Samosatenus: What reason is there therefore to imagine, that he wrote to him twice, as this Letter supposes? Secondly, The Style of this Letter is extremely different from that of the other Letters writ by Dionysius. In the third place, The Author of this Letter approves of the Word Consubstantial, and expressly tells us, That the Fathers called the Son of God by that Name. Now it is certain, that both Dionysius of Alexandria, and the Synod of Antioch, dis-

(d) *Arose in that City.* 'Tis undoubtedly that Commotion, that was occasioned by Emilianus, Governor of Alexandria, who caused that City, and likewise all Egypt, to revolt from the Emperor Galienus; as Pollio reports it. This Emilianus was a different Person from him that took up Arms in Masia, and marched against Gallus and Volusianus some years before. These two Emilians are distinguished in the Epitome of Aurelius Victor.

(e) *A Pestilence.* This Pestilence began in the time of Gallus and Volusianus, but it broke afresh under Gallus; as it is observed by Aurelius Victor and Pollio. Dionysius of Alexandria speaks of the latter Pestilence, and St. Cyprian of the former. Thus those Persons that imagined they spoke of the same Infection, are mistaken.



allowed that term; and in the time of St. *Dionysius*, a Man could not say, that the Fathers commonly made use of it. And if St. *Dionysius* of *Alexandria* had ever used it, is it to be believed that St. *Athanasius* would have forgotten or omitted so memorable a Passage, when he was writing in his Defence.

It is not to be imagined, that we have given a Catalogue of all the Works of *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*; for he composed so great a number, that notwithstanding all the Diligence that *Eusebius* used in drawing a perfect Catalogue, he is forced to say at last, *and several other Letters*. Now the Letters of this Father were Treatises, and his Treatises were written in the way of Letters; for after this manner he wrote some Books concerning *Nature*, to a young Gentleman named *Timotheus*; a Book of *Temptations* to *Euphranor*, and several Letters to *Basilides*; in one of which, he tells him that he had composed a Commentary upon the beginning of *Ecclesiastes*. We have only now one of his Letters to *Basilides*, printed in the first Tome of the Councils, where he treats of some matters relating to Discipline. 'Tis divided into four Canons; in the first of which, he discourses about the Fast, which the ancient Christians observed before *Easter*; and tells us, That some Christians fasted six days before *Easter*; others two, others three, after an extraordinary manner; That we ought not to break our Fast before Midnight; and that those that were able to hold on till *Easter*-morning, were more generous; That there were some Persons, who, though they did not fast at all, nay, had spent the four first days of the last Week in sumptuous and delicate Enter-

tainments, yet imagined they did wonderful things in fasting only two days: But that they were not to be compared with those that fasted several. In the second Canon he says, That Women ought not to enter into the Church, or receive the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ while they have their Courses, but to offer their Prayers to God at home; since none by right ought to enter the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, that is not pure in Body and Spirit. In the third, he particularly counsels those that are superannuated, to abstain from the use of Marriage, that they may the better attend their Devotions. In the fourth, he leaves those Persons that have had an Illusion in the Night-time, at liberty to receive or forbear the Eucharist, following the Dictates and Motions of their own Consciences.

*Anastasius* of *Nice*, in his 23d Question upon *Genesis*, cites a passage drawn out of a Book of *Dionysius* of *Alexandria* against *Origen*; but there is no ground to believe that it was written by our *Dionysius*, who was so far from being his Adversary, that he was both his Disciple and Defender. He died in the year 264, after he had held the See of *Alexandria* seventeen years, and had one *Maximus* for his Successor. The Style of this Author is pompous and lofty; he is excellent in his Descriptions and Exhortations; in his Polemical Discourses he falls upon his Adversaries with all the Vigor imaginable; he perfectly well understood the Opinion, the Discipline and Precepts of the Church; he had a sound piercing Judgment; he was very moderate, very discreet, and ready to take Advice. In short, the Loss of his Works is one of the most considerable Losses we could have sustained in this kind.

## THEO G N O S T U S.

*Theognostus* of *Alexandria*, is an Author, (unknown to *Eusebius* and St. *Jerome*) whom St. *Athanasius* cites with Commendation, and whose Books were extant in *Photius*'s time, who read them over. We don't precisely know the time when he liv'd, though we cannot doubt but he was some time after *Origen*, and long before the Council of *Nice*. *Photius* informs us, That he composed seven Books, Entituled, *Hypotyposes*; that is to say, *Instructions*; and he gives us this Account of that Work: In the first Book he treats of the Father, and endeavours to shew, ' That he is the Creator of all things, against the Opinion of those that suppose Matter to be Eternal. In the second, he advances some Arguments, whereby he pretends it necessarily follows, that the Father had a Son; but speaking of this Son, he says, ' That he is a Creature above all Creatures that have Reason: He likewise attributes to the Son of God several other Qualities of the like nature, as *Origen* has done: Whether he was of the same Opinion, or whether he speaks after that manner, rather by way of dispute, than a Design to propose his own as true Doctrine; or in short, whether he was somewhat mistaken in the Truth, and that to accommodate himself to the weakness of his Auditors, who having no knowledge of the true Religion, were not capable of comprehending a perfect Instruction, he supposed it more expedient to give them an imperfect Knowledge of the Son of God, than not to speak of him at all. But though a Man may follow this Method in a Dispute, or in a Discourse, when he is constrained to say the same things often, that are not altogether conformable to his own Opinion of the matter; yet 'tis a Weakness to make use of this Pretence, to excuse those Errors that are published in any Book, where we are obliged to speak the Truth to all the World. In the third Book, speaking of the Holy Ghost, he brings some Arguments to prove, that there is an Holy Ghost; but in the rest he falls into the same Extravagancies with those of *Origen* in his Book of *Principles*. In the fourth, he talks erroneously about Angels and Demons, and assigns small Bodies to them. In the fifth and sixth, he treats of the Incarnation, and uses all his Endeavours to demonstrate after this manner, That it was possible for God to make himself Man. This Book likewise is full of several groundless Fancies: As for Example, when he has a mind to prove that the Son of God is circumscribed in place by our Imagination; tho' in Truth he cannot be known there. In the seventh, which he wrote concerning the Creation of God, he discourseth of Matters of Religion after a manner conformable to the Doctrine of the Church, and especially of the Son of God, of whom he treats in the last part. His Style is elevated, and very *Ἀνίστητο ὁ Θεὸς ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας*: His Discourses have the Beauty of Old *Athens*, but without Affectation, so that in his Compositions he does not go very far from the ordinary manner of Conversation; and yet he avoids saying mean things.

Thus I have shewn you what *Photius* has informed us of this Author. St. *Athanasius* calls him an admirable Man, studious and eloquent; and is so far from accusing him for having any unorthodox Sentiments about the Divinity of the WORD, that he cites him as a Witness of Consistency. ' Learn (says he) O *Arians*, ye Rebels to Jesus Christ, that the Eloquence of *Theognostus* has made use of the Word Substance; for behold after what manner he discourseth in his second Book of *Instructions*: ' The Substance of the Son is not a strange Substance, he was not produced of Nothing, but was begotten of the Substance of the Father, as the Ray is of the Light, or a Vapour of Water; for the Vapour is not Water, nor is the Ray Light; but neither one nor the other is a Stranger to that which produces it: Thus the Son is as it were the gentle running of the Substance of the Father; yet so as that the Father suffers no Division: For as the Sun is not diminished though it produces Rayes continually; so likewise the Father is not diminished in begetting the Son, who is his Image. This Passage, and the Authority of St. *Athanasius*, ought to convince us, that *Photius* hath wrongfully accused *Theognostus* to have erred concerning the Divinity of the Son, upon the score of a few Expressions that did not agree with those of his own Age; without taking notice, that though the Ancients have spoken differently as to this Point, yet the Foundation of the Doctrine was always the same; and that it is an horrid Injustice to require them to speak as nicely, and with as much Precaution, as those who lived after the Birth and Condemnation of Heresies. But 'tis an ordinary Fault with *Photius*, who lived in an Age when these Mysteries were illustrated, and in which People talked with a great deal of Exactness, to condemn the Ancients almost all along with too much Severity.

The same St. *Athanasius* in another Work concerning the Explication of these Words in the Gospel; *He that blasphemeth against the Holy Ghost shall receive Forgiveness of his Sin, neither in this World, nor in that to come*; tells us, that *Origen* and *Theognostus* have written, that the Sin against the Holy Ghost was falling away after Baptism, and after he has delivered the passage out of *Origen*: He likewise adds that out of *Theognostus*, who says, ' That he who has passed only the first or second Bounds is less culpable; but he that passes the third, has no hopes of Pardon. That the first and second Bound is the Knowledge of the Father, and that the third is Baptism, which makes us Partakers of the Holy Ghost; which is confirmed by these Words of the Gospel, *I have still many things to tell you*, &c. after which, continues he, ' Our Saviour levels (if I may so say) his Discourse in Favour of those who cannot comprehend the most perfect things; whereas the Holy Ghost dwells in those who are perfect. But we must not therefore conclude, ' That the Doctrine of the Holy Ghost surpasseth that of Jesus Christ, but that our Saviour abaseth himself in favour



*Theognostus.* your of those that are not altogether perfect; whereas the Holy Ghost is the Seal of Perfection, which we receive in Baptism: Thus it is not that the Holy Ghost is more excellent than the Son, because the Sin which is committed against him, is without hopes of Remission; but it is, that these imperfect Men, that is to say, those that are not baptized, may obtain Forgiveness of their Sin;

whereas those that have once tasted the Celestial Gifts, and once are touched, have no more excuse, nor means to avoid Punishment. St. *Athanasius* afterwards confutes this Explication, which appears to be very agreeable to the Opinion of *Novatian*, and gives another Interpretation, which is far more natural.

## ATHENOGENES.

*Athenogenes.* **T**O *Theognostus* we may joyn the Martyr *Athenogenes*, who composed a Hymn, before he was cast into the Fire, wherein he speaks of the Trinity; as St.

*Basil* assures us in the 29th Chapter of his Book of the Holy Ghost.

## DIONYSIUS Bishop of Rome.

*Dionysius Bishop of Rome.* **D***ionysius* Bishop of *Rome*, who presided in that See, from the year 258. to the year 270. writ a Letter against the *Sabellians*, a Fragment whereof remains still preserved by St. *Athanasius* in his Book concerning the Decision of the Council of *Nice*; in which, discoursing against the *Sabellians*, he falls upon the contrary Doctrine, that was afterwards maintained by

the *Arians*. He proves that the WORD was not Created, but Begotten of the Father from all Eternity, and distinctly explains the Mystery of the Trinity. This Fragment is plainly taken out of a Letter written by *Dionysius*, in the Name of the *Roman* Synod, at the time when *Dionysius* of *Alexandria* was accused of falling into the opposite Error to that of the *Sabellians*.

## MALCHION.

*Malchion.* **M***alchion*, a very eloquent Man, was (after he had taught the prophane Sciences with a great deal of Reputation in the City of *Antioch*) ordained Presbyter of that Church, for the Purity of his Faith and his Doctrine. He had a famous Dispute against *Paulus Samosatenus* in the second Council of *Antioch*, held in the year 270. in which, after he had clearly discovered the Errors which that Heretick endeavoured to conceal, he prevailed with the Council to condemn him. This Conference was taken in Writing by some Notaries, and was extant not only in the time of *Eusebius*

and St. *Jerome*, who mention it, but also in the time of *Leontius*; that is to say, towards the end of the sixth Century: He speaks of it in his first Book against the *Nestorians*, and recites some Fragments of it in the third Book. However it is not certain that they are genuine, any more than the Fragments of another Letter of the Council of *Antioch*, mentioned by *Eusebius*. St. *Jerome* tells us, that he was likewise Author of a Letter written in the Name of that Council, against *Paulus Samosatenus*, and spoken of by *Eusebius* in the seventh Book of his History, Chap. 30.

## ARCHELAUS.

*Archelaus.* **A***rchelaus* Bishop of *Mesopotamia*, published a Dispute in the Syriack Language, which he had with a Heretick of the *Manichean* Party, that came out of *Persia*; and St. *Jerome* assures us, that in his time it was Translated into Greck. This Author flourished in the time of the Emperor *Probus*. There is a Fragment of this Writing in the Sixth Catechetick

Lecture of St. *Cyril* of *Jerusalem*. [This Dispute it self, Translated into Latin by an Ancient Hand, was published by *Valesius* at the end of the Edition of *Socrates* and *Sozomen* at *Paris*, 1668. It is imperfect. *Bigotius* found it in the *Ambrosian* Library at *Milan*, and communicated it to *Valesius*.]

## ANATOLIUS.

*Anatolius.* **A**Bout the same time, under the same Emperor, and under *Carus* his Successor, *Anatolius* also flourished, born at *Alexandria*, and Bishop of *Laodicea*, in *Syria*; a Man of profound Learning, very well skill'd in *Arithmetick*, *Geometry*, *Physick*, *Astronomy*, *Grammar*, and *Rhetoric*. *Eusebius* and St. *Jerome* assure us, that the greatness of his Spirit, the force of his Eloquence, and the depth of his Knowledge, abundantly appear in a Book of his concerning *Easter*; and that he shew'd the Dexterity of his Address and Politicks in the Siege of *Alexandria*, which by his prudent Counsels he saved from an entire Destruction that threatned it. *Eusebius* in the last Chapter of his Seventh Book, has preserved a Fragment of this Treatise about *Easter*, concerning the time wherein that Festival is to be Celebrated. This same Author likewise composed Ten Books of *Arithme-*

*tick*, and left behind him several Monuments of his Learning and Exactness; particularly in those things that concerned the Holy Scriptures.

*Ægidius Bucherius* hath given us an entire Version of the Treatise about *Easter*, by *Anatolius*, which he copied out of an ancient Manuscript. He pretends that it was done by *Ruffinus*, and that it answers the Treatise of *Anatolius*. And indeed, the Fragment cited by *Eusebius*, is to be found entirely in Latin, and the passages cited by *Bede* are there word for word. But it would be no strange thing, for an Impostor to insert a Passage mentioned by *Eusebius*, that was so easie to find, and for this Work to be forged since *Bede*'s time. Though I am of Opinion, that this Canon is ancient, though full of Errors, and perhaps a little corrupted by him that Translated it.



## VICTORINUS.

Victorinus.

**V**ictorinus Bishop of Passaw (a), a City of the ancient Pannonia, situate upon the Drave in Styria, and not of Poitiers in France, passeth for a very indifferent Author. St. Jerome says of him, That he did not understand Latin so well as Greek (b); that the Style of his Works is simple and mean, though the Sense is very high; that he had no Notion of Style, though he understood the Holy Scriptures very well; that he had no Learning, but that he had great Inclinations that way. His Works, whereof St. Jerome has composed a Catalogue, are, besides a Treatise against all Heresies, some Commentaries upon Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Isaiah; and as far as the Vision of the Four-footed Beasts in Ezekiel; Ecclesiastes, the Canticles, and the Revelations (c).

We have in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, a Commentary upon the *Apocalypse* by Victorinus, with a Preface attributed to St. Jerome. It is said in this Preface, that Victorinus was of the same Opinion with Papias and Nepos, touching the Reign of the Thousand Years; and the very same thing is likewise observed by St. Jerome in his Catalogue. Nevertheless we find the contrary in this Commentary, and that Opinion seems to be plainly rejected there, as belonging to the Heretick Cerinthus. There is also menti-

oned in this Book an Epitome of Theodorus, who reckoned Twenty Four Books of the Old Testament. Now this Theodorus having lived under Justinian, we must of necessity conclude, that the Author of this Commentary lived since that time; however, 'tis far more probable that this Citation of Theodorus has been added since, because the Author of this Commentary lived before Justinian's Age. For he believed with the Ancients that the Souls of Men should not be happy till after the Day of Judgment; and that Nero was Antichrist; which Opinions were nowhere maintained in Justinian's time. 'Tis likewise very probable, that they have altered somewhat of what he says in his Commentary, concerning the Reign of the Thousand Years; besides that, he formally rejects only the Error of Cerinthus, who believed no other Beatitude but that of a Temporal Reign. 'I don't believe, says he, that the Reign of the Thousand Years will be at the end of the Judgment; or if there is one, we ought to believe that it ends after the Thousand Years are compleated. Thus we cannot be certainly assur'd, that this Commentary does not belong to Victorinus; on the contrary, 'tis somewhat probable that it is his.

Victorinus.

(a) Bishop of Passaw, a City of the Ancient Pannonia, and not of Poitiers in France.] Monsieur Launoy has written a Dissertation on purpose, to prove that he was not Bishop of Poitiers in France, but of a City in Pannonia called Perabion or Petavion, now called Passaw. He quotes in this Dissertation Five several places of St. Jerome, where mention is made of this Victorinus, twice in his Catalogue, once against Vigilantius, once against Helvidius, and once upon the Thirty sixth Chapter of Ezekiel; we find in the ancient Editions Perabionensis, or Petavionensis, or Pictabionensis or Pictabionensis; and that he is also called by this Name in the Martyrologies of Usuardus and Ado, and in some other Ancient Writers, as well as in the first Edition of the Councils by Merlinus; and in the Edition of the Commentary upon the *Apocalypse* attributed to this Author. And he concludes from all these Authorities, and from several other reasons that he produceth, that this Victorinus was not Bishop of Poitiers, but of a certain City in Pannonia called Perabion or Petavion, and now Passaw. He likewise observes in another small Dissertation, that there were

five Authors of this Name. The First is the Defender of the Opinion of Praxeas, whereof Tertullian makes mention. The Second is our Author. The Third is a Rhetorician of Rome, of whom St. Austin speaks in the eighth Book of his Confessions, Chap. 2. The Fourth is mentioned by Gennadius, who was of Marseilles. And the last is an Orator, surnamed Lampadius, mentioned by Photius, Cod. 101. See this Dissertation.

(b) St. Jerome saith of him, that he did not understand Latin so well as Greek.] These passages of St. Jerome are in this Catalogue: *Non aque Latine ut Grace noverat; inde opera ejus grandia sensibus, viliora sunt compositione verborum.* And in his Commentary upon Isaiah, Lib. 1. *Imperitus sermone, non tamen scientia.* Epist. ad Magnum: *Victorino Martyri in suis libris licet desit eruditio, non deest tamen eruditionis voluntas.*

(c) And upon the Revelations.] He likewise wrote some other Works, and made a Commentary upon St. Matthew, as St. Jerome tells us, *Prefat. in Matt.* And in his Catalogue he says, That he composed several other Works.

## PIERIUS.

Pierius.

**P**ierius, a Priest and Catechist of Alexandria, instructed the People of that Church under the Empire of Carus and Dioclesian, at the same time when Theonas was Bishop of that Place. He composed several sorts of Treatises, that were extant in St. Jerome's time, with so much Eloquence, that he was called the young Origen. It is certain, he lived a very austere Life, and embraced a voluntary Poverty. He was excellently well skilled in Logick and Rhetoric. The Persecution being ended, he came to Rome, where he continued a considerable time. He wrote a great Homily upon Hosea, which he recited on Easter-Eve, wherein he takes notice, that in his time on Easter-Eve the People tarried in the Church till after Midnight. Photius tells us, That in this Homily he discoursed about the Cherubims that Moses placed over the Ark. The same Author read another Work composed by Pierius, but he does not acquaint us

with the Title of it, that contained a dozen Volumes; in which, according to the Testimony of Photius, he has some particular Opinions different from those of the Church. His Doctrine upon the Trinity is Orthodox concerning the Persons of the Father and the Son, though he uses the Word *Substance* and *Nature* to signify a Person. But his manner of speaking about the Holy Ghost is dangerous, and scarce Orthodox; because he says, That the Glory of the latter is less than the Glory of the Father and the Son. Photius moreover adds, that he wrote a Book upon St. Luke's Gospel; in which he proves, That the Disrespect shewn to Images, falls back upon that which they represent. As for his Style, he tells us, It is clear, smooth and easie; that it is by no means elaborate, but flows equally and gently, as in Discourses composed *Extempore*; and that it is full of Enthymems.

Pierius.

## METHODIUS.

Methodius.

**M**ethodius, Bishop of Olympus or Patara (a) in Lycia, and afterwards of Tyre in Palestine, (who suffered Martyrdom at Chalcis, a City of Greece, towards the end of Dioclesian's Persecution in the Year 302. or 303) composed in a clear elaborate Style, a large Work against Porphyrius the Philosopher; an excellent Treatise about the Resurrection against Origen; another about the Pythonissa against the same; a Book Entitled, *The Banquet of Virgins*; one about *Free-Will*; Commentaries upon Genesis and the Canticles, and several o-

(a) OR Patara.] St. Jerome tells us, he was Bishop of Olympus; Suidas adds, or of Patara. Though we are not therefore to think that there were two Methodius's. But it is probable that Patara, which was a City of Lycia, was likewise called Olympus; because it was built upon a Mountain so called. Methodius likewise calls himself Eubulus, and that is the Name he uses in his *Banquet of Virgins*. Eusebius does not speak

ther Pieces that were extant in St. Jerome's time. At present, besides *The Banquet of Virgins* that was published entire not long ago by Possinus a Jesuit, we have several considerable Fragments of this Author cited by St. Epiphanius and Photius, and others, found in Manuscripts, and collected together by Father Combefis, who has Printed them, together with the Works of Amphilochius and Andreas Cretensis. But afterwards Possinus found *The Banquet of Virgins* entire in a Manuscript belonging to the Vatican Library, and Translated it into Latin, and sent it

Methodius.

of this Author, because he wrote against Origen. St. Jerome reports, that some Persons said, he suffered Martyrdom in the time of Decius and Valerian; which Account is followed by Suidas. But St. Jerome, and the Martyrologies after him, relate that he suffered Martyrdom at Chalcis towards the end of the last Persecution.

into



Methodius. into France, where it was Printed in the Year 1657. Revised and Corrected by another Manuscript. We cannot doubt, that this is the true genuine Work of *Methodius*; as well because it carries all the Marks of Antiquity in it, that a Book can possibly have; as also because it contains Word for Word all the Passages that *Phozius* has cited out of this Work of *Methodius*; and another place cited by St. *Gregory Nyssen*. 'Tis written by way of Dialogue, in which he introduces a Woman named *Gregorium*, who tells her Friend *Eubulus* all the Conversation that passed in a Meeting of Ten Virgins, which she learnt of *Theopatra*. It was composed by *Methodius*, in imitation of a certain Book, very much resembling it, written by *Plato*, and Entitled, *The Banquet of Socrates*. After that *Gregorium* and *Eubulus* have exchanged the usual Compliments, and *Gregorium* has given a short Description of the Place, where these Ten Virgins were assembled; she feigns that *Arete*, in whose Garden they were met, requests each of them to make a Discourse upon Virginity; which she repeats one after the other.

The First is that of *Marcella*, who enlarges very much upon the Greatness and Excellence of Virginity. She makes it appear how choice a thing Virginity is; and that it is a difficult thing to preserve it amidst so many Thousand Temptations we meet with: That it is necessary to meditate incessantly upon the Holy Scripture, in order to keep it unspotted and undefiled: That Virginity was scarce so much as known under the ancient Law, when Men were permitted to Marry even their own Sisters, and to take several Wives: But that God by little and little has taught Men, in the first place to preserve their Chastity, and afterwards to embrace Virginity: That Jesus Christ came into the World to instruct them in this Virtue by the Influence of his own Example; that he is the Prince of Virgins, as well as the Prince of Pastors; that the Company of Virgins has the first place in his Kingdom; though they are the least in number: And this she justifies by a Passage out of the *Revelations*, Chap. the 14th.

Since this Conversation of *Marcella* might seem to throw some Disreputation upon the Sanctity of Marriage, *Theophila* proves in the second place, that Jesus Christ in making the great Excellencies of Virginity known to the World, did not design thereby to banish Marriage, and entirely abolish so Sacred an Institution. She says, That the Ecstasie of *Adam* denotes and signifies the Passion of Marriage; that God is the Author of Generation, and that he forms the Infants that come into the World. Here *Marcella* interrupts the Series of her Discourse, and enquires of her, How it comes to pass, if Infants are conceived and born by the Will of God, that he permits the Children of Adulterers to come into the World; that these Children thrive, and are often more perfect in their Body and Mind, and also become better Christians than others: That nevertheless, Experience daily acquaints us with the truth of this Assertion; so that we ought to understand this Saying in the Scripture, *The Children of Adulterers shall be consumed by Fire*, only of those that corrupt the Word of God. *Theophila* returns this Answer to the Objection, That God is not the Author of Adulterers, though he forms the Infants that are born of such Copulations; and this she illustrates by the Example of a Man that makes Earthen Vessels in a place enclosed with four Walls full of Holes, through which he is furnished with Clay, of which he makes his Work: Now if those that serve him are mistaken in taking one hole for another, and it so happen that his Work is not such as it ought to be, the fault would lie neither in the Workman himself, nor in the Clay, but in those that had made a wrong Application of the matter; That after the same manner, we ought not to cast the Sin of Adulterers either upon God that makes Men, or upon the Matter of which they are made, or upon the Power that is given to Men to beget Children, but upon the wicked Inclinations of those Persons that use these things in a dishonest manner; that every thing in the World is really Good in it self, but becomes ill through the ill use and management of it. She continues afterwards to prove, by the admirable Beauty and Harmony that so visibly appears in the Contexture of our Bodies, that God is the Author of them. She observes that all Infants, even those that are begotten in Adultery, have their tutelar Angels to guard them immediately after their Conception; that the Soul is in its Nature immortal; that it is not generated by our Parents, but proceeds from God who inspireth it. In short, after she has thus answered this Objection, she concludes, That it is permitted for Men to Marry, though Virginity is a more perfect State than Marriage.

The Third Discourse goes under the Name of *Thalia*, who applies the words of *Adam* to his Wife in *Genesis*, to our Blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, and his Church; and following the Opinion of the Apostle, she adds, That the Word was the Wisdom of God; who existing before all

Methodius. Ages, communicated himself after a very particular manner to the first Man; but that Man having violated and transgressed the Commandments of God, became Mortal and Corruptible; and that it was necessary for the Word to make himself Man, to deliver him from the Curse and Tyranny he had rendered himself obnoxious to, and save him from Corruption by his own Death and Resurrection. That it is upon this account, that the Son of God came into the World, to unite himself to the Church as to his Spouse, which through this means became his Flesh and his Bone; that he died for her; that he purified her by Baptism, and by his Holy Spirit; that these words, *Increase and Multiply*, are accomplished and fulfilled every day in the Church, which encreases in Greatness and Beauty by the Communication of the Word, and by the Union it maintains with him; that *Catechumens* are as it were Infants, that are as yet in their Mothers Belly, that being perfectly instructed, they are born through Baptism, and at last become perfect full grown Men; that we ought not therefore to abuse these Words, and employ them, to oppose Virginity, to which St. *Paul* exhorts the Faithful, not allowing Marriage it self, and second Marriages in particular, but as a Remedy for Incontinence; like one that should desire a Person that is Sick and Indisposed to eat on a Fast-day, and say to him, *It were to be wished that you were able to Fast, as all of us have done to day, for you know eating is forbidden; but since you are sick, it is expedient for you to eat, that you may not die*.

In the Fourth Discourse, that goes under the Name of *Theopatra*, it is maintained, That nothing is more efficacious than Virginity, to make a Man enter again into Paradise, and enjoy a blessed Immortality.

In the Fifth, *Thalusa* endeavours to demonstrate, That the most excellent Gift we can present to God, and the most worthy of Him, is to embrace Virginity; and she gives several Cautions and Advertisements to Virgins how to preserve their Virginity without Spot or Blemish.

*Agatha*, that manages the Conference after *Thalusa*, undertakes to prove in the Sixth Discourse, that Virginity ought to be accompanied with Virtue and good Works; and to this purpose she explains the Parable of the Ten Virgins.

*Procilla* afterwards begins the Seventh Discourse, wherein she shews the Excellency of Virginity; because of all Virtues, this is that which has the Honour to be the Spouse of Jesus Christ. She explains a certain place out of the Sixth Chapter of the *Canticles*, ver. 7. and 8. *There are threescore Queens, and fourscore Concubines, and Virgins without number. My dove, my undefiled is but one*.

*Thecla*, assuming the Discourse after this, observes, That the Greek word that signifies Virginity, only by adding one Letter to it, denotes an Union with God, and a frequentation of Heavenly Things. She takes occasion from thence to shew, That Virginity elevates us up to Heaven, and makes us despise the Vanity of things below; and having cited a place in the *Revelations*, Chap. 12. concerning a Woman that is there described, she explains it of the Church. In short, after she has drawn some Allegories from Numbers, she exhorts all Virgins to persevere in their Virginity, and to resist the Attacks of the Serpent; that is to say, the Temptations of the Devil. From thence she launches out into other matter, and shows that Men are free Agents, and that they are not necessitated to do good or ill by the Influences and Configurations of the Stars, deriding the Effects that the Astrologers attribute to the Constellations because of their Names. 'For, says she, if there was any such thing as fatal Necessity from the beginning of the World, it was to no purpose for God to place the Stars of Men, and the Stars of Beasts in order; and that if there was not a necessity at that time, wherefore should God establish it, since the World was then in its full perfection, and in a time which they called the *Golden Age*? She afterwards demonstrates, That if we were necessitated by the Fatality of our Nativity under such and such a Constellation, it would follow, that God who is the Author of the Stars, and of their Motion and Disposition, would likewise be the Author of Sin and Iniquity. She adds, That Laws being contrary to things that are done by a fatal Necessity, it is impossible that these Laws should be made by mere Fatality. 'For, says she, it is not to be supposed that this Fatality would destroy it self. Now, if those that had a share in making these Laws, were not subject to this fatal Necessity, why should we not pass the very same Judgment upon others? Besides, if such a Fatality really took place, it would be Injustice either to recompence the Good, or punish the Bad; or rather, there would be neither Good nor Evil in the World, since every one would be constrained to Good or Evil. Afterwards to explain the Cause of Evil, she says, There are two contrary Motions in us; one of which is called the *Concupiscence of the Flesh*; the other, the *Concupiscence of the Spirit*; that This is the Original of all Good, and the Other the Cause of all Evil.



*Methodius*. After this, *Tyflana* taking up the Discourse, explains in the Ninth Discourse a place of *Leviticus*, v. 36. Chap. 23. where mention is made of the Feast of the Seventh Month; that is to say, the Fifteenth of *September*, which is the *Scenopegia*, or *Feast of Tabernacles*. She reprehends the *Jews* for stopping at the bare Letter of Scripture, without penetrating into the hidden mysterious Sense; and for taking the Figures of things to come, as Marks of things that were already past. She instances in the *Paschal Lamb*, which they did not comprehend to be a Type of *Jesus Christ*, who at the Day of Judgment shall save Souls marked with his own Blood; That the Law was the Figure of the Gospel; That these Shadows and Representations are no more, but that we shall have a perfect Knowledge of all things when we shall be raised up from the Dead; That Man was created Immortal, but that his Sin causing him to incline towards the Earth, God made him Mortal, lest he should continue a Sinner everlastingly; That for this reason he separated the Soul from the Body; that so the Sin, which is in the Body, being dead and destroyed, he might raise it up again immortal, and delivered from the tyranny of Sin; That we ought to adorn this Body, which may be called a Tabernacle, with Faith, with Charity, Virtue, and particularly with Chastity; That those that live chaste in the state of Marriage, adorn it in part, but not so perfectly as those that have made a Profession of Virginity; That those Persons who have thus adorned and set out the Tabernacle of their Bodies in this Life, shall enjoy after the Resurrection a Thousand Years of Repose and Felicity upon the Earth with *Jesus Christ*, that afterwards they shall follow him to Heaven; and that this is the promised Beatitude, in which there shall be no more Tabernacles; that is to say, in which our Bodies shall be changed, and become incorruptible, and Men shall be made like Angels.

Lastly, *Domnina*, to shew the Excellency of Virginity, falls into a very obscure Allegory upon a place of Scripture taken out of the Book of *Judges*. After her Harangue is ended, *Arete*, assuming the Discourse, tells them, That to be truly a Virgin, it is not sufficient barely to preserve and keep Continence of Body, but that it is likewise necessary to purifie ones self from all Sensual Desires; That we actually dishonour and sully Virginity, when we abandon our selves to Pride, or permit a Spirit of Vanity to possess us, because we have preserved our Bodies chaste; That this is to do like the Pharisees, who made every thing appear clean without, while they were full of Impurities within; That we ought to be Virgins both in Body and Spirit, and that we must watch and labour incessantly, lest Idleness and Negligence give an open Entrance to other Sins. After this Discourse, all of them sing their Prayers, and several times repeat, 'I preserve my self chaste for thee, O my Divine Spouse, and desire to walk before thee with a burning Lamp. At last, *Gregorium* and *Methodius* (surnamed *Eubulus*, who entertained themselves with the Discourses of these Virgins) discuss this Question, viz. Who were the most perfect Virgins, either those that feel no Motions of Desire, or those that feel them, and though they are assaulted and tormented by them, yet heroically resist and extinguish them? *Gregorium* gave the Preference to the first: But *Methodius* shews her by the Example of Mariners, Physicians, and Wrestlers; that those Virgins who preserve themselves chaste in the midst of those violent Agitations and Tempests that are excited by their Passions, who have the Art to cure the various Diseases of Concupiscence, and cannot only resist, but also defeat the disorderly Motions of the Flesh, deserve a great deal more than those that have no Appetites and Inclinations to struggle with.

This Dialogue is full of Allegories, and Citations out of Scripture explained in a mystical Sense; and the Doctrine contained in it is exceeding orthodox. He does not condemn, or speak dishonourably of Marriage, even when he is setting out Virginity to the greatest Advantages; a Moderation seldom to be found in the Ancients. *Photinus* tells us, That this Book has been corrupted by the Hereticks; and that there are some Expressions in it, which the *Arians* use. And indeed he tells us in the seventh Discourse, that the Son who is above all Creatures, made use of the Testimony of the Father, who alone is greater than he. But if by reason of this single Expression, we must immediately cry out, that this Dialogue has been abused by the *Arians*, we must likewise say the same thing of the Gospel of *St. John*; and there is no greater difficulty in giving a good Sense to this Expression in *Methodius*, than in the Gospel; and so much the rather, since in the same place, and indeed as often as he speaks of the WORD in this Dialogue, he says, That he was before all Ages: And towards the end of the following Discourse, which is the eighth, explaining these Words of the Psalmist, *Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee*. 'We ought to observe (cries he) that he says, *Thou art my Son*;

being willing to have it known that he had from all time the Quality of the Son, that he will never cease to have it, and that he who was begotten, was, and ever will be the same. As for what concerns the following Passage, *this day have I begotten thee*; it is to shew, that he who was before all Ages in Heaven, was born in Time for the Good of the World. A little after he takes occasion to speak of the Hereticks, who have erred concerning the Trinity. 'Some of them (says he) as *Sabellius*, have erred concerning the Person of the Father, who maintained that it was the Almighty that suffered: Others concerning the Son, as *Artemas* and some others, that affirm, he was only a Man in outward Appearance: Others concerning the Holy Ghost, as the *Ebionites*, who pretend that the Prophets spake of themselves: For I will not speak of *Marcion*, *Valentinus*, and *Helcesastes*. These Words demonstrate, that we may very well defend *Methodius* from the Imputation of any Error concerning the Trinity. I cannot spend any more time to observe, that he taught the Opinion of the Millenaries in this Treatise, or to give an exact relation of his Doctrine, which may be learnt out of the Abridgment we have made of his *Banquet of the Virgins*. The Treatise of the Resurrection was written against *Origen's* Opinion, who believed that Men were not to be raised up again from the Dead in the Flesh. This Book also was composed in form of a Dialogue between *Aglaophon*, who maintained *Origen's* Assertion, and *Proclus*, and *Methodius* or *Eubulus*, who dispute against him. *St. Epiphanius* has cited a large Fragment of it in his Account of the Heresie of *Origen*; and Father *Combefis* has added some other Fragments to it, taken out of a Manuscript of *Sirmondus*. He first of all proves under the Person of *Proclus*, That Man was created Immortal, that Death was occasioned by his Sin, of which it is the Punishment; That Sin was caused by the Envy of the Devil; and that the Devil himself, who was created in Righteousness like to the other Angels, fell through the Sin of Envy, and an inordinate Passion he had for Women; That our first Parents had a real Body and real Flesh before their Transgression; That the Fig-leaves wherewith they covered themselves, denote that after the Death of Man, Sin shall be entirely rooted out of the Heart: For, though Men's Sins are blotted out by Baptism, yet nevertheless there remains a Root still, that shoots up young Branches in this Life: So that all we can do to hinder these Branches from spreading, is to root them up, and prune them often with the Pruning-knife of the Word of God. He tells us, that Man is like a cast Statue, which having been disfigured by some Accident, the Workman that made it, casts it anew before he erects it again; That after the same manner, God Almighty who made Man, was willing that his Work which was disfigured by Sin, should be destroyed by Death, that so he might re-establish him by the Resurrection; That it is a folly to imagine a Resurrection of the Soul, since the Soul does not die; That Air, Earth, Heaven and the World shall not be destroyed at the Day of Judgment, but that they shall only be purged and renewed by the Fire of Heaven; That Men shall not change their Nature at the Resurrection, and that they shall not be transformed into Angels, but that they still have Body and Flesh, though immortal and incorruptible. All this is extracted from the Words of *Proclus*. *St. Epiphanius* afterwards cites those of *Methodius*, who continues to refute *Origen's* Error about the Resurrection, and who likewise endeavours to prove in the same place against the same Author, That the Body cannot pass the Chains and Prison of the Soul; That the Paradise where *Adam* lived was upon Earth; That Man does not consist of the Soul alone, as *Plato* believed, but that the Body and Soul are the two parts of him; That 'tis fabulous to say, that Souls were thrown headlong down from Heaven in their Bodies, or that they passed through Vortices of Elementary Fire, and through the Waters of the Firmament before they came to the Earth. And at last he makes several curious useful Remarks upon the Scriptural Notion of Flesh, and of the Sin that dwells in our Bodies, explaining at the same time several places of the Apostle. *Photinus* has cited these Explications all along, and added besides, what the same Author has delivered about those Persons that were raised up to Life before *Jesus Christ*, about the Apparitions of the Dead, and the Parable of *Dives* and *Lazarus*; in which he concludes, that Souls keep the Form of their Bodies in another World, and are there punished and rewarded before the Day of Judgment. There still remains a certain Passage of it, which is supposed to belong to the same Work quoted by *St. John Damascene*, in his third Oration concerning Images; wherein he says, 'That Christians make Golden Images representing Angels for the Glory of God. But I very much question whether this Passage belongs to *Methodius*; or if it does, it must be taken in another Sense than that in which *St. John Damascene*



*Methodius*. *Methodius* understood it; and that by *Angels, Principalities* and *Powers*, he means the Kings of the Earth, as the words that immediately precede seem to intimate.

The Treatise of *Free-Will* was composed in Form of a Dialogue or Dispute between a *Valentinian* and a *Catholick*. The former affirms, That Matter which is Eternal, was the cause of Evil, or of Sin. On the other hand, the Orthodox Christian makes it appear, that there could not be two Eternal Principles; that if Matter were Eternal, yet Evil would not be Eternal, because the Qualities of Matter could not be Eternal; that Matter is not the cause of Evil; and that God is not the cause of Evil, because Evil consists not in a real thing, but in the ill use that we make of our Liberty; that Man having been created with a Liberty either to obey, or not to obey the Commandments of God, he sins, when using this Liberty the wrong way, he does things contrary to the Law of God.

These are the Works of *Methodius*, which St. *Jerome* mentions. *Photius* has made an Extract of a Treatise about created things, written by *Methodius*. In the first, he says, That these Words of Jesus Christ, *cast not Pearls before Swine*, ought not to be understood of Doctrine, but of Virtues; and that the meaning is not, that we must conceal Mysteries from the Infidels, but that we must not prophane the Christian Virtues; such as Chastity, Temperance and Justice, with the Pleasures of the World that are signified by the Swine. In the second, he confutes those that thought the World had no beginning; an Opinion which he attributes to *Origen*. In the third, he says, That the Church is so called, because it calls Men to fight against Pleasures. [In the Greek *Ecclesia*, which signifies a Church, or an Assembly of Men, comes from *καλλω*, to call; because the publick Assemblies were convened by publick Cryers, who called the People together.] In the fourth, he says, That there were two Virtues or Powers that concurred to the Creation of the World; the Father that created it of nothing, and the Son that polished and compleated the Work of the Father. *The Son* (says he) *who is the Almighty hand of the Father*. In the fifth he asserts, that *Moses* was the Author of the Book of *Job*; and he explains the first Words of the Book of *Genesis*, *In principio, in the beginning*, of the Wisdom of God. He observes, that GOD the Father begot the WORD, or the Wisdom which was in Him before the Creation of the World; that this Wisdom being a Principle without Beginning, became the Principle of all things; which is a Catholick way of speaking, and far remote from the *Arian* Opinion; though it does not seem to be altogether conformable to the Expressions of our Age. To conclude, In the last Fragment he cites a Passage of *Origen*, who would endeavour to prove by Allegories, That the World existed long before the Six Days, that preceded the Formation of *Adam*. *Methodius* looks upon this as a trifling Opinion.

*Theodoret*, in his first Dialogue, cites a Passage taken out of a Sermon of *Methodius* concerning the Martyrs; where

he says, that Martyrdom is so admirable, and so much to be desired, that Jesus Christ the Son of God would honour it himself; and that he who was equal to his Father, was willing to crown human Nature, to which he himself was united with that excellent Gift.

The Sermon composed upon the Nativity of Jesus, and upon his being presented in the Temple, Entituled, *Simeon and Ann*, published by *Pantinus* in the Year 1598. and afterwards printed by Father *Combefis* amongst the rest of the Works of *Methodius*, is neither cited by any of the Ancients, nor mentioned by *Photius*, tho' it is written in *Methodius's* Style. The Author of it endeavours to confute the Errors of *Origen*, and calls himself the Author of the *Banquet of Virgins*, in the beginning of his Discourse, which shews that it belongs to *Methodius*. Tho' we must own that he speaks so clearly of the Mysteries of the Trinity, of the Incarnation, of the Divinity of the WORD, whom he calls in several places, *Consubstantial to the Father*, of the Hymn called the *Trisagion*, of the Virginity of *Mary*, even after her Delivery, and of Original Sin, that it gives us some Reason to doubt, whether some thing has not been added since to this Sermon. Besides, the Style of it is more swelling, and fuller of Epithets than that of *Methodius*.

Besides all this, Father *Combefis* upon the Authority of a Manuscript in the King's Library, has restored to *Methodius* another Sermon upon *Palm-Sunday*, that was formerly printed under the Name of St. *Chrysostome*, by Sir *Henry Savil*, upon the Authority of another Manuscript. It is certain, that it approaches nearer to the Style of *Methodius* than of St. *Chrysostome*; but he explains the Mystery of the Trinity so clearly in one place, and opposes the Hereticks so very plainly, that there is some reason to believe, that either this place has been since added, or that this Homily was not written by *Methodius*. Father *Combefis* has likewise collected some other Fragments attributed to *Methodius*, cited by St. *John Damascene*, and by *Nicetas*, drawn out of his Books against *Porphyrie*. But besides, that we cannot entirely depend upon the Authority of these two Authors, who are not very exact, these Fragments have nothing considerable, and we think it not worth the while to say any thing more concerning them. We shall not take any notice of some Latin Prophecies about Antichrist attributed to *Methodius*, that are printed in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, since it is agreed on all hands that they are not his.

The Style of *Methodius* is *Asiatick*, that is to say, diffuse, swelling, and full of Epithets. His Expressions are Figurative, the Turn of his Sentences affected, he is full of Comparisons, and far-fetched Allegories, his Thoughts are mysterious, and he says a few things in abundance of words. Setting these things aside, his Doctrine is sound, and free from some Errors that were common to the Ancients; particularly concerning the Virginity of *Mary*, concerning Original Sin, concerning Guardian Angels, and several other Points; as may be observed in the Abridgment that we have made of his Works.

## PAMPHILUS.

*Pamphilus*. *Pamphilus*, a Presbyter of *Casarea* in *Palestine*, and a Friend of *Eusebius* (a), suffered Martyrdom, during *Maximine's* Persecution. He wrote almost nothing himself, unless it be a few Letters to his Friends; but he took extraordinary pains to gather the Books of ancient Writers (b), and particularly those of *Origen*, for whom he had a particular Esteem. He transcri-

bed several Volumes with his own hand, and amongst the rest, his twenty five Books of Commentaries upon the Prophets, and that very Transcript was to be seen in St. *Jerome's* time. *Pamphilus* when he was in Prison composed five Books with *Eusebius* (c) in defence of *Origen*, and *Eusebius* added a sixth after his Death.

(a) Friend of *Eusebius*.] *Eusebius* wrote the Life of *Pamphilus*, and was from him surnamed *Pamphilus*.

(b) The Books of ancient Writers.] He laboured along with *Eusebius* to copy out exactly, and to correct the Version of the *Septuagint*, that was in the *Tetrapla*, and *Hexapla* of *Origen*, intending to publish it by it self.

(c) Five Books with *Eusebius*.] St. *Jerome* in his Catalogue

of the Ecclesiastical Writers, makes him the Author of the Apology for *Origen*; but he afterwards retracted what he had said in his Apology against *Ruffinus*. The Truth is, The five first Books were composed by *Pamphilus* and *Eusebius* together; and the last, which *Ruffinus* quoted, was *Eusebius's* alone. See *Photius*, Cod. 108.

## LUCIAN.

*Lucian*. *Lucian*, a Presbyter of *Antioch*, applied himself vigorously to the Study of Scripture, and published a new Edition of the Version of the *Septuagint* (a), which was afterwards called *Lucian's* Edition. He was a Man of great Eloquence, and wrote

several small Treatises concerning Faith, and some Letters. Amongst others, he wrote one, when he was in Prison, addressed to a Christian of *Antioch*; the end of which Letter is preserved in the Chronicle of *Alexandria*, and is as follows: 'All the Martyrs that are with me, Salute you.

(a) Of the *Septuagint*.] The Version which he corrected, was the common Version of the *Septuagint*. Upon this account, St. *Jerome* (*Prefat. in Paralipomena*) distinguishes between three different Editions of the Version of the

*Septuagint*. The first, was that of *Eusebius* and *Pamphilus*, which he calls *Palestine*, that was taken out of the *Hexapla* of *Origen*, who corrected it by an ancient Version, and added several things borrowed from the Versions of *Theodosian*, *Alexandrian*, &c. I send



*Lucian.* I send you word that Bishop *Anthimus* died a Martyr. *Lucian* is accused to have been the first Author of the *Arian* Opinion: And indeed, all the Heads of that Party

*quila*, and *Symmachus*. The second was that of *Alexandria*, whereof *Hefychius* was Author, who likewise corrected the common Version of the *Septuagint*. The last, that of *Lucian*. This gave occasion to St. *Jerome* to say, That *Totus Orbis hac inter se trifaria varietate compugnat*.

were his Disciples. He suffered Martyrdom at *Nicomedia*, under the Persecution of the Emperor *Maximinus* (b), and was buried at *Helenopolis*, a City of *Bythinia*.

(b) Of the Emperor *Maximinus*.] *Eusebius* l. 9. c. 6. *Hierom.* in *Catalog*. And therefore *Baronius* is mistaken, when following the Acts of his Martyrdom, he says, That he suffered under *Maximian*; for 'tis a common mistake amongst the Greeks to take *Maximian* for *Maximin*.

## PHILEAS.

*Phileas.* **P**hileas, descended of a Rich and Powerful Family in the City of *Thmuis* in *Aegypt*, after having passed through several Offices and Honours, and acquired to himself the Reputation of an extraordinary Philosopher, was elected Bishop of the City where he lived, and had his Head cut off for the Faith of Jesus Christ, under the Emperor *Maximinus*. Before he suffered Martyrdom, he wrote a famous Letter to the Inhabitants of the City of *Thmuis*; in which he describes the Punishments which the Christians were forced to endure in the City of *Alexandria*. He describes the Constancy

with which they supported themselves, and exhorts his Flock to keep up the Religion of Jesus Christ after his Death, which he foresaw would shortly happen. *Eusebius* in the eighth Book of his History, Chapter the Tenth, has preserved a Fragment of this Eloquent Letter, which St. *Jerome* scruples not to call a Book. He likewise tells us, that they had the Answers which he made to the Judge, who would have obliged him to offer Sacrifice. We have the Acts of his Martyrdom, that were printed at *Antwerp*: But they are corrupt, as most of the rest are; and some things are inserted which are taken out of *Eusebius* and *Ruffinus*.

## ZENO Bishop of Verona.

*Zeno Bishop of Verona.* **T**is commonly believed, that there was one *Zeno*, Bishop of *Verona*, that suffered Martyrdom under the Empire of *Galiennus*, and some Sermons are attributed to him, that were published by *Guarinus*, Printed at *Venice* and *Verona* in the Years 1508. and 1586. and afterwards inserted into the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. But this Author being wholly unknown to all Antiquity, his Works have been absolutely rejected; nay, some have doubted, whether it be true, that there ever was a Bishop of *Verona* of that Name, that suffered Martyrdom under the Emperor *Galiennus*. St. *Gregory* the Great is the first that speaks of *Zeno*, as a Martyr; but before him St. *Ambrose*, in a Letter written to *Syagrius*, Bishop of *Verona*, makes mention of one *Zeno*, the Predecessor of this *Syagrius*, who seems to have govern'd the Church of *Verona* in the time of *Constantius*, or *Julian* the Apostate. The Testimony of St. *Ambrose* has obliged those that positively maintain that there was one *Zeno* Bishop of *Verona*, a Martyr under the Empire of *Galiennus*; it has obliged them, I say, to distinguish between two *Zeno's* Bishops of *Verona*; one put to Death under *Galiennus*, and another that lived in the time of *Julian* the Apostate. But it is better to own frankly, that 'tis a mistake to believe, that there was one *Zeno* Bishop of *Verona* in the time of *Galiennus*. St. *Gregory* does indeed give the Name of Martyr to *Zeno* of *Verona*, but he does not tell us under what Emperor he suffered Martyrdom: and perhaps he might bestow that Title upon him, because he suffered some Persecution under *Constantius*, or *Julian* the Apostate. Be that as it will, *Molanus* observes, that heretofore in the *Roman* Martyrology, they placed him amongst the considerable Bishops that were Confessors: And *Onuphrius Panvinus* adds, That the Church of *Verona* Anciently honoured him under that quality, and that *Lippomanus* Bishop of *Verona*, was the first that procured him the honour of a Martyr.

(a) Entirely St. Basil's.] The Sermons of St. Basil upon these Words, *Attende tibi, & de Livore & Invidia*, are entirely stolen; and the two other Homilies about Fasting and Temptation, are part of the two longest of St. Basil.

(b) Of St. Hilary.] These Sermons upon the 126, 127, 128, 129, and 130 *Psalms*, belong to St. Hilary. Those upon the 49, 79, and 100 *Psalms*, might be his also, because we have lost the Commentaries of this Father upon the *Psalms*.

'Tis very certain, that the Sermons which we have under the Name of *Zeno*, cannot belong to him whom they suppose to have suffered Martyrdom under *Galiennus*; for this Author in his Fifth Sermon speaks of the Divinity of Jesus Christ against the Hereticks that affirmed the Word to be God, but did not believe him to be Eternal as the Father, and supposed there was a time when He was not; which visibly demonstrates, That the Heresie of the *Arians* was then on foot. Neither can these Sermons belong to that *Zeno* of *Verona*, who lived under *Constantius* and *Julian*; because they are borrowed out of other Authors. There are Four Sermons of them that are entirely St. Basil's (a). All the Homilies upon the *Psalms* are taken word for word out of the Commentaries of St. Hilary (b); which shews, that these Sermons attributed to *Zeno* of *Verona*, are a Collection of Sermons stolen out of several Authors (c), and heaped together without any Choice. Some are short, others are long; some are well written, and in an elevated Style; others are ill, and in a mean pitiful one; some are clear, others obscure. In short, nothing can be imagined to be more unequal. In the Sermon of *Contenance*, he reckons more than 400 Years since St. Paul wrote his Epistle to the *Corinthians*, and yet in other Homilies, he speaks of Temples, Martyrs and Catechumens. All these things set it past Dispute, that these Sermons attributed to *Zeno* of *Verona*, and unknown to all Antiquity, are a Collection of Sermons taken out of several Authors of different Times and different Countries, put together indiscreetly by some ignorant Copier.

The same Censure ought in all probability to be passed upon the eighteen Sermons cited by *Turrianus* under the name of *Eusebius* of *Alexandria*. This Author is unknown to the Ancients; neither was there a Bishop of *Alexandria* of this Name (d), for the three first Ages of the Church: Therefore these Sermons belong to a more modern Author.

(c) Stolen out of several Authors.] Some of the long ones are taken out of Greek Authors, and the short ones out of the Latin Writers, and Fragments of Homilies.

(d) A Bishop of this Name.] *Eusebius* indeed, Lib. 7. Chap. 11. of his History, gives a good Character of one *Eusebius* a Deacon, that lived with *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, who was afterwards Bishop of *Laodicea*; but this Man ought rather to call himself *Eusebius* of *Laodicea*, than *Eusebius* of *Alexandria*.

## ARNOBIUS.

*Arnobius.* **T**hough *Arnobius* and *Lactantius* lived the better Part of their time in the Fourth Century of the Church, yet we shall nevertheless joyn them to the Authors of the Third, because they wrote with the same Spirit, and after the same manner; that is to say, they did not employ themselves in Writing against the Heresies that rose in the Fourth Age, but only in confusing the Pagans in Imitation of the Ancients.

(a) Under the Emperor *Dioclesian*.] He wrote his Books toward the end of the Third, or beginning of the Fourth Century; for in his First Book he expressly tells us, That it was

*Arnobius* was Professor of Rhetoric at *Sicca*, a City of *Numidia* in *Africk* under the Emperor *Dioclesian* (a). He was first a Pagan; but as St. *Jerome* tells us in *Euseb. Chron.* being desirous to be converted, that he might more easily prevail with the Bishops to admit him amongst the Faithful, he composed, when he was but a Catechumen, Seven Eloquent Books against the Religion he had then left, and these Books were as Pledges or Hostages that

Three Hundred Years, more or less, since the Christians began to appear in the World.

procured



*Arnobius.* procured for him the favour of that Baptism he so earnestly solicited. Now though it must be confessed, that he did not perfectly understand the Christian Religion when he wrote these Books, in which some errors are to be found, yet he confuted the Absurdities of Paganism with singular Dexterity, and Vigorously defended the principal Articles of our Religion.

He begins his first Book with confuting that Popular Calumny, which the Pagans so industriously advanced against the Christians, viz. That they were the Authors of all the Calamities and Miseries that afflicted the World. He shews, that this is a groundless and unreasonable Fancy, that there were Plagues, and Famines, and Wars before our Saviours appearance, and that nothing had been changed since his coming: That he was so far from being the Author of their Miseries, that on the contrary, he brought abundance of Good unto the World; That Miseries proceed from Natural Causes, and that it often happens, that those things which in the common acceptance of Mankind pass for Misfortunes, don't prove so in effect; That if the Christians were the cause of these Calamities, the World would have had no Interval without them ever since the appearance of Jesus Christ; that if the Pagan Deities sent these Miseries to Men for the Punishment of the Christians, they were unjust as well as weak; That the Christians worship the true God, and apprehended no dangers from false ones; That they adore Jesus Christ, but don't consider him as a Man that suffered Death for his own Transgressions, But as a real true God, who took the Human Nature upon him to manifest himself to the World, to teach Mankind the ways of Truth, and to accomplish all those things for which he appeared upon Earth; That he died, and afterwards was raised up from the Grave, to satisfy all Men that the Hopes of their Salvation were certain. He proves the Divinity of Jesus Christ by the Exemplary Holiness of his Life, by the Innocence of his Manners, by the great Number of Miracles and Prodigies that were wrought by him, and by others that had Commission from him, by the Signs that appear'd upon Earth at his Death; and then he shews, that we cannot reasonably question the Truth of these things, because the Evangelists, who have delivered them in writing, were Persons of great Integrity and Simplicity; That there is no reason to Imagine they were so Vain, or indeed so Mad, as to pretend they saw those things that they never did see; especially since they were so far from reaping any Advantages from such Inventions, that they thereby exposed themselves to the Hatred of all the World.

In his Second Book, he demonstrates that Jesus Christ was wrongfully Persecuted, since he had done nothing to deserve the hatred of any one, since he was no Tyrant, and destroy'd no body, since he acquired no Riches for himself, and did no manner of Injustices to the meanest Person. He likewise shews, that the Pagans had no certain Principles whereby to judge which was the true or false Religion; that they were very much in the wrong, for laughing at the Credulity of the Christians; since in the generality of things that have a relation to Human Life, Men usually manage themselves by the belief which they repose in particular Persons; That Jesus Christ merited a great deal more than all the Philosophers in the World, because of the Miracles which he wrought; that the Pagan Philosophers believed the same things that are received by the Christians; as for Instance, The Immortality of the Soul, the Resurrection of the Body, and Heil Fire. He takes occasion from thence to discourse of the Nature of Souls, he pretends that they are of a middle quality between a Spirit and a Body; that they are by Nature Mortal; but that God of his Goodness immortalizes the Souls of those who repose their Confidence in him. He confutes *Plato's* Notions concerning the Soul's Immortality, and its Excellency, Dignity, Exile or Imprisonment in the Body. He supposes that it is Corporeal and *ex traduce*; That Man is but very little different from the Beasts; That his Soul is mortal by Nature, but that it becomes immortal by the Grace of God: Opinions unworthy of a Man that had been perfectly Instructed in the true Religion. What he at the same time observes, that in the matters of Religion we ought not to indulge a fond Curiosity, nor endeavour to penetrate into the Reasons of God Almighty's Conduct, nor judge of it by our own Light, is infinitely more worthy of a Christian. 'Jesus Christ,' says he, was God, and I ought to tell you so; though you are not willing to understand it, yet he is God, and speaks unto us from God. He has commanded us not to perplex our selves with unprofitable Questions; let us therefore leave the Knowledge of those things to God, and not amuse our selves in a vain pursuit after them. And yet he does not forget to Answer those Questions that were ordinarily proposed by the Pagans concerning Jesus Christ. Now they often demanded the reason, why our Blessed Saviour (since his coming was so ab-

olutely necessary for the saving of Souls from Death) would suffer so long an Interval of time to pass before he came to deliver them. *Arnobius* replies, 'Is it possible for Man to know after what manner God dealt with the Ancients? who has told you that he never relieved them any other way? Do you know how long it is since Men have been upon the Earth, or in what place the Souls of the Ancients are reserved? Who has informed you that Jesus Christ did not deliver them by his coming? Forbear then to torment your selves about these things, and meddle not with those Questions which 'tis impossible for Human Reason to resolve: Be persuaded that God has shewn Mercy to them; Jesus Christ perhaps had taught you how, and when, and after what manner it was done, if it would not have afforded matter to your Pride. But wherefore, continued the Pagans, did not Jesus Christ deliver all Mankind? He invites, he calls upon all the World, says *Arnobius*; he rejects no body, he readily receives those that come to him; he only requires that Men would desire and wish for him; but he constrains and forces no Man, for otherwise it would be Violence and not Grace. But are none but Christians delivered from Death? No, assuredly; for Jesus Christ alone has power to effect it. But, say the Pagans, this is a new upstart Religion; and why should we quit that of our Ancestors for it? 'Why not, reply'd *Arnobius*, provided it is better? Did we never change our ancient Customs? Did we never alter our old Laws? Is there any thing in the World which had not a beginning at first? Ought we to esteem a Religion for the Antiquity of it, or rather for the sake of the Divinity which we honour? Within less than Two Thousand Years, none of the Gods that are now worshipped by the Pagans, were in being, whereas God and his true Religion has been from all Ages. Jesus Christ had his Reasons why he appeared when he did, though they are unknown to us. But why does he suffer those that Worship him to be Persecuted? And why replies *Arnobius*, do your Gods suffer you to be afflicted with Wars, with Pestilence and Famine, &c. As for us, 'tis not to be admired that we suffer in this Life, for nothing is promised to us in this World: on the contrary, all the Evils and Calamities which we suffer here, make way only for our Deliverance.

In the Three following Books, *Arnobius* falls upon the Pagan Religion, and shews, that the Christians had very great reason to reject a way of Worship so very foolish, Extravagant and Impious.

In his Sixth and Seventh Books, he demonstrates that the Christians did very wisely not to build Temples, or trouble themselves with the Pageantry of Statues, Images and Sacrifices, and that is a ridiculous piece of Folly to imagine, that God dwells in Temples, that the Images are Gods, or that the Divinities are contained in them. Or lastly, That we honour the true God, when we Sacrifice Beasts, burn Incense, or pour out Wine in Adoration of him.

Thus we have considered the Subject of the Seven Books of *Arnobius*, that are written in a manner worthy of a Professor of Rhetoric. The turn of his thoughts very much resembles that of an Orator; but his Style is a little African, that is to say, his Words harsh, ill-placed, unpolish'd, and sometimes scarce Latin; and 'tis likewise evident that he was not perfectly acquainted with the Mysteries of our Religion. He attacks Paganism with a greater share of Skill and Vigour, than he defends Christianity, and discovers the Folly of That, better than he proves the Truth of this. But we ought not to be surprized at it, for 'tis the ordinary Fate of all new Converts, who being as yet full of their former Religion, know the weakness and blind-side of it better than they understand the Proofs and excellencies of that persuasion which they have newly embraced. I will say nothing concerning the Latin Commentary upon the *Psalms*, that carries the Name of *Arnobius*, because it is a certain Truth, in which all the Learned World agrees, that this *Arnobius* is a different Person from him of whom we have been speaking; that he is of a later Date, and lived after the Council of Chalcedon, since he mentions the *Pelagians* and *Predestinarians*.

The Books of the Senior *Arnobius* were first published by *Faustus Sabaeus*, and Printed at Rome by *Theodorus Priscianensis* in the Year 1542. out of a Manuscript belonging to the *Vatican Library*, but with abundance of Faults that were to be found in that Manuscript. *Gelenius*, who afterwards set out another Edition of them at *Basil*; in 1546. and 1560, by *Frobenius*, took the liberty to Correct them upon his own bare Conjecture, and to insert his own Emendations into the Text. *Thomasius* printed them at *Paris* 1570. *Canterus* Corrected the Edition of *Gelenius*, and was the first Man that wrote Annotations upon *Arnobius*; His Edition was printed by *Plantin* at *Antwerp* 1582. in *Octavo*. *Elmenhorstius* published a larger Comment upon him, and reviewed his Seven Books out of an



ancient Manuscript. They are likewise printed with *Herodotus's* Notes, in the Year 1583, and 1603, at *Paris* 1605, and at *Hamburg* 1610. *Stewechius* a Learned Man took pains also with the same Author, and Printed him at *Dorchester* 1634. in *Octavo*. *Thysius* afterwards revised his Edi-

tion, and caused it to be Printed at *Leyden* by *le Maire*, with the Notes of several others, 1652. and 1657. in *Quarto*. Lastly, *Priorius* Printed the Books of *Arnobius* against the *Gentiles*, at the end of *St. Cyprian's* Works, at *Paris* by *Dupuis* in 1666.

## LACTANTIUS.

**L**Ucius Calius (a) Firmianus, Surnamed Lactantius, was Converted in his Youth (b) to the Christian Religion: He studied Rhetoric in *Africa* in the School of *Arnobius*, but far surpassed his Master in Eloquence. Whilst he was there, he writ a Book, Intituled, *Convivium*, or *The Banquet*; which acquired him so great a Reputation in the World, that he was sent for to *Nicomedia* to teach Rhetoric there. But meeting with few Scholars there, because it was a Grecian City, where they had no very great value for the Roman Eloquence; he gave himself altogether to the writing of Books. *St. Jerome* informs us, That he wrote a Poem in *Hexameter Verse*, wherein he gave a Description of his Voyage; and another Piece which he called, *the Grammarian*; but imagining, that he was obliged to employ his Learning and Time upon a better and higher Subject, he entred the Lists in behalf of Religion. The First Treatise, which he composed after this manner, was that about the *Work of God*; He afterwards undertook his Seven Books of *Institutions*, about the Year of our Lord 320 (c), in which he strenuously defends the Christian Religion, and likewise Answers all those that had written against it. After he had finished them, he abridged them, and added the Book concerning the *Anger of God* to the rest.

He likewise wrote Two Books to *Aselepiades*, and Eight Books of Epistles; Four to *Probus*, Two to *Severus*, and Two to *Demetrius*, but all these Books, that were extant in *St. Jerome's* time, are lost at present. We have only recovered one small Treatise concerning *Persecution* mentioned by *St. Jerome*, which *Baluzius* has lately Published under the Title of *De Mortibus Persecutorum*. He Promises several other Works of the same Author, as his *Disputes against the Philosophers*, *against the Jews*, and *against the Hereticks*; but there is no reason to believe that Lactantius ever composed these Pieces, since *St. Jerome* doth not mention them; at least, that they were contained in his Epistles.

*Constantine* afterwards took him to be Tutor to his Son *Crispus*, to instruct him in all manner of Learning. In the midst of all these Honours he was so very Poor that he often wanted Necessaries, being very far from making any pursuits after Pleasure. This is all that we know of the History of this great and excellent Person, but even this very Circumstance alone, as we find it related in *Eusebius's Chronicon*, may pass for an extraordinary and magnificent Commendation of him, and ought to inspire us with no mean Idea of his Piety. For he must certainly have been a very Virtuous Man, that could live poorly in a Court, that could neglect the Care even of Necessary things in the midst of Plenty and Abundance, and had not the least taste of Pleasures, when he resided amongst Persons that were overwhelmed in them.

We are now to consider the Subject of the Seven Books of Lactantius, which, besides the general Title of *Divine Institutions*, have each of them a particular Inscription, that acquaints us with the Matter whereof it Treats. The First is Intituled, *De falsa Religione, of false Religion*; The Second, *De Origine Erroris, of the Original of Error*. The design of Lactantius in these Two Books is to demonstrate the falsity of the Pagan Religion. In the first, after he has informed his Reader of the Reasons that moved him to undertake such a Work, and has made his Addresses to the Emperor *Constantine*, he shews that there is a Providence in the World, and that it is God who Rules and Governs it. He particularly enlarges upon this second Proposition, and makes it evident by several Arguments, by the Authority of the Prophets that have Established it, and by the joint-Testimonies of the Poets, of the Philosophers, of *Mercurius Trismegistus*, of the *Sy-bils*, and the Oracle of *Apollo*, that there is only one God

that Governs the World: And lastly, towards the latter Part of this Book, he demonstrates the Falsity of the Pagan Religion, by shewing that the Gods to whom they paid their Adoration, were Mortal Men; and not only so, but for the most part wicked and profligate Wretches. In the Second Book he goes on to confute the Pagan Religion, and directs his Discourse chiefly against the Idols and Representations of their Deities; and plainly proves, that it is the highest Degree of Madness and Stupidity to pay Adorations to them as Divine Beings. After this, coming to assign Reasons for the Prodigies and Oracles, which the Pagans attributed to their Idols, he rises as high as the Creation of the World, to furnish himself with a fit occasion of discoursing about the Nature of Demons, to whom he ascribes all those wonderful miraculous Effects. Lastly, he shews, That the principal Cause of the Errors and Malice of Men is owing to the perpetual Temptations and Snares of the Devil; as also to the abandoning of *Cham* and his Posterity.

The Third Book is Intituled, *De falsa Sapientia, Of false Wisdom*; because it is chiefly levelled at the Pagan Philosophers, the Vanity of whose Philosophy he endeavours to expose and discover: From hence he draws this Conclusion, That the only Wisdom of Man is to know and worship God.

The Fourth is concerning *true Wisdom*; and 'tis in this Book chiefly that he lays open the Doctrine of the Christians. In the beginning of the Book he shews, That the Philosophers were not able to find out the true Wisdom, because they never searched after it amongst the *Jews*, and because it is inseparable from the Worship and Knowledge of the true God. He afterwards explains the Doctrine of the Christians with relation to Jesus Christ; and evidently proves, That the Pagans themselves acknowledged that he was the Word and Wisdom of God existing before the World; That this Word was begotten of God after an incomprehensible manner; That he descended from Heaven, and was born of a Virgin, according to the Predictions of the Prophets, that the Gentiles might know the true God. He then gives an Account of the Life, the Miracles, and Death of Jesus Christ; and shews, That it was necessary for him to undergo the infamous Punishment of the Cross.

He afterwards demonstrates, That though the Christians do acknowledge that the Son is God, as well as the Father, yet they worship but one God; That the Father and Son are one Spirit, and one substance, and one God; which he illustrates and explains by the Comparisons of a Fountain and its Stream, of the Sun and its Rays, &c.

Towards the End, he declaims in general against Heresies; and tells us, That the Catholick Church only has retained the true Worship of God; That it is the Source of Truth, the Habitation of Faith, the Temple of God; That those Men who never enter into it, or who depart from it, are out of hopes of obtaining Everlasting Salvation; That no Man ought to flatter himself, whilst he continues stedfast in his Obstinacy, since his Eternal welfare is concerned in the Matter, which he will be in danger of losing, unless he takes particular Care; That though all the Sects of Hereticks pretend and boast to be the Church, yet there is but one properly so called, which heals the Wounds of Man by the wholesome Remedies of Confession and Repentance.

In the Fifth Book, that treats of *Justice*, He shews that the Pagans have no such thing as true Justice; That 'tis impossible to find it any where but in the Christian Religion; That it is a great Injustice to persecute the Christians, because of their Persuasion; and that though they were in an Error, yet their Adversaries ought to recover them out of it, by the force of Reason and not of Punish-

(a) *Lucius Calius.*] This is his proper Name. There are some Manuscripts where he is called *Cecilius*. 'Tis supposed that he was Surnamed *Firmianus* from his Country, and *Lactantius* from the sweetness of his Elocution; but this is not certain.

(b) *Converted in his Youth.*] See the Seventh Book of his *Institutions*, Chapter the last, the Third Chapter of his *Epitome*, l. 2. c. 10. where he seems to reckon himself in the Number of those, who after they had acknowledged their Error, were converted to the Truth. *St. Jerome* tells us, That he was the Disciple of *Arnobius*.

(c) *About the Year of our Lord 320.*] Lactantius was at *Nicomedia* at the time of *Dioclesian's* Persecution in the Year 302. as he himself tells us, *Lib. 5. of his Instit. Chap. 2.* He tarried there till the Persecution was over; afterwards he went to *France*, where he wrote his Book of *Institutions*: for he speaks of the Persecutors in the Beginning of his First Book, as if he were then in another Country; he therefore wrote it in the time of the Persecution carried on by the Emperor *Licinius*, which began in the Year 320. So that the Name of *Arians*, that is to be found in some Manuscripts of his Books, might perhaps have been added since.

ments;



*Lactantius* ments; That we cannot, and that we ought not to constrain Men to be of any Religion; which is a thing not to be defended by Killing of others, but by dying for it our selves; not by Cruelty but Patience; That the Sacrifices which are extorted from Men by Violence, neither signify any thing to those that offer them, nor to those that cause them to be offered, nor to the Gods themselves; That 'tis a surprizing thing that the Pagans could suffer the Superstitions of the *Egyptians*, and the Atheism of the Philosophers, and yet should bear such an incurable hatred to the Religion of Jesus Christ: In short, That though God sometimes permits Truth and Justice to be persecuted; yet he never fails at last to punish Persecutors with the utmost Severity.

The Sixth Book treats of the true worship of God. He distinguisheth between Two sorts of Worship, True, and False; and two sorts of Ways, one that leads to Hell, and the other that leads to Heaven. He tells us, That this last is a difficult Way, that we must pass through Poverty, Ignorance, and a long Series of sufferings before we can arrive at Virtue; That the Philosophers search'd after it to no purpose, since they neither knew what was Good, or what was Evil; having no Knowledge of God, who was the Author of Good, nor of the Devil who is the Author of Evil; That the Law of God, is made clear and manifest to us; That this Law contains two Principal Heads; The First of Piety; The Second of Humanity. That Piety consists in worshipping God, and that Humanity which is also called Mercy and Charity, consists in our mutually assisting one another to our utmost Endeavours, since we are descended from the same Father; That if we would acquit our selves of this Duty, we ought to bestow Alms, to relieve the Sick and Neccessitous, to protect Orphans and Widows, to redeem Captives, and bury the Dead; and that the Apprehension of becoming poor, ought not to hinder us from giving considerable Alms, because they blot out and efface our Sins.

He afterwards discourses about the Passions, and demonstrates, contrary to the Sentiments of the Philosophers, That Mercy or Compassion is not a Vice, but a Virtue; and that Fear and Love, which are Vices when they carry a Man to Earthly things, are Virtues when they move him towards Heaven. From hence, he proceeds to the Precepts of Justice that are less general, such as are the following ones; Not to Lye, not to be guilty of Usury, not to exact Gifts from the Poor, not to revenge our selves of our Enemies, to speak well of those that revile us, to moderate our Passions, and to refrain from the pursuit of Sensual Pleasures. After he has thus shewn the way of Justice, he says, That if it should happen that a Man should forsake this way by falling into some Sin; yet he ought not to despair, but turn away from his Evil Practices, and satisfy God, who knows our secret Thoughts. In one word, That the Sacrifice, which we are to present, ought to be Spiritual, and that we ought to offer him the Purity of our Hearts, and the Praises due to his Divinity.

The last Book of his Institutions treats about *Happiness, and a happy Life*. He shews, that this supposes the Immortality of the Soul, which he demonstrates by several Arguments; and likewise that this Mortal Life can never be Happy, unless we take care to preserve Justice. He afterwards discourseth of the End of the World, which he imagines must happen Six Thousand Years after its Creation (d), and of the Signs that shall precede it, amongst which he reckons the Destruction of the *Roman* Empire, and of the last Judgment; wherein he tells us, God shall, as it were, weigh both Good and Evil; and that those who have committed more Evil than Good, shall be condemned to Everlasting Punishment; That on the contrary, those who are altogether Just, shall not in the least manner feel the Divine Fire; but that those who are in a middle condition, shall be examined by it, and so purified from their Sins; That after this Solemn Trial is over, Jesus Christ shall Reign a Thousand Years upon Earth with the Just, and when that Course of time is finished, the World shall be renewed, all Mankind shall be raised again, and God shall make the Just like to Angels, that they may be in his Presence, and serve him during a happy Eternity; but that he will throw the Wicked headlong into Everlasting Fire. He concludes all, with exhorting Mankind to be Converted and Repent while they have an Opportunity of so doing; that so they may put themselves in a Condition of fearing nothing at that Great and Terrible Day. 'We cannot carry any thing along with us, says he, but the Innocence of our Lives. Those only shall appear rich before God, that bring along with them, if I may use the Expression, the Virtues of Mercy, of Patience, of Charity, and of Faith.

(d) Six Thousand Years after its Creation.] So that he seems to have thought that there were no more than 200 Years to

This is the Inheritance which cannot be ravished from us, and which we cannot transmute to any one besides: *Lactantius* And who are they that desire to acquire these Blessings? Let them that are Hungry come to the Celestial Bread of the Word of God, that they may be everlastingly satisfied. Let them that are Thirsty come to quench their Thirst with the Water of this Heavenly Fountain; Let no Man ground his hopes upon his Riches, or his Power; for these things are not able to make us happy for ever; but let us bind our selves to the observation of Justice, which will accompany us even to God's Tribunal, where we shall certainly receive the recompence, which he has promised us.

The Epitome or entire Abridgment of these Seven Books composed by *Lactantius* himself, is lost: what is extant, begins at the End of the Fifth Book, the rest was lost in St. *Jerome's* time. This Abridgment contained the very same things with the Books themselves, only more succinctly treated, and thrown into a narrower compass.

In the Book of *God's Anger*, *Lactantius* endeavours to prove, that God is capable of Anger, as well as of Mercy and Compassion.

In the Book of the *Work of God*, he establisheth Providence by demonstrating the Excellence of his Principal Work, which is Man; for which Reason, he makes an Elegant Description of all the Parts of his Body, and the Proprieties or Faculties of his Soul.

The Book of *Persecution*, or rather of the Deaths of the Persecutors, lately published by *Baluzius*, and quoted by St. *Jerome*, was writ immediately after the end of that Persecution, which was begun in the Year 303, under *Dioclesian*, and ended 313, by the Death of *Maximinus*, when *Licinius* and *Constantine* were Masters of the Empire. 'Tis written to a Confessor, whose Name was *Donatus*; who suffered several times courageously for the Christian Religion during that Persecution. The Subject which *Lactantius* proposes to himself in this Treatise, is to shew, That the Emperors who persecuted the Christians, died all miserably. He there describes and relates the several Persecutions which the Church suffered; and likewise the exemplary Punishments which God deservedly inflicted upon these persecuting Tyrants. After he has in a few Words briefly run over the Sufferings of the Church under the Emperors *Nero*, *Domitian*, *Decius*, *Valerian*, and *Aurelian*, and given an account of the Tragical Deaths of these bloody Princes; he enlarges more copiously upon the following Persecution. He gives a particular Account of the History of *Dioclesian*, *Maximian*, *Galerius*, *Severus*, *Maxentius*, and *Maximinus*, and tells us how they came to be Emperors, and what was the occasion of the Divisions, and Wars that were raised between them. He represents in lively colours the horrid Cruelties which they exercised upon the poor Christians, and how by the visible Chastisement of God Almighty, they came to a lamentable End. This small Treatise is writ with a great deal of Flame and Elegance, and is exactly agreeable in the Historical Part to the Revolution of the *Roman* State under these Emperors. We find several Matters of Fact related there, which were unknown to us before, and many other Passages are illustrated, and set in a better light. He there discovers the Policy and Designs of all these Emperors; And lastly, makes it visibly appear, that the Hand of God was upon them to punish them for their Cruelty and ill Usage of the Christian Professors. There are few things in this Book that relate to the Doctrine of the Christians, but he seems to take notice, that St. *Peter* came not to *Rome* till the Beginning of *Nero's* Reign: And he likewise tells us, That as the Emperor *Maximinus* was offering Sacrifice, one of his Officers made the Sign of the Cross, and thereupon to their great trouble, the Demons disappeared.

Besides these Works, whereof we have already discoursed, there are three Poems attributed to *Lactantius*, which are not mentioned by St. *Jerome*, nor are to be found in the ancient Manuscripts; and therefore in all probability they are none of his.

The First, is a Poem concerning the History of the *Phoenix*, but the Author of this Piece was certainly no Christian but a Pagan; for he not only describes the Deluge like a Heathen, and contrary to *Moses's* Account, but he also speaks of *Phœbus*; as if he owned and acknowledged him for a God. The second Poem concerning *Easter*, is addressed to one *Felix* a Bishop, and was composed by a Christian Author, who lived after *Lactantius*; 'tis attributed to *Venantius Fortunatus*, upon the Testimony and Authority of some Manuscripts in the *Vatican* Library. The Third is about the Passion of Jesus Christ, but is not to be found in any ancient Manuscript of *Lactantius*; besides, it does not in the least come up to the Purity and

reckon from his own time to the Day of Judgment.



*Lactantius*. Eloquence of his Stile, and besides he mentions the Adoration of the Cross. There are likewise some *Arguments upon Ovid's Metamorphosis*, and *Notes upon the Thebais of Statius*, that some Persons have attributed to *Lactantius*, but they really belong to *Lactantius Placidius*, a Grammarian. They are quoted by *Boetius* and *Sedulius*.

*Lactantius* is the most Eloquent of all the Ecclesiastick Authors that wrote in Latin; His Stile is Pure, Equal and Natural; in a word, it is extremely like *Cicero's*, and he justly deserves the Name of the *Christian Cicero*, not only for the cleanness and purity of his Language; but also for the turn of his Phrase, and his Way of Writing, which is so conformable to that of *Tully*, that the most accurate Criticks have been troubled to find out any difference between them: Nay, there have been some Persons in the World, as we are informed by *Picus Mirandula* (e), who made no difficulty at all of preferring his Stile to *Cicero's*.

Be that as it will, we are very certain that *Lactantius* abundantly surpasseth *Cicero* in his Thoughts, because the Matter of that Religion, which he so handsomly defends, does infinitely excel the Maxims and Doctrine of the Philosophers. He confutes Paganism with all the Ardour and Spirit imaginable, and he likewise solidly establishes the Christian Religion. He discourses of God after a very sublime exalted manner; He explains the Divinity of the Word, and the Myltery of the Incarnation in an Orthodox Way; He describes the Creation of the World, and the Day of Judgment, by as lively and solemn a representation as any Body has ever yet used; but at the same time it must be acknowledged, that he has sometimes inserted false, uncertain and fabulous things into his Discourses. He is full of admirable Precepts of Morality; he lays down Descriptions of all the Virtues clearly and perspicuously, and with an invincible Eloquence exhorts Mankind to the Practice of them; he shews them the way of Justice, and deters them from pursuing the Paths of Iniquity; he teaches them to honour God with a true sincere Adoration, and to be thoroughly Penitent for their Sins. We ought however to own that he has handled Theology after a very Philosophical manner; but that he did not examine all our Mysteries to the bottom, and that he has committed several Mistakes.

Pope *Damasus* writing to *St. Jerome*, is pleas'd to say, That he took no great pleasure in reading *Lactantius's* Books; because he frequently turned over several Pages, where he discoursed of things that have no manner of Relation to our Religion.

*St. Jerome* passes this Judgment of him, That he was better able to destroy and confute the Errors of the Gentiles, than to maintain the Doctrine of the Christians; He is accused of doubting whether the Holy Ghost was the third Person, and to have sometimes confounded him with the Son, and sometimes with the Father; but it may be alledged in his defence, That he meant nothing else, but that the Name of the Spirit in Scripture, is common to the Father and Son. But whatever the Matter is, we find no Footsteps of this Error in any of his Works that are now remaining, though in some places he takes

(e) *Picus Mirandula*.] *Picus* lib. de Hist. Divinæ Philosophiæ, c. 7. *Quis apud nos non videat esse Ciceronem, sed Christianum, hoc est, aliquem, qui eum ad lineam vivumque expressit? Quis enim non advertit Lactantium Firmianum equasse ipsum, & forte præcelluisse in Eloquentia?*

Idem, lib. 3. Epist. 10. *Lactantius Ciceronis stilum effigavit, vel ut quibusdam placet, supergressus est; mihi videtur rebus & sententiis crebrior, nec numeris injucundior, nec sibi æquibilibitate & candore posterior. Has quippe virtutes viribus maximis & æmulatus, & affectatus est; hunc nec æqualem posteri momorderunt, nemo clauibem & fractum, Asiaticum & redundantem nemo causatus est.*

(f) *Interpreted in a favourable sense*.] In the First Book, Chapter the 7th. he says, That God made Himself. His meaning is, That he is of Himself, and was not Created. He tells us, *Lib. 4. Cap. 14.* That *Jesus Christ* is never called God, lest it should be thought that there were two Gods. In the Fourth Book, Chap. 13th. he says, That the Son of God was made

occasion to speak of the Holy Ghost. He seems to have been of Opinion, that the Word was generated in time; but it is an easie matter to give a Catholick sense to that Expression, as we have seen it done to others, and we may be with Justice allow'd to do so, since he plainly establishes the Divinity of the Word in that very place. His Opinion concerning Angels, that being sent to guard and protect Men, they were afterward seduced by the Temptation of the Devil, and that falling in Love with Women, they begot Terrestrial Demons upon them; as it is properly peculiar to him, so it is an erroneous Imagination without any Grounds to support it. What he says about the End of the World, the Reign of a thousand Years, the Fire of Judgment which will prove Men that have been Sinners, is common to him with divers other Authors; as also what he delivers about the state of Souls after Death, being kept in a Common Prison in expectation of the Day of Judgment, pretending that God created them all before the Creation of the World. I take no notice of several other Errors of less Consequence, and some harsh Expressions, which may be interpreted in a favourable sense (f).

The Works of this Author have been Printed often. The first Edition that appeared, was at *Rome* 1468. in *Folio* by *Conradus Lewynheim*. The Second at *Rome* 1470. was Revised by an *Italian Bishop*. The third was at *Venice* 1472, and it was afterwards Printed in the same City in the Years 1483. 1490. 1493. By *Bennadius* in 1509. 1511. 1515. By *Mauritius* in 1521. and 1535. At *Paris* by *Petitus* in 1509.

At *Rome* in 1574. in 1583. and 1650. At *Florence* in 1513. At *Basil* in 1521. 1523. 1546. and 1563. Twice in 1556. At *Lyons* in 1532. 1540. At *Antwerp* by *Plantin* in 1539. 1582. and in 1570. 1587. and in 1553. 1556. At *Geneva* in 1613. At *Leyden* in 1662. At *Amsterdam* in 1652.

*Erasmus*, *Thomasius*, *Isæus*, *Barthius*, *Thibius*, *Thaddensis*, *Galeus*, have wrote Notes upon this Author, that are joyned together in this last Edition.

The last Edition is that which was Printed at *Amsterdam*, with the Commentaries of several Authors. I have been assured by a very Learned Man, That it is not only far from being the best, but that it is one of the worst Editions that ever came out of this Author.

[Since the Edition of *Amsterdam*, *Dr. Spark* set out an Edition of *Lactantius* at *Oxon.* to which he annexed his Book *De mortibus Persecutorum*, with Notes of his own, and a Dissertation of *Mr. Dodwell's De Ripa Striga*; to explain a difficult Passage in that little Book. Before this Edition came out, it was Printed by it self at *Oxon.* in 12°. in the year 1680. Corrected in many places by the Bishops of *Oxford* and *St. Asaph*, and by *Dr. Isaac Vossius*, who endeavoured to supply the *Lacunæ*, which were in *Baluzius's* Manuscript Copy, from whence these Editions were taken. The *Cambridge* Edition 1685. in *Octavo*, of this little Book was taken from these. Since it was published again by it self at *Abo*, with some Notes of *Cuperus* at the end, by *Toinardus*.]

Man, that he might be *Andrag*, as well as he was *Amrag*, which is a vain Conceit. He says, *Lib. 2. Cap. 9.* That Darkness is from the Devil, who imitates God; and in the Second Book, Chapter the 12th. That Man was composed of two Natures that strive together; words that carry a Tincture of the *Manichean* Doctrine, unless they be favourably interpreted. In the Sixth Book, Chap. 13. He says, That Alms blot out the Sins of the Flesh: And he seems in the same place to maintain, That they who sin without Passion and without Surprize, shall never obtain Forgiveness for their Sins. In the Seventh Book, Chap. 5. and 14. he speaks of Immortality after such a manner, as might make us believe, that he was persuaded that the first Man was created Mortal. He falls into horrible gross Mistakes in his Chronology; as for instance, when he tells us, *Lib. 4. Cap. 5.* that *Moses* was 900 years, and *Salomon* an Hundred and Fifty before the taking of *Troy*. In the Third Book, Chap. 23. He denies that there are any such thing as *Antipodes*.

## COMMODIANUS.

*Commodianus*. Here are two Authors of the Fourth Century, Whose Works have the same Character and Genius with those that were composed by the Writers of the three first Centuries.

The first is called *Commodianus*: He is no where mentioned by the Ancients; but in reading his Poetry, 'tis an easie matter to see that it is not Supposititious. *Gelasius* places his Books amongst those which he calls *Apocryphal*, because the Millenary Opinion is here maintained, and *Gennadius* speaks of this Author in the following

Words, '*Commodianus* giving up himself to the study of Human Learning, read also the Books of the Christians. This gave him a favourable Opportunity of embracing the Faith. Being now become a Christian, and desirous to offer to *Jesus Christ* the Author of his Salvation a Present befitting a Man of Learning, he wrote a Treatise against the Pagans in Verse, which is composed in a middle Stile, neither Verse, nor Prose: And because he had but slightly turned over our Authors, he was able to confute the Pagan Religion with more ease, than to establish



Commodianus. establish that of the Christians. Hence it is that he speaks of the Divine Recompences after a gross manner, following in this the Opinion of *Tertullian*, *Lactantius* and *Papias*. But his Morals are excellent, and he persuades Men to embrace a voluntary Poverty. This is the Opinion of *Gennadius* concerning this Author, who lived in the beginning of the Fourth Age, in the Time of Pope *Sylvester* (a). he calls himself *Commodianus* (b), and by way of Allusion *Gazeus* (c), and gives himself the Title of the Beggar of Jesus Christ. He tells us, that he was once engaged in the Errors of the Heathens; but that he was converted by reading the Law of the Christians. His Work is entituled, *Instructions*; and is composed after the fashion of Verse: I say after the fashion of Verse, because he neither observes Measure, nor Cadence in it; but only takes care that every Line shall comprise a finished sense, and shall begin with an Acrostick, in such a manner, that all the Letters of the Title of every *Strophe* are to be found one after another at the beginning of each Verse; and thus by taking all the first Letters of the Verse, we find the entire Title.

His Stile is harsh, his Words barbarous, and his Thoughts are seldom elevated. The Author appears to have been a Good Man, very simple, very humble, very charitable, thoroughly affected with the love of Jesus Christ, zealous for his Religion, austere in his Morals, an enemy to Vice, far removed from the Pleasures of the World, and a singular good Monk as *Rigaltius* has observed of him. Though after all, we must own, that he was not very ignorant; for there is a tolerable store of Prophane Learning in his Work, and we meet there with several Remarks upon the Pagan Deities that are exceeding Curious and Rare, as well as Entertaining. He seems to have had a great deal of good Sense, of Quickness, and Christian Morality: This Treatise was for a long time buried in Obscurity, and was lately found in our Days. *Sirmondus* had it Copied from an old Manuscript, and *Rigaltius* made use of this Copy, and Printed it separately in the Year 1650. We may divide it into three Parts. The First, which contains Thirty six *Strophes*, is addressed to the *Gentiles*; whom he exhorts to embrace the Religion of Jesus Christ, after he has exposed the Falshood of the Divinities which they Adored. The second is directed to the Jews; whom he likewise persuades to embrace the Christian Religion, shewing them, that the Law was merely Figurative. He there speaks concerning Antichrist, the last Judgment, and the Resurrection. The Last is addressed to the Christian Catechumens, to the Faithful, and to the Penitents, to whom he gives admirable Instructions in Morality. It begins at the Forty sixth *Strophe*.

We find in this Author most of the Errors of the Ancients. He is of Opinion that the Demons were Angels,

(a) *In the time of Pope Sylvester.*] Chap. 23. He exhorts the Pagans to joyn themselves to the Congregation of *Sylvester*; which plainly shews, that he lived at that time, and wrote in Rome or in Italy, though his Stile is African.

(b) *Commodianus.*] At the end of his Work he tells us, that his Name may be found out by searching after it in his Ver-

ses; now if we may take the first Letters of every Verse in the last *Strophe*, and put them together, we shall find *Commodianus Mendicus Christi*.  
(c) *Gazeus.*] In all probability he is so called à Gaza, as he is named *Commodianus à Commodis*.  
that were debauched with the love of Women; and that the Giants came from this Illegitimate Commerce; That the World will end after Six Thousand Years; That *Nero* was Antichrist; That there will be Two Resurrections, That of the just before the Reign of the Thousand Years, and the General one at the Day of Judgment; That the Just after the First Resurrection, shall live a Thousand Years upon the Earth; That after that time, all Men shall be judged, the Wicked thrown headlong into Fire, and the whole face of Nature Changed. His Moral Instructions are very excellent. He recommends to the Consideration of the Catechumens to lead a Life free from Sin. He advises the Penitents to Pray Night and Day, to live after an austere manner, that they may obtain Remission of their Sins. He Exhorts the Faithful to avoid all Evil, and to banish from their Hearts the very motions of Hatred, assuring them, that Martyrdom will stand them in little stead, if they have an Aversion towards their Brethren. He represents to Apostates the greatness of their Sin, and admonishes all Christians in general, that being Soldiers of Jesus Christ, they ought continually to wage War with their Passions. He prohibits them to appear at the Prophane Shows. He advises Christian Women to be modest, to avoid Luxury and Magnificence of Apparel. He gives incomparable Instructions to Ministers and Priests, that they may acquit themselves worthily in their Ministry, and persuades them to lead a Life unblameable, and exempt from Avarice; but above all, to relieve the Necessities of the Poor. He counsels the Rich not to value themselves the more highly upon the score of their Riches, but to communicate part to the Indigent; to assist and visit those that are in Sickness, and to comfort those that labour under Affliction. He says, That we ought not to lament the Death of our Children or Relations. He condemns all funeral Poms, and proud Interments. He powerfully reprehends those Persons that don't observe Silence in the Church. 'The Priest of the Lord, says he, has said, Lift up your Hearts to God; you answer, that you have; and yet immediately forget the Word. He prays to the Lord in behalf of the People, and in the mean time you are entertaining one another with Stories, you Laugh, you speak evil of your Neighbours, you talk inconsiderately, as if God were absent, even he that has made all, that sees all, and understands all. He advises those that pray to God, to purifie their Hearts, before they address themselves to him by way of Prayer. In a word, the last part of his Instructions contains excellent Exhortations, to incline Christians to the Love and Practice of Virtue, to turn them away from Vice; and his Remonstrances concerning the corrupt manners of the Christians, and the Irregularities of his own time, carry a very near resemblance to those of our Age.

Commodianus.

## JULIUS FIRMICUS MATERNUS.

His Author, of whom none of the Ancients have made mention, has written a Treatise, Intituled, *Of the Errors of prophane Religions*, which he has addressed to the Emperors *Constantius* and *Constantians*, the Sons of *Constantine*. The Stile and Matter of this Book abundantly convince us, that it is no spurious Piece, and the Title it carries, gives us an occasion to conjecture, that it was writ after the Death of *Constantine*, the eldest Son of *Constantine* the Great, which happened in the year 340, and before that of *Constantians*, who was slain by *Magnentius* in the year 350, for it being addressed to *Constantius* and *Constantians*, there is reason to believe that *Constantine* their eldest Brother was already dead, and 'tis very evident that *Constantians* was then alive. We don't know what the Author was, of what Country, or of what Profession. *Baronius* believes that he was Bishop of *Milan* (a); but without any solid Foundation. There

(a) *Baronius believes, that he was Bishop of Milan.*] *Baronius* imagines that he was Bishop of *Milan* in the time of *Julius*, and that he assisted at a Council held at Rome under that Pope. There is indeed mention made of one *Maternus* a Bishop of *Milan*, who suffered in *Dioclesian's* time in the Martyrologies of the 18th of July. But he that was the Author of this Treatise, never took upon him the Quality of a Bishop; and we don't find it related in any Authors of Credit and Reputation in the World, that there ever was a Bishop of *Milan* of that Name. On the contrary, it appears by St.

are eight Books of Astronomy that bear the same Name. Now some Persons are of Opinion that they were composed by another Author. *Labbe* maintains, that they belong to the same Man (b); but we cannot positively assert either one or the other. This Treatise *De Errore prophane Religionis* was printed at Venice in the year 1499. At Basil by *Hervagius* in 1533. At Strasburgh in 1562. And afterwards with *Wouwerus's* Notes by *Probenius* in 1603. Afterwards it was joyned with *Minutius Felix*, and printed at Amsterdam in 1645. and in 1652. At Leyden in 1562, in Quarto. 'Tis likewise to be found in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. And lastly, it was put at the end of the last Edition of St. *Cyprian*, which was printed at Paris 1666. The Author of it Discovers the Original of all the several Religions amongst the Pagans, and shews the absurdity of them. In the first place, he shews how prodigiously Men have debased themselves in making Gods of

*Athanasius*; That in the time of *Julius* there was no Bishop of that Name at *Milan*: And the Roman Council, of which *Baronius* is to be understood, is a Chimerical Council invented by *Isidorus*.

(b) *Labbe maintains, that they belong to the same man.*] *Possevinus* and *Simlerus* distinguish them, and call the last the younger of the two. *Labbe* pretends, that he lived in the years 334 and 337, and according to this Computation, he might perhaps be the Author of the Treatise, *De errore prophane Religionis*.



the four Elements. Secondly, he lays open the Extract and Rise of the fabulous Deities, giving an historical Account of those things which the Poets have so disguised in Fiction. In the third place, he demonstrates the Absurdity and Impiety of the Pagan Theology, where several Persons have had the good luck to drop into an Almightyship, only for being more exquisitely villainous than the rest of their Fellow-Creatures. In the fourth place, he takes occasion to refresh their Memories with several particulars relating to their Gods, as how they have been slain, wounded, and ill-used by Men. Fifthly, he pretends that the Religion of the Egyptians derived its Original from *Joseph*, and that their God *Serapis* is the same with the above-mentioned Patriarch, who is so called, because he was the Son of *Sarab*. (This Reason in my opinion appears to be weak, and ill-grounded.) Sixthly, he observes, that Men have Deified abundance of things which they either love, or have frequent occasion for; and thus they call Eating and Drinking their *Dii Penates*, or their household Gods: Thus *Vesta* is the domestick Fire we daily use, and the same Judgment may be passed of several others, and for this Reason it has happened, that the Names of their Gods denote the Properties of natural things. In a word, he describes and enumerates the prophane Signs, or mysterious Words that are used by the Pagans in their way of Worship, and he applies them to Jesus Christ with a great deal of Wit. To say the Truth, this Treatise is exceeding elegant, and is abundantly stored with a great deal of profound Learning; the Author of it shews a considerable Stock of Knowledge, Wit, and Eloquence; he frequently exhorts the Emperors to destroy the Pagan Temples, to suppress their Religion, and to make use of strong

and violent Remedies, to cure Men of their Maladies, and to retrieve them from their Extravagancies and Errors. At the same time he exhorts all Men to feed and nourish themselves with the Bread of Jesus Christ, which is his Word and his Doctrine, (for he does not speak of the Eucharist in this place, as some Persons have vainly imagined) to embrace the Light, and come to the Marriage of the Celestial Bridegroom. He tells us there, that God made himself Man to save us, and restore us to that Immortality, which we lost and forfeited by the Fall of *Adam*; that if he had not assumed a Body in the Womb of the Virgin, and suffered an ignominious Death for the sake of Mankind, all the Jews, even those of the Old Testament, had never been in a Capacity of obtaining Salvation. He teaches us, that the Soul is immortal and spiritual, and that the Demons were frequently disturbed, and ejected out of the Bodies of those Persons, whom they had possessed, by the powerful Prayers and Intercessions of the Christians. He acquaints us with several Figures or Types of the Cross, drawn out of the Old Testament. Lastly, to speak a Word or two concerning his Morals; he severely declaims and inveighs against those that disguise themselves in Female Habits. These are the Principal and most considerable Heads that are discoursed of in this Treatise. As for his Astronomical, and Mathematical Books, they are divided into eight Parts. That Work was first printed by *Aldus Manutius* at *Venice*, in the year 1499. Reviewed by one who calls himself *Pascennius*, and afterwards printed in the same place in 1501. Lastly, it was published at *Basil* by *Hervagius*, and corrected by *Bucherius* in the year 1551.

## EUSEBIUS of Cæsarea.

**E**usebius surnamed *Pamphilus* (a), was born in *Palestine* (b), towards the latter end of the reign of *Galienus* (c). He was ordained Priest by *Agapius* Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*, and settled a famous School in that City. When the Persecution of *Dioclesian* arose, he exhorted the Christians of *Cæsarea* to suffer with Courage for the Faith of Jesus Christ, and more particularly assisted his dear Friend *Pamphilus*, who suffered Martyrdom after two years Imprisonment. Some have accus'd him of offering Incense to Idols during this Persecution (d), to release himself out of Prison; but this Accusation is groundless, and 'tis much more probable, that he continued alway steadfast in the Faith of Jesus Christ (e). Immediately after this Persecution was ended, *Eusebius* was chosen Bishop of *Cæsarea* in the room of *Agapius* (f), in the year 313, or 314, from the Birth of

Christ: And from that time he was much engaged in the Controversie of *Arius*, a Presbyter of *Alexandria*, whom he (as well as other Bishops of *Palestine*) at first protected, thinking that he was unjustly persecuted by *Alexander* of *Alexandria* his Bishop. He did not only write to this Bishop in favour of *Arius*; but finding that he could not prevail to restore him, he permitted him and his Followers to keep their places, and to hold the ordinary Assemblies of the faithful in their Churches, upon condition that they should submit to their Bishop, and earnestly desire to be re-united to his Communion.

It appears by a Letter of *Eusebius* to *Alexander*, which is produced in the second Council of *Nice*, that he did verily think that *Arius*, and those of his Party, acknowledged the Eternity of the Word, and that he believed the contrary Doctrine was falsely charged upon them, which

(a) *Surnamed Pamphilus.*] From the Name of the Martyr *Pamphilus* his Friend, and not of his Brother, as *Nicephorus* believed; for in the seventh book of his History, he says, That he was first acquainted with him when he was a Priest.

(b) *Palestine.*] All the Ancients call him *Eusebius* of *Palestine*. In the first book of the Life of *Constantine*, he testifies, that he had his Education in *Palestine*, and in the second book of the same Work, after he has repeated a Law of *Constantine* directed to those of *Palestine*, he adds, *This was the first letter which Constantine addressed unto us.* 'Tis not known who were his Kindred. Some have thought that he was the Kinsman of *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, because in a Letter of *Arius* to this Bishop, *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea* is called his brother. Neither is it known who were his Masters. In the seventh book of his History, he says, that he heard *Dorotheus* a Priest of *Antioch*, expound the Scriptures; from whence *Trithemius*, and some others, have concluded that he was his Scholar. *Acacius* Successor to *Eusebius* wrote his Life, but 'tis lost.

(c) *Towards the latter end of the reign of Galienus.*] There is some proof of this Epoch: For in his History book 3. ch. 28. he says, that *Denys* of *Alexandria*, who died the 12th year of the reign of *Galienus*, lived in his time: And in the fifth book he says, that *Paulus Samosatenus* revived the error of *Artemon* in his time; and in his seventh book, where he gives an Account of what was done under *Galienus*, he says, *After we have related the transactions of former times, we come now to those things which happened in our own time.*

(d) *Some have accused him of offering Incense to Idols during this Persecution, &c.*] This he was charged with by *Potamon* a Confessor and Bishop of *Egypt*, at the Synod of *Tyre*; for if we give credit to *St. Epiphanius*, in *Heretic* 68, this Bishop perceiving *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea* there present, cry'd out, *O Eusebius, How came you to sit as Judge upon the innocent Athanasius? Who can endure it? Tell me, I pray you, were not we in Prison together in the time of Persecution? I lost an Eye there, for maintaining the Truth, but you have lost no part of your body, you have suffered nothing: How then did you get out of prison?* *Epiphanius* adds, that *Eusebius* hearing this, rose up and dis-

solv'd the Assembly, saying, *Seeing you charge me with things of this nature, in a place where you are Strangers, it must be true which your Accusers say; for if you exercise such Tyranny here, much more will you do it in your own Country.* This is confirmed by the Bishops of the Council of *Alexandria*, who say in their Letter, *That Eusebius of Cæsarea was accused by the Confessors of sacrificing to Idols.* In the mean time, this Charge of *Potamon* is groundless: For although it were true, that *Eusebius* was cast into Prison for the Faith of Christ, it does not follow that he must have sacrificed to Idols to obtain his Liberty, because he lost no part of his body, since he might have been delivered from that Persecution for many other Reasons, without losing any of his Members; and it was a rash Censure of his Neighbour in *Potamon*, to accuse, as he does, a Bishop of so heinous a Crime, upon so weak a Conjecture as this; but the good Man had more Zeal than Prudence.

(e) *'Tis much more probable that he continued alway steadfast in the Faith of Jesus Christ.*] First, because we must always think well of our Neighbour, when it does not evidently appear that he has done ill. Secondly, because 'tis no ways probable, if he had committed such a Crime, when he was Priest, that he would have been afterwards chosen Bishop of *Cæsarea*.

(f) *In the room of Agapius.*] *Baronius* and *Blondel* place *Agri-colaus* between *Agapius* and *Eusebius*, whose Name is to be found among the Subscriptions of the Council of *Ancyra*. But *Eusebius* in his seventh book reckoning up the Names of those Bishops who governed the Church while the Persecution lasted, endeth his Catalogue of the Bishops of *Cæsarea* with *Agapius*, of whom he says, that he took a great deal of pains for his Flock during that Persecution: And *Eusebius* himself was ordained immediately after the Persecution; for he assisted in the quality of a Bishop, at the Dedication of the Church of *Tyre*, which was done immediately after peace was restored to the Church, before *Licinius* had taken arms against *Constantine*, which happened in the year 313. And therefore, if there was one *Agri-colaus* Bishop of *Cæsarea*, he did not hold that See for any long time, for *Eusebius* was ordained to it in the year 314.

may



*Eusebius of Caesarea.* may in some measure excuse his Proceedings in this Affair: For as soon as *Arius* did clearly discover his impious Sentiments in the Council of *Nice*; *Eusebius* with all the other Bishops, condemned them, and proposed a very Orthodox Confession of Faith. But because it seemed not to renounce the Heresie of *Arius* formally enough, therefore the Fathers of the Council added to it the word *Consubstantial*, together with Anathematisms against the Errors of *Arius*. This new term *Consubstantial*, gave some trouble to *Eusebius*, and he refused at first to assent to it; but being afterwards fully satisfied of its true meaning, he made no scruple of subscribing to it, and of signing the Confession of Faith made by the Council of *Nice*, which he was never known afterwards openly to violate, though he always maintained an intimate Correspondence with the Bishops of *Arius's* Party. He was present with them at the Council of *Antioch*, held in the year 330. wherein they unjustly depos'd *Eustathius*, then Bishop of *Antioch*. But, if he was to be blam'd for consenting to that unjust Deprivation of a Bishop who was his Enemy; yet it must be acknowledged that he deserves great Commendation for refusing to succeed him in his See: For being elected both by the Bishops and the People, in order to his Ordination to the Bishoprick of *Antioch*, after the deposing of *Eustathius*, he did absolutely refuse it; and when the Bishops wrote about it to the Emperor *Constantine*, that he would oblige *Eusebius* to agree to this Election, he wrote to him himself, humbly praying that he might have leave to refuse this Bishoprick; which at last the Emperor granted, and greatly commended his Moderation. Nevertheless, *Eusebius* continued always to take part with *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, and assisted at the Council of *Tyre*, held against St. *Athanasius*, in the year 335, and also at the Assembly of Bishops, which was held at *Jerusalem* at the time of the Dedication of the Church of that City: And in fine, he was sent in the Name of those Bishops to the Emperor *Constantine*, to justify what they had done against St. *Athanasius*. Then it was, that he spoke a Panegyrick in honour of the Emperor, at a time of publick rejoicing for beginning the 30th year of his reign, which was the last of his Life; And *Eusebius* himself did not long survive this Emperor, whom he mightily loved and honoured, for he also died about the year 338.

He has written many very learned Books. The first were his five Books of Apology for *Origen*, which he compos'd with the Holy Martyr *Pamphilus*, during the Persecution of *Dioclesian*; and to which he only added a Sixth, after the Death of this Martyr. About the same time he wrote a Treatise against *Hierocles*, who had written two Books against the Christian Religion. After he was chosen Bishop of *Caesarea*, he compos'd his fifteen Books of *Evangelical Preparation*, and twenty Books of *Evangelical Demonstration* (g): After this he wrote a *Chronicle* from the Beginning of the World down to the 20th. Year of *Constantine the Great*. After this *Chronicle* follow'd his *Ecclesiastical History* (h), divided into ten Books, which seems to have been finish'd some time after the Council of *Nice*, though it reaches no further than the 20th Year of *Constantine*. About the Year 332, he compos'd a Cycle for *Easter*, at the desire of the Emperor, to whom he dedicated it, and caus'd some very fair Copies of the Holy Scriptures to be written out, as he himself tells us in the fourth Book of the Life of *Constantine*, Chap. 34, and 35. St. *Jerome* and *Bede* make mention of this Paschal Cycle of *Eusebius*, compos'd, as they say, in imitation of that of *Hippolytus*. His Books against *Marcellus* of *Ancyra* were written after the first Condemnation of that Heretick in the Council of *Constantinople*, held in the Year 335, or 336 (i). In short, the four Books of the Life of *Constantine*, were compos'd after the Death of that Emperor, to which he has added three Tracts, viz. The Harangue which he made at the Dedication of the Church of *Jerusalem*; the Discourse of *Constantine* to the Convention of the Saints, and a Panegyrick in Praise of this Emperor.

Besides these Works, whose Chronology is known, he hath also written, as St. *Jerome* testifies, five Books of the Theophany, or the Incarnation, ten Books of Commentaries upon *Isaiah*, thirty Books against *Porphyrus*, ten

whereof were lost in St. *Jerome's* time; and a Book of Topography, which is the same that St. *Jerome* translated and entituled, a Book of the Country of the *Hebrews*, which was afterwards publish'd in Greek by *Bonfrerius* in the Year 1631. There is mention made in this Book of two other Tracts of the same Nature, whereof one contains an explication of the Names which the *Hebrews* give to other Nations, and the other was a Topographical Description of the Holy-Land and the Temple. St. *Jerome* also places in the Catalogue of *Eusebius's* Works, three Books of the life of *Pamphilus*, some little Tracts upon the Martyrs (k), the Commentaries upon the 150 Psalms, translated afterwards by *Eusebius* of *Vercelles*; and the Rules for reconciling the four Evangelists, together with a Letter to *Carpianns*. He mentions also, in an Epistle to *Pammachius*, *Eusebius's* Commentary upon the first Epistle to the *Corinthians*; and he testifieth in another place, that he caus'd to be publish'd an Edition of the Version of the *Septuagint*, taken from the *Hexapla* of *Origen*. St. *Basil* cites a Treatise of *Eusebius* concerning the Polygamy of the Patriarchs, of which *Eusebius* himself speaks, Book I. Chap. 9. of the *Demonstration*, and Book VII. Chap. 3. and 7, of the *Preparation*. In fine, *Theodore* tells us, that *Eusebius* wrote Eclogues upon the whole Scriptures: But we must not forget the Letter which he wrote to the *Cæsareans* mention'd by *Theodore* in his History, nor those Letters to *Alexander* and *Euphratius* concerning *Arius*, which are cited in the second Council of *Nice*, Act. 5. and 6. To these we may add, the Letter to the Empress *Constantia*, which is quoted by the Bishops that condemn'd Images, whereof there is a Testimony related in the same Council, Act. 6. *Photius* mentions a Book of *Eusebius* entituled, *Apology and Refutation*, that is to say, an Apology for the Religion of Christ, and a Refutation of the Errors of the Gentiles, divided into two Books; and also two other Books, which were, as he says, very little different from the two former. The Commentary upon the *Canticles*, publish'd by *Meursius*, is falsely ascribed to *Eusebius*, since in it are cited the Testimonies of Authors much later than *Eusebius*, such as *Gregory Nyssen*, *Philo Carpathius*, and many others. It is not certain, that *Eusebius* was the Author of that little Tract of the Life of the Prophets, publish'd in Greek before *Procopius*, by *Curterius*, from a Manuscript of the Cardinal of *Rochefoucauld*, and printed at *Paris* in the Year 1580, though it appears to be ancient. To conclude, there are some Treatises or Discourses publish'd by *Sirmondus*, which are believed to be a Translation from the Greek of *Eusebius* of *Caesarea*: But though these Treatises, which seem indeed to be translated from the Greek, were compos'd by some ancient Author, and have something of the Air and Genius of *Eusebius's* Writings, neither do they contain any thing unworthy of him; yet there is no full assurance that they are his, because they are not mention'd by any of the Ancients, and we cannot now judge with any certainty from a Version, of the Style of *Eusebius*.

After we have given a Catalogue of all the Writings of *Eusebius*, whereof we have any Testimony, we must now Discourse more largely of those that are come to our Hands. His *Ecclesiastical History* is the most considerable of all his Books, which is a Collection of all the Memorable things which happen'd in the Church from the Birth of Jesus Christ to his own time. He has exactly noted the Succession of Bishops to the Sees of all the Great Cities in the World; he has given an Account of Ecclesiastical Writers and their Books, together with the History of Heresies, and some Remarks concerning the Jews. He has described the Persecutions of the Martyrs, the Controversies and Disputes touching Ecclesiastical Discipline; and, in a Word, all things which concern the Affairs of the Church. He Writes nothing of History as from himself, but almost every where, in his Works, he cites the ancient Authors or their Monuments, from whence he had his Relations, and inserts long Extracts taken out of them, as Men usually do when they write Annals or Memoirs. This manner of writing History, is less agreeable indeed, but much more profitable than any other, and gains Credit and Weight to that which is related: For when a Writer reports the Transactions of

(g) After he was chosen Bishop of *Caesarea*, he compos'd his fifteen Books of *Evangelical Preparation*, and twenty Books of *Evangelical Demonstration*.] These are cited in his *Ecclesiastical History*, B. I. Ch. 2. *Blondel* believes the contrary, that the History is cited in the sixth Book of his *Evangelical Demonstration*, Ch. 23, but he was deceived by the Translation.

(h) After this *Chronicle* followed his *Ecclesiastical History*.] He saith expressly in the beginning of his History, that the *Chronicle* was written before it, in these Words, Formerly I made an Abridgment of these things in my *Chronicle*, but now I will give a more ample Declaration of them here in this work.

(i) His Books against *Marcellus* of *Ancyra* were written after

the first Condemnation of that Heretick in the Council of *Constantinople* held in the Year 335, or 336.] They are Dedicated to *Flacillus* Bishop of *Antioch*, who was not chosen Bishop of that Church until the year 335. Besides, in the first Book of *Ecclesiastical Theology*, Ch. 14. he says, That *Marcellus* was condemned.

(k) Some little Tracts upon the Martyrs.] We have one Book of these Tracts concerning the Martyrs of *Palestine*, but it is probable that he wrote more. The Martyrology supposed to be translated by St. *Jerome*, has been ascribed to him, but that Work is none of his, neither is the Translation St. *Jerome's*.



~~~~~ Ancient Times without citing the Authors from whence *Eusebius* of he had them, he cannot so easily gain Credit with his *Cæsarea*. Readers, as when he cites his Vouchers, and produces their Testimonies for the Truth of what he says, since those Relations must certainly be agreeable to Truth, which are founded on the Authority of unquestionable Witnesses. But besides this general Reason, there is also a particular one, why this way of writing History, which is followed by *Eusebius*, is of wonderful Advantage unto us; which is this, that for the most part, those Authors and their Works which were more ancient than *Eusebius*, have been lost since his Death by the injury of time; and therefore we are mightily oblig'd to him who hath preserved in his History, not only the Memory of those Authors, but some considerable Fragments of their Works. In short, without the History of *Eusebius*, we should scarce have any Knowledge, not only of the History of those first Ages of the Church, but even of the Authors that wrote at that time, and their Works, since no other Writer but he, has given an Account of those things. For it is observable that the Historians who followed after him, as *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, and *Theodoret*, begun their History where he ended his, either because they thought that he had Collected in his all that was Remarkable of those first Ages, or because they had no other way of coming to the Knowledge of them but by him. *Nicephorus Callistus*, who pretended to write a New History in the Fourteenth Century, has mixt in it a great many fabulous and uncertain Tales, because they were not taken out of *Eusebius*, nor confirm'd by the Authority of any Ancient Author. Nevertheless, it must be confess'd, That even the History of *Eusebius* is not altogether so perfect as were to be wish'd, for it is not written smoothly, neither is it always exact (1). Our Author does often enlarge too much upon those things that ought to be slightly pass'd over; and on the contrary, sometimes he expresses such things very succinctly, which deserve a much larger Account. But notwithstanding these Faults, it is a most Excellent History, and highly to be priz'd.

There is at the End of the Eighth Book, a small Tract of the Martyrs of *Palestine*, in which he describes the Martyrdom of those that suffered in this Province for the Faith of Jesus Christ. Some have confounded this with the eighth Book, but against Reason; for it is a distinct Tract, and, as it were, a Supplement to it.

*Ruffinus* is the first who Translated this History of *Eusebius*, but he, according to his usual manner, took a great liberty in doing it. He has past over the whole Tenth Book, and has added to it two more which contain the following History down to the Death of *Theodosius*. His Translation is clean, neat, and elegant enough, it gives the Sense and Thought of the Author in a very agreeable Style, and sometimes more faithfully than those Interpreters who have translated him since. This Version has been the great Magazine to all the Latin Authors, who have drawn from thence whatever they either wrote or understood of the *Ecclesiastical History* of the First Ages.

*Musculus* the Protestant undertook a new Translation of the History of *Eusebius*, which he performed happily enough. He ties himself up very much to the Letter, and has translated the Text with much politeness and brevity: But he does not always understand his Author aright, and so he has committed many Faults in his Version. The Translation of *Christopherson* is more Elegant, and his Style more *Ciceronian*, but it is too Copious for an Historian, whose Style should be concise and close. He hath Corrected many Faults of *Musculus*, and yet his own Version is not altogether free.

The Learned *Henricus Valesius* having observed the Faults of all the former Versions, undertook to make a new one, more perfect. He published it with the Greek Text, revised by four Manuscripts, and added to it most learned Notes. His Version deserves universal Applause, and the singular esteem of all Learned Men, for

(1) *Neither is it always Exact.* Many Faults are observed in it contrary to the Truth of History, and contrary to Chronology. In his first Book he saith, That the Taxing which *Josephus* speaks of in his Eighteenth Book of the History of the Jews, is the same that *St. Luke* writes of. In the same Book, Ch. 9. he says, That *Lysanias* Tetrarch of *Abylene* was Brother to *Philip*, and *Herod* the younger, which is not true. In Ch. 7. he says, that *Herod* Junior, was banished to *Vienna*, contrary to the Testimony of *Josephus*, who assures us, Book XVIII. Ch. 9. That he was sent to *Lyons*. He thinks that Jesus Christ spent four Years in his preaching. He is mistaken in the *Epocha* of the Voyage of *St. Paul* to *Jerusalem*. In Book I. Ch. 12. he distinguishes *Cephas* who was rebuked at *Antioch* by *St. Paul*, from the Apostle *St. Peter*, tho' he was certainly the same. I shall not mention his other Faults, which he committed by taking things upon hear-say, nor the Apocryphal Books, which he cites very often. He mistakes the Jews of *Alexandria*, mentioned by *Philo*, called *Therapente*, for Christians. B. II. Ch. 17. he confounds *Novatus* and No-

~~~~~ it has two qualities that rarely meet together, being both Elegant and Literal; And yet the Criticks have observed *Eusebius* of some Faults in it: But it is impossible to satisfy all Men, *Cæsarea*. and very difficult to avoid all Mistakes, in a Work of so great a length.

It was very fit that the History of *Eusebius* should be Translated, that those who neither understand Greek nor Latin might not be depriv'd of the History of the Church in its Original Purity. The President *Consin* has done the Publick this Service, who has Translated this History into French, with as great Purity as Faithfulness, and has prefix'd to his Version a Preface, wherein he briefly takes notice of the principal Errors of *Eusebius*, and passes a very sound and solid Judgment upon his History and his Person.

The Chronicle of *Eusebius*, or the Abridgment of the Universal History of all Times and Places from the Beginning of the World down to his own time, was divided into two Parts: The first was entituled, *Canons of Universal History*, or *Universal Chronography*; and the Second, *Chronical Canons*. In the first, he has collected the Origin and History of all Nations severally, the Succession of all Kings and Princes of the World, of the High-Priests of the Jews, and the Bishops of the Chief Churches from the Birth of Jesus Christ. In the second, he has enlarg'd and digested these Histories according to the order of Time. *St. Jerome* has translated both Parts (m): But there was nothing remaining of the Translation of the First, but some Extracts containing the Names of Kings, which are Printed with the Version of the Second Part. This Translation of *St. Jerome* which was thus Printed at *Basil*, was afterwards Publish'd more exactly by *Arnaud de Pontac*, Bishop of *Bazas*, in the Year 1605. But none took care to Collect the Greek Fragments of the Original of *Eusebius*, before the famous *Joseph Scaliger*, who Publish'd them in the Year 1606, in a Book entituled, *The Treasure of Time*; wherein he gives a larger Version of the First Part of the Chronicle than any other Edition, and renders the Version of the second Part more Correct and Exact; to which he adds many very considerable Greek Fragments, taken out of some later Greek Authors.

This Book of *Eusebius* is a Work of Prodigious Study, and most accomplish'd Learning: For he must have read an infinite number of Books and Ancient Monuments, to compose such an Universal History; and at the same time he must have a well-poiz'd Judgment, to collect so many Particulars, and relate every one of them in their proper time. This infinite Labour, is an evident Proof, that *Eusebius* was a Man of vast Reading and a Prodigious Memory: Nevertheless, it must be confess'd, that the Chronicle of *Africanus* was a great help to him, and that he took almost all his Chronicle, from *Africanus's Chronicle*, which he had Copied. He corrected indeed some of the Faults which he found in him, but then he himself committed many more (n): and indeed it is next to impossible to avoid all Errors in so long and knotty a Work as an Universal Chronicle. These Faults are pardonable in a Book of this Nature, and do not hinder, but that it ought to be esteemed one of the most useful Books of all Antiquity.

The Four Books of the Life of *Constantine*, are, properly speaking, a Panegyrick; in which, he gives an Account as an Orator, rather than as an Historian; not only of the Life of this Emperor, but also of the Revolutions of the Empire, and the Affairs of the Church, in which *Constantine* had a hand. The Style of this Work is more Sublime and Florid than that of the other Books of *Eusebius*, and yet it is not finer, nor more agreeable. He does nothing for the most part, but give slight hints of the Relations which he has given at large elsewhere, and deliver the Heads of them, leaving out the Circumstances and Particulars.

He has added at the End of those Four Books, *Constantine's* Oration to the Convention of the Saints, i. e. to the Christians, and a Harangue in Praise of this

*vatianus*. B. VI. Ch. 45. he makes mistakes in the years of the Pontificates of *Sixtus* and *Eurychianus*.

(m) *St. Jerome has translated both Parts.* *St. Jerome* in his *Commentary upon Daniel*, Ch. 9. saith, that there was found in the Version of the Chronicle of *Eusebius* an Explication of two Passages of Scripture, both which were in his First Part. *Marcellinus* says also plainly, That *St. Jerome* translated the first Part. *St. Jerome* in the Preface to his Version says, that he translated *Eusebius* word for word, from the time of *Abraham* to the taking of *Troy*; and that from the taking of *Troy* to the time of *Constantine*, he had added many things of his own Head, particularly about those Matters that concern the Roman History, which *Eusebius* had neglected; and that he was the Author of what follows after the time of *Constantine*, down to the Sixth Consulship of *Valens*.

(n) *But then he himself committed many more Errors in Chronology.* You may see them observ'd by *Scaliger* in the *Prolegomena* to his *Treasure of Time*.

Emperor



*Eusebius of Caesarea.* Emperor, which he spoke before him at the Festival Solemnity of the 30th Year of his Reign. In this Piece he enlarges upon the Praises of God, the Wonders of his Providence, the Mystery of the Incarnation, the Benefits of Jesus Christ to Mankind, more than upon the Commendation of the Emperor, which he intermixes only now and then; for he praises him as a Christian Prince ought to be praised; that is to say, by publishing those Virtues which have a relation to Piety and Religion. This Discourse is the most Eloquent of all his Works, and is compos'd with much Art and Fineness.

The Fifteen Books of *Evangelical Preparation*, address'd to *Theodorus* (who is believed to have been Bishop of *Laodicea*) and is mention'd in the 32d. Chapter of the Seventh Book of his *Ecclesiastick History*) were written on purpose to dispose the Minds of Men to embrace the Christian Religion. In them *Eusebius* shews, that the Theology of the Pagans was ridiculous, and contrary to good Sense; and That the Christian Theology was Holy and Reasonable. The first Part of this Proposition he proves in the First Six Books, and the second Part in the other Nine. He begins with a general Description of the Doctrine of Christ, and to render it the more enticing, he gives an account of the Ineffable Blessings it has revealed to Mankind, and how it conduces to Piety, by teaching them to know and honour one God. After this he alleges some Prejudices in favour of the Christian Religion, such as the accomplishment of Prophecies, the Holiness of the Lives of Christians, and the wonderful facility, which all Persons, even those that were more dull and barbarous, found in comprehending the greatest and sublimest Truths. After he has thus dispos'd his Readers to be favourable to the Christian Religion, he destroys the Religions of all the Nations of the World, and lays open the Falshood of every one of them in particular, not only as to what concerns their History, but as to their pretended Mysteries and prophane Morality. In the Fourth Book, he confutes the strongest Argument of the Pagans, taken from the Predictions of their Oracles. He shews, that the Gods whom they worship'd were evil Spirits, call'd *Demons*, as the Philosophers themselves have acknowledg'd. In the Sixth Book he opposes Destiny or fatal Necessity, and proves there by many reasons and Testimonies, that Man is entirely a free Agent.

In the following Nine Books, he shews that the Christians had reason to embrace the Theology of the Hebrews, because none but that affords solid Foundations for a Sincere Piety, together with Sound and true Doctrine. This he proves by a particular Induction of their Opinions, because there is no Theology but this which teaches the immortality of the Soul, which commands Men to Adore one God only; which informs them, that he was the Creator of the World, which teaches them that the Word is the Son of God, and that the Holy Ghost is to be Worship'd with the same Worship that is due to the Father and the Son; There is no other Religion but this, which teaches Men, that they must not Adore the Angels as Gods, but honour them as the Ministers of God; which gives a rational account of the Fall of some of the Angels, and instructs Man that he is made after the Image of God: In a Word, there is none but this, whose Doctrine is agreeable to Right Reason. After this, he subjoins a long Fragment out of a Treatise of *Maximus*, which demonstrates that Matter is not Eternal.

In the Eighth Book he gives the History of the version of the *Septuagint*, and to prove the Authority of the Holy Scriptures, he makes it appear by the Testimony of the Jews, that their Law is Mystical and very Significant, which he afterwards represents as worthy of all Esteem by the holiness of their Lives who have embrac'd it, by the Example of the *Essenes*, whose manner of Life he describes and by the Wisdom of *Philo*.

In the Ninth Book, he relates the Testimonies of the Pagans, who have spoken in favour of the Jewish Religion, and of those who allow the Truth of *Moses's* History. In the 10th he shews, that *Plato* and the Pagan Philosophers have taken the greatest part of what they have written, from the Books of *Moses*. In the 11th Book he demonstrates particularly, That the Doctrine of *Plato* is agreeable to that of *Moses*, and compares many of the Opinions of that Philosopher with those of the Jews. He carries on that Comparison in the 12th and 13th Books. But in the mean time, he demonstrates that this Philosopher had his Errors, and that no Book but the Scriptures is wholly free. In the 14th and 15th Books, he relates the Opinions of the Philosophers, he shews their Contradictions, and oftentimes confutes one of them by another: From all which he concludes, that the Christians had reason to forsake the Religion of the Pagans, and embrace that of the Jews.

After he has thus prepar'd the Minds of Men to receive the Christian Religion, by establishing the Authority of

the Religion, and of the Books of the Jews, he demonstrates the Truth of it against the Jews themselves by their own Prophecies. This is the Subject of his Books of *Evangelical Demonstration*, of which there are only Ten remaining of Twenty which he compos'd. In the First Book he shews, that the Law of the Jews was calculated for one Nation only, but the New Testament was design'd for all Mankind; That the Patriarchs had no other Religion but that of the Christians, since they ador'd the same God and the same Word, honour'd him as they do, and resembled their holy Lives. In the second Book he shews by the Prophecies, that the Messiah was to come into the World for all Mankind. In the Third he makes it appear in favour of the Faithful, that Jesus Christ is the Saviour of the World, and demonstrates against the Infidels that he was no Seducer, as his Doctrine, his Miracles, and many other Reasons do evidently prove.

In the Fourth Book he shews, that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, and gives an account of the Reasons for which he was made Man; he explains the Name of Christ, and cites many Prophecies wherein he was foretold by that Name. In the following Books he brings abundance of Prophecies to demonstrate that the coming of Jesus Christ, the time of his Birth, the Circumstances of his Life and Passion, and in a Word, all things that concern'd him, were foretold in the Books of the Old Testament. What we have of these Books, ends with the last words of Christ upon the Cross; and in the following Books he recited the Prophecies concerning his Death, his Burial, his Resurrection, his Ascension, the Establishment of the Church, and the conversion of the Gentiles: But these are wholly lost.

These Books of *Evangelical Preparation* and *Demonstration*, are the largest Work that has been made by any of the Ancients upon this Subject, where a Man may find more Proofs, Testimonies and Arguments for the Truth of the Christian Religion, than in any other. They are very proper to instruct and convince all those that sincerely search after Truth. In fine, *Eusebius* has omitted nothing which might serve to undeceive Men of a false Religion, or convince them of the true.

The Treatise against *Hierocles*, was written against a Book of that Philosopher, publish'd by him under the Name of *Philaethes*, against the Christian Religion; wherein, to render it ridiculous, he has compar'd *Apollonius Tyanus* with Jesus Christ, and says, That *Apollonius* wrought Miracles as well as Christ, and ascended into Heaven as well as he. But *Eusebius* has prov'd in his Answer, that *Apollonius Tyanus* was so far from being comparable to Jesus Christ, that he did not deserve to be rank'd among the Philosophers, and that *Philostratus* who wrote his Life is an Author unworthy of Credit, because he contradicts himself very often, he doubts himself of those very Miracles which he relates, and he reports many things which are plainly Fabulous. At the end of this Treatise *Eusebius* has given some Observations against Fatal Necessity.

In the First of the Five Books against *Marcellus of Ancyra*, *Eusebius* endeavours to prove, That this Bishop wrote his Book upon no other Motive, but the hatred of his Brethren; he charges him with Ignorance of the Holy Scriptures, and rallies him for the impertinent Explications of some Greek Proverbs brought in not at all to the purpose. In fine, he blames him for accusing *Origen*, *Paulinus*, *Narcissus*, *Eusebius of Nicodemia*, and *Asterius*, of Error touching the Mystery of the Trinity, and endeavours to justify their Doctrine about it. In the Second Book, he discovers the Errors of *Marcellus*, and proves, from many passages of his Book, That he believes the Word was not a Person subsisting before he was born of the Virgin, that he denies the distinction of the Son from the Father, that he is positive in asserting the Flesh and not the Word to be the Image of God, the Son of God, the King, the Saviour, and the Christ; and in short, That he durst affirm that this Flesh shall be destroyed, and annihilated after the Day of Judgment.

After he has discovered the Errors and the Malice of *Marcellus of Ancyra*, he confutes his Opinions in the Three following Books, entituled, *Ecclesiastick Theology*, and Dedicated to *Flacillus* Bishop of *Antioch*.

In the first Book he proposes the Faith of the Church which he explains very exactly, rejecting the Errors of the *Ebionites*, *Paulianites*, *Sabellians* and *Arians*. After this, he shews that *Marcellus* is guilty of the *Sabellian* Heresy, and proves by Thirty Arguments drawn from Scripture, That the Word is a Person subsisting of himself. In the Second and Third Books, he goes on to confute the Consequences of *Marcellus's* Error, and the Arguments which he alleges for it, and proves by many Passages of the Old and New Testament, that the Word is a Subistence, or a Person Subsisting distinguish'd from the Person of the Father.



From these Books we may learn the true Opinion of *Eusebius* concerning the Divinity of the Word. He has declar'd in many places, That the Word is God, and the Son of God; and he says plainly, That

B. 1. Ch. 2. B. 3. he was not made of nothing, nor created in time; but begotten from all Eternity of the Substance of the Father.

He does expressly reject the Error of those that say the Word, was made of Nothing, and so place him in the number of Creatures. But he seems to insinuate in some Places, and chiefly B. II. Ch. 7. That the Person of the Son is not equal to the Person of the Father, and that the same Adoration is not due to him (o). And it is not only in these Books that he speaks after this manner; for he does the like in all his other Writings; wherein he rejects the Impious Opinion of those that say, the Son was made of nothing, That he is not of the Substance of the Father, That there was a time when he was not: But then at the same time he seems to admit some inequality between the Father and the Son, and to acknowledge some

Hist. B. 1. c. 2.  
Præp. B. 4. c. 5.  
Dem. B. 4. c. 3. B. 5. c. 3.  
In an Ep. cited in Second Council of Nice.

sort of Dependence upon, and Inferiority of the Son to the Father. For this reason it was that he made no scruple to declare in the Council of Nice, That the Son was God from all Eternity; where he also plainly disavow'd the Impiety of *Arius*, who says, That he was made of nothing, That there was a time when he was not: Yet he found some difficulty to approve the term *Consubstantial*, that is, to confess, That the Son is of the same Substance with the Father; and after he had consented to it by his Signing, he gave such a Sense of the Word in a Letter which he wrote to his Church, as does not at all Confirm the Equality of the Father and the Son: His Words are these, *When it is said, That the Son is Consubstantial with the Father, the meaning is only, That the Son of God has no resemblance to any Creature that was made by him, but a perfect resemblance to the Father by whom he was begotten, and not by any other Subsistence or Substance.* This plainly shews, that *Eusebius* did not approve this term as it establishes a perfect equality between the Father and the Son (p), but only as it signifies the resemblance of the Son to the Father, and that the Son was begotten of the Father. It may be said to excuse *Eusebius*, That he did not admit this Inequality between the Father and the Son for any other reason, but because the Son receiv'd his Substance from the Father: But he does every where make use of such Emphatical Expressions to denote this Inequality, that it is difficult to explain them in this Sense, especially since he wrote his Books against *Marcellus*, wherein he speaks after the same manner, in a time when this Question was debated and even determined: For these Expressions which might be Innocent in former times, ought to be suspected after the Decision of the Council of Nice. We might further add the Correspondence which he maintain'd with the Bishops of *Arius's* Faction, the Praises which he always gave them, his affected Silence in his History, as to what concerns the Council of Nice, and the disadvantageous Way that he speaks of it in his Books of the Life of *Constantine*. But though *Eusebius's* Doctrine could be justified as to the Divinity of the Son, yet it will be much harder to Defend what he says of the Holy Spirit; for he asserts, not only in his Books of *Evangelical Preparation* and *Demonstration*, but also in his Third Book of *Ecclesiastical Theology*, That he is not truly God: *The Holy Spirit*, says he, *is neither God, nor the Son of God, because he does not derive his Original from, the Father as the Son does, being of the number of those things which were made by the Son.* What we have hitherto said concerning the Opinion of *Eusebius* about the Trinity, does plainly demonstrate on the one side, That *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, and some late Au-

(o) He seems to Insinuate in some places—That the Person of the Son is not Equal to the Person of the Father, &c.] B. I. Ch. 2. of his History he calls the Son the Minister of the Father's Will, and second Cause next to him. He says, that the Father Commands, and the Son Executes, and that 'tis not Possible for the Father to assume a Human shape. In his Oration at the Dedication of the Church of Tyre, he calls the Son of God, the Second Cause of our Blessings, the Angel of his Council, and the Captain of the Armies of God. Yet these Expressions are more tolerable than that which is found B. V. Of *Evangelical Preparation*, Ch. 4. That the Son is not adorable but upon the account of the Father that dwelleth in him; and Ch. VIII. That the Son is a Lord inferior to the Father. In short, what he says, B. II. Ch. 7. Of *Theology*, and in other places, is inexcusable, That the Glory of the Son is less than the Glory of the Father, and that the Son does not deserve Equal honour with the Father.

(p) That *Eusebius* did not approve this Term *Consubstantial*, as it Establishes a perfect Equality between the Father and the

thors are to blame, who wholly excuse him; and on the other side, That it is a great Piece of Injustice to call *Eusebius* him *Arian*, and the very head of the *Arians*, as St. *Jerome* has done, whom many others have followed, since he formally rejected the Principal Errors of *Arius*, which are, That the Word was made of nothing, That he is not of the Substance of the Father, That he is unlike the Father, and that there was a time when he was not.

His Sentiments about the other Articles of the Christian Religion, appear to be very Orthodox: He explains the Mystery of the Incarnation in a most Catholick manner (q), acknowledging in Jesus Christ two Natures united in one and the same Person, and yet distinguish'd by their properties. His Discourse is very found as to the causes of Christ's coming, and his Death, and the merits of his Sacrifice which he offer'd upon the Cross to make satisfaction for Mankind, where he saith, that his Divinity suffer'd not, but only his Humanity.

He Discourseth often of the good Offices of the Angels to Men, and of the Worship that's due to them; he gives an Account of the fall of the Evil Angels, and demonstrates that the Ancient Patriarchs had some knowledge of Jesus Christ, and that they were saved by the Merits of his Death. He attributes much to the free-will of Man. He praises the State of Virginity as more perfect, and the Celibacy of Priests, without blaming Marriage. He acknowledges, that the Monuments of the Saints, have a just Right to be honoured. He discourses of the Oblation of the Body and Blood of Christ, of which he saith, The Bread offered by *Melchisedech*, was a Figure. In fine, He approves the Prayers of the Church for the Dead. *Photius*, Epist. 144. accuses him of denying with *Origen* the general Resurrection, and at the same time takes notice, that many have not observed this Error in his Writings, and that it is not to be discovered there but by a careful Examination of them. But, however it may be in other Books, there is not the least footstep of it in those that are now extant.

St. *Jerome* maintains in his Book against *Ruffinus*, That *Eusebius* alone was the Author of the six Books of *Apology* for *Origen*, which have been ascribed to *Pamphilus*: But it appears by the Testimony of *Eusebius* himself, B. 6. of his History, Ch. 33. and also by that of *Photius*, That he compos'd the 1st. five Books, together with *Pamphilus*, and added the 6th. after his Martyrdom. We have the Translation of the 1st. of those Books, which he begins with an Invektive against those that accuse the Person and Doctrine of *Origen*; and then he produces many passages out of his Works to justify him, concerning the Trinity and the Incarnation, the Pains of the damn'd, and concerning the Nature and State of Souls. St. *Jerome* accuses *Ruffinus* of having changed those places in his Version, which seem'd to favour the Error of the *Arians*, about the Divinity of the Son and the Holy Ghost: *Ruffinus* does not deny the Charge, but only pretends that those passages had been since added. Some Books of this *Apology* contain'd the Life of *Origen*, and a Catalogue of his Writings, as appears by the Testimony of St. *Jerome*, and the Report of *Photius*, Vol. 118. of his *Bibliothèque*.

The Book of *Topography*, or the Names that the Hebrews give to several Countries, translated by St. *Jerome*, and lately published in Greek, is a Geographical Explication of all the Countries, Cities, and Places, which are mentioned in the Books of the Old Testament. This Treatise is very exact and curious, and shews that *Eusebius* was an able Man in every thing.

Son.] St. *Athanasius* testifies in his Treatise of Synods, and in his Book of the Decision of the Council of Nice, that he did by no means approve of the Explication that *Eusebius* gave of this Term.

(q) He explains the Mystery of the Incarnation in a most Catholick manner.] In a Letter to the Empress *Constantia*, cited in the Second Council of Nice, and ascribed to *Eusebius*, he seems to assert, that the Human Nature was changed into the Divine, from whence some took occasion in the Council to accuse him of the Error of the *Theopassians*: But he teaches the contrary in the Fourth Book of his *Demonstration*, where he formally denies that the Divine Nature suffered. Yet in the 14th. Ch. he says, that after the Resurrection of Jesus Christ, the Man was swallowed up of the Divine Nature, and that the Word was become God as he was before he was Man, the Man being made God. But this is only a Figurative Expression, to denote the Glory of the Humanity of Christ, for he plainly rejects this Error, in his Books of *Mystic Theology* against *Marcellus*, especially, B. III. Ch. 10, 11, &c.



*Eusebius of Caesarea.* The *Harmony of the Evangelists*, or the *Rules for reconciling them*, contains ten Tables, in each of which, he has mark'd by Arithmetical Figures, with wonderful Art, what is related by 4, by 3, by 2, or by 1 Evangelist only: So that in reading the New Testament, where the Figures of those Tables are mark'd in the Margin, one may presently know, by having Recourse to that Table, not only by how many, and by which of the Evangelists, but also in what places it has been related. He compos'd these *Rules*, according to the *Harmony of Ammonius*, to which they were instead of a Table, as he himself observes in his Letter to *Carpianus* at the beginning of them.

We have a Latin Fragment yet extant, of the *Harmony of the Evangelists*, upon the Subject of their apparent Contradictions about the Time of the Resurrection of Christ, translated by the Monk *Ambrosius*, which is believed to be *Eusebius's*.

It is said, There are some Greek Commentaries of *Eusebius* upon *Isaiah*, mentioned by *Heinsius*. St. *Jerome* in his Epistle to *Pammachius*, speaks of *Eusebius's* Commentaries upon the Epistle to the *Corinthians*. *Theodoret* in the first Book of his *History*, ch. 16, says, That he made Abridgments of the Scripture. 'Tis reported that in the Library of *Florence*, there are some Manuscript Commentaries upon the *Psalms*, which are ascribed to *Eusebius*; and *Gelasius* in his Book of the two Natures, cites a Passage of *Eusebius* taken out of those Commentaries. I do not mention the Commentaries upon the *Canticles*, published by *Meursius* under *Eusebius's* Name, because they are none of his, but compos'd by a much later Author, as we have already proved.

The Treatise of the Lives of the Prophets, is a short Abridgment of their Lives, and of the most remarkable things that are in their Prophecies.

The Tracts or Discourses published in Latin by *Sirmondus*, have much of the Air of *Eusebius*; whereof the two first were written against the Heresie of *Sabellius*, to refute that Error, and prove by the Scriptures, that the WORD is a Person distinct from the Father, and there he occasionally discourses against *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*, whom he calls the *Galatian*. In the following Discourse he treats of the Resurrection, and having established the Providence and Justice of God by sensible Proofs, he thence concludes, That there is a Resurrection; because if there were no other Recompence but in this Life, it would follow, that God were unjust, seeing good Men are oftentimes deprived of all the Advantages of this Life, which wicked Men most commonly enjoy. He shews by the Resolution that appeared in *Abraham*, when he went to sacrifice his Son, and by all the Circumstances of that Action which he describes very eloquently; he shews, I say, That this Patriarch must needs believe a future Resurrection, for otherwise he would never have attempted with so much Confidence and Zeal, to sacrifice that which was dearest to him in this World. He confutes the Opinion of the Pharisees, who held that Men are raised again from the dead to eat and drink, and enjoy the same Pleasures which they had in this Life.

The fourth Tract, is a Discourse upon the Day of the Ascension of Jesus Christ, wherein he proves the truth of his Resurrection and Ascension, by the Constancy of the Martyrs and Apostles, and by the wonderful Promulgation of the Gospel. He observes how impossible it was, that ever the Apostles should undertake to preach the Christian Religion, and succeed in their Attempt, if God had not encouraged them by his Spirit, and disposed the Hearts of Men to receive their Doctrine. In this Discourse, he describes also the Martyrdom of St. *Romanus* Deacon of *Anzioch*. In the six following Tracts, he discourses of things spiritual and invisible; and, in the first, he shews, That God is incorporeal and invisible, and demonstrates that things incorporeal and invisible, are infinitely more excellent than those that are material and earthly. In the second and third, he proves, That the Soul of Man is immortal and spiritual, and describes the great advantages it gives a Man above the Beasts. The fourth Tract is, concerning the Thought of

Man, which has these remarkable Properties; First, That it knows it self; and, secondly, That it resists and checks the Motions of Lust. In the fifth, He goes on still to prove, That God is invisible and incorporeal, and takes notice as he goes along, That Angels are spiritual. In the sixth, He answers some Passages of Scripture which seem to attribute Members to God.

The following Discourse is, concerning the Advantages of the Incarnation of Jesus Christ, and the great benefits it hath procured to Mankind. There he explains that saying of our Saviour, *I came not to bring peace, but war*; by shewing, That Jesus Christ came indeed to bring peace; but Men being unwilling to receive it, there must be war, by necessary consequence, as arising only from the bad disposition of their own Hearts. Towards the end of this Discourse, he praises those that suffer for the Religion of Jesus Christ, and continues the same subject in the following Discourse, wherein he shews upon occasion of those Words of our Saviour, *Preach ye upon the House-tops, what has been said to you in secret*. That nothing can displease with a Christian's suffering for the Religion of Christ. He adds, that though there be no Persecution, yet we are obliged to suffer, and to be (as one may say) continually Martyrs, because we are always to fight against the World and our selves. The two last Discourses are concerning good Works; in the first of which, he recommends it to Christians, if they would be happy, to follow after that which is good, and shun that which is evil. And in the second, he exhorts them to the practise of good Works, and chiefly to giving of Alms. This is the subject of those Discourses, which are more concerning Doctrines than Morality, wherein there appears a great deal of Wit, good Sense, and Eloquence, but little of Order and Method.

*Eusebius* was one of the most learned Men of all Antiquity, as both his Friends and Enemies do equally acknowledge (r); of whom it may be said without fear of mistaking, That there was no Man of so great Reading and Learning amongst all our Greek Authors. Almost all his Books are the Effects of prodigious Labour, and very long and laborious Enquiries. And yet it must be confessed, that he had great helps by the Memoirs of those who had written before him upon the same Subjects, whose Works he makes no scruple to transcribe. He did not much study to polish his Discourses, which is the common fault of almost all those that make Knowledge and Learning their chief Business. His Style is neither elegant nor grateful, as *Photius* has many times observed, but dry and barren, and extremely unpleasant. He is very proper to teach those who apply their minds seriously to study and search after Truth, and love to consider it absolutely naked, despoiled of all the Ornaments of Language; but he is not at all proper to entice those who are taken with the manner of expressing things, and the force of Eloquence. I shall not here add any thing to what I have said concerning his Learning: But as to what concerns his Person, he seems to have been very impartial, very sincere, and a great Lover of Peace, Truth and Religion. For although he maintained an intimate Correspondence with the Enemies of St. *Athanasius*, it does not appear that he was his Enemy, nor that he sided much with any party in the Controversy of the Bishops of that time. He was present, indeed, in the Councils, wherein unjust things were done to *Eustathius* and St. *Athanasius*; but it does not appear, that he gave any Signs of an angry Temper, nor that he serv'd the Passions of other Men. He was not the Author of new Confessions of Faith, neither did he carry on any Plot, to the Destruction of St. *Athanasius*, or the Ruin of his Party; but he only desired to accommodate Differences, and reconcile the two Parties. He did not abuse the Credit which he had with the Emperor, to advance himself, nor to destroy his Enemies, as *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia* did; but he only made use of it for the Welfare and Advantage of the Church. I do not doubt but so many good Qualities obtained him a place among the Saints, in the Martyrologies of *Ussuardus* and *Ado*, and some other Ancient Offices of the Church of France (s); for though I must con-

(r) *Eusebius* was one of the most learned Men of all Antiquity, as both his Friends and Enemies do equally acknowledge.] See here a part of the Testimonies which the Ancients have given to the Learning of *Eusebius*. *Constantine* in his Epistle to those of *Anzioch*, and in a Letter which he wrote to himself, praises his vast Learning. St. *Basil* in his Book of the *H. Spirit*, ch. 29. calls him an Author worthy of credit, because of his universal Learning, διὰ πολυπειρίαν ἀξιόπιστος. St. *Jerome*, though the great Enemy of *Eusebius*, could not forbear oftentimes to praise his Learning, to confess that he priz'd his Books, and to say in his second Book against *Ruffinus*, That he was a most learned Man, *Vir doctissimus Eusebius; doctissimum dico, non Catholicum: The most learned Eusebius, I call him most learned, but not Catholick*: It is not to be wondered at, that *Ruffinus* his Friend gives him the same Title. *Antipater* of *Bosra*, though he did not favour him, yet gives him the Name of πολὺς, i. e. one very knowing in most Matters; and further says of him, that he had read all the Books of the Ancients, examined and explained all their Opinions, and that he had written himself most useful Books. *Philostorgius* praises him for

his History, *Socrates* and *Sozomen* vindicate him, *Victorius* calls him a most learned Man. *Gelasius* the Pope durst not reject his History, because of its great Learning, and singular usefulness for Information. *Pelagius* assures us, That there is no History that deserves greater Esteem, than that of *Eusebius*. *Photius*, who censures the Style and Doctrine of *Eusebius*, nevertheless, commends his Knowledge and Learning. I take no notice of the Testimonies of modern Authors.

(s) Obtain'd him a place among the Saints in the Martyrologies of *Ussuardus* and *Ado*, and in some ancient Offices of the Church of France.] The Author of the Life of St. *Valerian* calls him, *Eusebius* of holy Memory. *Ussuardus* in June 21, calls him, St. *Eusebius* of *Palastine*, Bishop and Confessor, an excellent Wit and Historian. *Notkerus* in June 21, lays, The Deposition of St. *Eusebius* in *Casarea*. *Manecharius* in a Letter to *Ceraunius* Bishop of *Paris*, which is before the Passion of the Martyrs, *Spensippus*, *Elastippus*, and *Meleusippus*, call him Saint. There is in a Manuscript Breviary at *Limoges*, three Lectures to his praise. In an ancient Breviary of the same Church, printed in 1587. at



felt he kept not peaceable Possession of this Honour of *Eusebius* of Saintship, yet in my mind, it would be a rash Censure to judge him altogether unworthy of it.

Since the Works of *Eusebius* have been printed severally, we will now give an Account of the several Editions of every one of them.

There were but two Greek Editions of his *Ecclesiastical History* before that of *Valesius*. The first was only Greek, printed by *Robert Stephen*, in the year 1544.

The second was Greek with the Version of *Christophorson*, on the other side, printed at *Geneva*, in the year 1612.

The Version of this *Ecclesiastical History*, made by *Ruffinus*, was printed at *Rome*, in the year 1476, in Folio, and in the year 1479, at *Mantua*, and at *Haguenaw* in the year 1500.

There was an old Edition printed without date at *Paris*, in Svo. by *Renault*, and published by the care of *Godfrey Bouffard*, Dr. of the Faculty of *Paris*, who has put an elegant and sensible Preface before it, addressed to *Stephen Poncher*, then President of the Parliament of *Paris*. He observes in this Preface, that the History of *Eusebius*, translated by *Ruffinus*, had been already printed. There have been since that time, several Editions of the same Version of that History in several places, in the years 1544, and 1528, and at *Lyons*, in 1523, and with all *Eusebius's* Works in 1542, and 1559, and at *Paris* in 1541.

The Version of *Musculus* was printed at *Basil*, in 1554.

The Version of *Christophorson*, [Bishop of *Chichester* in *England*,] was printed at *Cologne* and *Basil*, in 1570, at *Paris*, in 1571, and with the Amendments of *Suffridus*, in 1581.

At last, the Version of *Valesius* was printed with the Greek on one side, revis'd by four Manuscripts, at *Paris*, by *Vitré*, in the year 1659, together with the Critical Notes of that learned Man; to which he has added four Treatises or Dissertations: The first concerning the Schism of the *Donatists*, where he has cleared up many Points of that History, which before were very dark and confused, and discovered some considerable Errors, into which almost all the Historians of our time had fallen. The second is a Letter to a Friend, where he shews, That it is the same Church at *Jerusalem*, which is called by the Name of the *Resurrection*, and which bears the Name of the *Death of Jesus Christ*. The third, clears up some Difficulties concerning the Version of the *Septuagint*. And the last, is a Critical Account of some Martyrologies. This is the fairest and most correct of all the late Editions in Greek and Latin; which has been since re-printed by *Petit*: But this second Edition falls much short of the Neatness of the first. The *Chronicle* has likewise been printed apart in 4to. in the year 1470, and 1512, and together with the *History*, and the other Works of *Eusebius*, as has been noted above.

*Montfieur de Pontac*, Bishop of *Bazas*, publish'd it in 1605, at *Bordeaux*, and it has been since printed at *Antwerp*, in 1608.

*Scaliger's Thesaurus*, printed in 1606, contains the Latin *Chronicle* of *St. Jerome*, the Supplements of the two *Prosper*, the *Chronicle* of *Victor*, *John* and *Idacius*, of *Marcellinus*, of *Marcellus*, and an Historical Collection in Latin, extracted out of the *Chronicles* of *Africanus* and *Eusebius*, by an ignorant Man, together with the Greek Fragments of the *Chronicle* of *Eusebius*, an Abridgment of History from *Adam*, down to the second Year of *Heraclius*, which bears the Name of the *Fasti Siculi*, or the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*, and has been since publish'd in 4to. Greek and Latin, by *Raderus*, in 1615. [All which Editions have been lately superseded

by an Edition in Folio, printed at the *Louvre* by Mr. du Cange.] After this Abridgment, follows the *Chronography* of *Eusebius* of the Patriarch *Nicephorus*, and an Epitome or abridgment of *Casarea*. many Histories, compos'd by way of Chronicle. After these, follow the Notes of *Scaliger*, and a Work, Entitled, *Canon Isagogicus*, or an *Introduction to Chronology*. There was a second Edition of this Work, printed at *Amsterdam*, in 1658, wherein the Notes of *Scaliger* are more Large and Correct.

The Books of *Eusebius* concerning the Life of *Constantine*, have almost always been printed with his *History*. The Version of those Books by *Fortesius* was annex'd to the Version of his *Ecclesiastical History* by *Ruffinus*.

*Christophorson* translated three of those Books to add them to his *History*, and the Fourth was finished by *Suffridus*. *Valesius* made a New Translation of them. The Oration made in the Praise of *Constantine*, was also printed by it self in Latin at *Cologne*, in 1581. The Version of the fourteen Books of *Evangelical Preparation*, and of the ten First of *Evangelical Demonstration*, made by *Georgius Trapezuntius*, was printed at *Venice* in 1497, and at *Paris* in 1534; but it is very unfaithfully done, because that Author gives himself the Liberty to add to it, or take away what he pleases, in that which concerns the Trinity. The Fifteen Books of *Preparation*, were also printed in Greek at *Paris*, by *Robert Stephen* in the Year 1544; and the Year following, the same Printer publish'd the ten Books of the *Demonstration*. Since that time, the Version of the ten Books of the *Demonstration* made by *Donatus* of *Verona*, together with that of the fourteen Books of the *Preparation* made by *Georgius Trapezuntius*, and that of the Fifteenth by *Hopperus*, was subjoin'd to the Versions of the other Works of *Eusebius*, in the Editions which we have already mention'd.

To conclude, the Books of *Evangelical Preparation* and *Demonstration* (which deserve to be separated from the rest, since they belong to different Subjects) have been Printed in Greek at *Paris* in the Year 1628. in two Volumes in Folio, with a new Version of the fifteen Books of the *Preparation*, made by the Jesuit *Vigerus*, and *Donatus's* Version of the Books of the *Demonstration*, which Versions are plac'd over against the Greek. Moreover in this Edition was added, the Greek of *Eusebius's* Treatise against *Hierocles*, which had been already revised by *Holstenius*, publish'd by *Morellus* in 1606, together with the Ancient Translation of *Accolus*, which had also been Printed apart at *Cologne* in 1532, with the Latin Works of *Eusebius*; and in short, the five Books against *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*, with the Translation of *Richard Montague*, and some Notes of his added at the end, which for the most part are in favour of *Marcellus*, and against *Eusebius*.

The Book of the *Holy Land* has been publish'd in Greek, as we have already observ'd, by *Bonsfrerius* the Jesuit, and printed at *Paris* in 1631. In 1580, *Curterius* put forth some Fragments concerning the Lives of the Prophets, which he has prefix'd to the Commentaries of *Procopius* upon *Isaiah*. The Notes upon the *Canticles* ascrib'd to *Eusebius*, have also been publish'd in Greek, without a Version, by *Meursius*, and printed with *Polychronius* and *Pfellus* in the Year 1617. The Tracts publish'd in Latin by *Sirmondus* were also printed at *Paris* in *Octavo* in 1643. In fine, The Letter to *Carpianus*, and the *Evangelical Canons* of *Eusebius*, are to be found at the beginning of some Editions of the New Testament, and in Greek at the beginning of the Greek New Testament, printed at the *Louvre*, by *Robert Stephen* in the year 1550.

June 21. there is an Oration in praise of *Eusebius*; and in the *Missal*, printed in 1484, a Mass of *St. Eusebius*. In an ancient Manuscript Version of *Eusebius's* History, at the Church of *Paris*, the Name of *Saint* is given to him. Cardinal *Baronius* says, That all this is the mistake of some that took *Eusebius* Bishop of *Casarea*, for *Eusebius* of *Samosata*, and upon this Conjecture,

he raises the Name of the first out of the *Roman* Martyrology. But *Baronius* affirms this without any ground, and against the express Testimonies of the Martyrologies, which do plainly mention *Eusebius* Bishop of *Casarea*, and distinguish him from all others by most evident Characters, in which no man can be deceived.

## CONSTANTINE the first Christian Emperor.

Constantine the Emperor.

Though it be a very rare thing to see the Name of an Emperor, in a Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, yet this of *Constantine* is commonly to be found among them, because of some Discourses which he made and repeated, if we will believe *Eusebius*: and it may be also upon the account of the many Letters which he wrote, and Edicts which he made in favour of the Chri-

stian Religion: But before we say any thing of the Writings of this Emperor, it will be necessary according to our usual Method, to give a short Abridgment of his Life.

*Constantine* was the Son of the Emperor *Constantius Chlorus*, who was the only Person of all those that shar'd the Empire in his time, that did not Persecute the Christians (a). His Mother was call'd *Helena*, a Woman of mean Birth,

(a) Who was the only Person of all those that shar'd the Empire in his time, that did not Persecute the Christians.] The *Donatists* in a Petition which they presented to *Constantine*, say, that he was the Son of a Just Father, who did not Persecute the Christians. *Euseb. Hist. B. VIII. Ch. 13, 15. And Ch.*

16. he relates, that *Constantius* was very favourable to the Christians: And *Constantine* himself in his Edict, recited by *Eusebius*, in his Books of the Life of that Emperor, says, that his Father was the only Emperor, who was favourable to the Worship of the True God.

who



Constantine the Emperor.

who had not the Title of Empress, while Constantius liv'd (b).

Constantine in his youth, gave early proof of what might be expected from him afterward; His Conduct and Courage appear'd a little before his Father's Death: For being detain'd as an Hostage by the Emperor Galerius, and foreseeing plainly that he and his Associates had a design to kill him, that they might invade that part of the Empire which belong'd to his Father Constantius, who could not live long, he made his Escape out of the hands of the Tyrants, took Post and went in great hast to find his Father in Britain. He kill'd all the Horses which he found at the Post-houses on the Road which he past, to hinder his Enemies from pursuing after him. When he came into Britain, he found his Father on his Death-Bed, who chose him for his Successor. After his Death, he was Proclaim'd Emperor by the Soldiers on the Sixth day of August, in the year of Jesus Christ 306. He was no-sooner Emperor, but he gain'd the love of all his Subjects, by visiting the Provinces under his Government, to give them necessary Orders, and by beating back the Barbarians, who would have pass'd the Rhine to enter into his Territories; but they were defeated, and two of their Kings kill'd in the year 312. After this he attack'd the Tyrant Maxentius, who had laid Rome desolate by his Cruelties. He march'd towards Italy with an Army of 40000 Men, seiz'd upon all the Cities that oppos'd his Passage, or constrain'd them to submit, and defeated three several times the Troops of Maxentius. In short, the Tyrant coming to meet him with a great Army near Rome, was entirely conquer'd, and perish'd by the fall of a Bridge, over which he was passing to save himself. Eusebius says, that Constantine assur'd him, he saw then in the Heavens, a Cross of Light with this Inscription, [By this Sign you shall overcome your Enemies,] and that Jesus Christ appear'd to him when he was Sleeping, and commanded him to make a Standard after the form of a Cross, which he did in Obedience to this Revelation, and after his Victory, he plac'd his Standard among the Trophies in the midst of the City of Rome, with this Inscription: [By this Salutory Sign, which is the Mark of the true Power, I have deliver'd your City from the Yoke of Tyranny, and Establish'd your Senate and People in their ancient Splendor.] After he had regulated the Affairs of Rome, Constantine came to Milan, where he celebrated the Nuptials of his Sister with the Emperor Licinius. In this City 'twas that the two Emperors publish'd their first Edict in favour of the Christian Religion, in which they granted Liberty of Conscience to all their Subjects; and a little after, at their going out of Milan, they allow'd the Christians by a second Edict, the Publick Exercise of their Religion, and commanded that those places should be restor'd to them wherein they had usually kept their Assemblies. A short time after this, the two Emperors quarrell'd, and declar'd War against one another in the year 314. Licinius lost at first a great Battle in Pannonia; but at the second in Thracia, the Advantage was equal on both Sides, which induc'd the Emperors to make Peace for that time.

The Wars and Affairs of the Empire did not hinder Constantine from concerning himself with the Affairs of the Christians: For having receiv'd Complaints in behalf of the Donatists against Cæcilian and other African Bishops, he appointed for Judges, such as liv'd out of Africk, and summon'd a Council to meet at Rome under Miltiades, about this Matter. But the Donatists still complaining of this Decision (c), he call'd a Council at Arles, where they were condemn'd a new; and at last when they appeal'd from the Determination of this Council to the Emperor, either because he believ'd that he might take cognizance of the Matter, since there was nothing alledg'd, but a particular Accusation against Cæcilian, which was Matter of Fact; or because he would oblige the Donatists to yield, as St. Austin observes, he himself gave Judgment at Milan in favour of Cæcilian, condemn'd the Donatists, and wrote against them in Africk; caus'd an Information to be drawn up against Silvanus, who was of their Party, and their Temples to be taken from them; but yet he recommended them to be gently dealt withal, as a means to bring them back again into the Bosom of the Church. About this time he made many Laws in favour of the Christians. He permitted Masters to grant Liberty to their Slaves that were within the Church, in presence of the Bishop and the People. He made Laws for the due Observation of Sunday, forbidding all sorts of Persons to Travel on that Day; and allow'd Men to leave their Goods to the Church by Testament. On the contra-

ry, Licinius Emperor of the East, publish'd Edicts against the Christians, caus'd their Churches to be demolish'd, and themselves to be Persecuted, or at least conniv'd at those that did so. Constantine declar'd War against him in 324. Emperor. conquer'd him near Adrianople and Chalcedon, and then besieged him in Nicomedia, whither he had retir'd after his Defeat. Licinius seeing that he was not able to maintain the Siege, came and threw himself at Constantine's Feet, who gave him his Life at the instance of his Wife, who was Licinius's Daughter, and then sent him to Thessalonica, where a little after he caus'd him to be put to Death, under pretence that he design'd to stir up Sedition. After this, Constantine Abrogated the Edicts of Licinius against the Christians, and commanded that those who were Condemn'd to the Mines or Banishment, or had been depriv'd of their Honour or Goods upon the account of Religion, should be releas'd and re-establish'd in their former Estate; That the Goods of the Martyrs which had been Confiscated should be return'd to their Heirs, that the Churches of Christians should be Rebuilt, and their Burial-places restor'd unto them: Then he exhorted all his Subjects very earnestly in a Letter, to embrace the Christian Religion.

And he did not only take care to preserve the Church in Peace against the Attempts of its Enemies, but he us'd his utmost endeavours to hinder all Divisions in its Bowels by the Disputes of those who were its profess'd Members. He applied himself to allay the Controversy between Arius and Alexander, by writing a Letter to them, wherein he earnestly Exhorts them to Peace, in a most moving and persuasive manner, assuring them that he had delay'd his Voyage to the East, for fear of finding them there at Variance, and praying them to open by their good Agreement, his Passage to the East, which they had hitherto, as one may say, stop'd up by their Differences. He sent this Letter by Hosius Bishop of Corduba, a Man commendable for his Worth and Prudence. This Bishop having call'd a Synod in the City of Alexandria, did all that in him lay to appease their Differences, but not being able to compass his Design, Constantine judg'd, that the best way to restore Peace to the Church, was to summon a General Council of the East and West in the City of Nice in Bithynia. He himself assisted at it, Exhorted the Bishops to Peace, and refus'd to receive the Accusations which one Party form'd against the other. He made them agree in the same Doctrine, and approv'd the Decision of the Council, to which they all Subscribed, except Secundus and Theonas. He wrote himself to all the World, and exhorted all the Bishops to receive the Decrees of this Council. He banish'd Arius and two Bishops that had taken his Part in the Synod; he caus'd the Books of that Heretick to be burnt; he forbad all his Subjects to keep them; and wrote in particular two very earnest Letters against Arius, and his followers. In short, he treated the Bishops of the Council magnificently, testified a great deal of Friendship to them, and sent them away laden with Presents. Eusebius and Theognis having publish'd anew their Errors after the Council, altho' they had Subscribed to its Decrees, were by him sent into Banishment.

After this, he caus'd the Sepulchre of Jesus Christ to be found out in Jerusalem, and built a stately Church there, as well as at Bethlehem, and at the Mount of Olives. 'Tis said, That he discovered the Cross of Christ, and some pretend that many Miracles were then done by it. And yet it is very strange, that Eusebius, an Eye-witness of those things, who has exactly described all the Circumstances of the Discovery of Christ's Sepulchre, and who forgets nothing that may be to the Advantage of Religion, should not say one word, neither of the Cross of Christ, nor of the Miracles that are pretended to be wrought by it. About the same time, he gave the Name of Constantinople to the City of Byzantium, and endowed it with the same Priveleges which Old Rome enjoy'd, from whence it had the Name of New Rome. After this, he laboured more than ever he had done, to aggrandize the Church; he made Laws against Hereticks, wrote to the King of Persia in favour of the Christians, destroyed the Temples of Idols, gave great Gifts to Churches, and caus'd magnificent Copies of the Bible to be made: In a word, he did so much for Religion, that he had good right to be call'd Bishop of the Church, as to those things that concern its external Policy. And truly the Church had no reason to complain of his Conduct, till the latter end of his Life, when he gave ear to the accusations that were brought to him against St. Athanasius, by those Bishops that favoured Arius's Faction: For they being offended with him because he would not appear at a Council held at Casarea,

(b) Who had not the Title of Empress, while Constantius liv'd.] Eusebius, St. Jerome, Cassiodorus, and Orosius, make no scruple to give her the Title of Constantius's Concubine; Eutropius, altho' a Pagan, sweetens this Expression, by saying, that Constantine was born of a Marriage that was but little known, i. e. That tho' Helena was Married to Constantius, yet she had not the Title of Empress; (and those Women that had not the honourable Name of Augusta, were call'd the Concubines of the Emperors.) Helena had not this Dignity till after the Death of Constantius, and then her Son gave it her, as Eusebius observes. She was of Drepane a City of Bithynia, to which Constantine gave the Name

of Helenopolis, in honour of his Mother. It is agreed on all hands, that she was of mean Extraction; and St. Ambrose says, She was an Hostess, and by this means Constantius first became acquainted with her.

(c) But the Donatists still complaining of this Decision.] Valesius has prov'd in his Dissertation about the History of the Donatists, that the Donatists, did not appeal from the Synod at Rome; but only complain'd to the Emperor that their Cause was not fully examin'd; and that they appeal'd afterwards from the determination of the Council at Arles, to that of the Emperor.



Constantine the Emperor. whither he had been cited to come, mov'd the Emperor to summon a Synod in the City of Tyre, to judge his cause. There St. Athanasius appear'd, and finding that his Enemies had injuriously oppress'd him, he had recourse to the Emperor, and went to him at Constantinople. Constantine, although prejudiced against him, yet heard him favourably, and commanded the Bishops of the Council of Tyre, who had called another afterwards at Jerusalem, to come to him and render an account of their Proceedings. They deputed six Bishops to go to the Emperor, and accuse St. Athanasius; but those Deputies durst not alledge the Facts, of which they had accused him at the Council of Tyre, for fear lest the Emperor, being a Lover of Justice, should discover their Falshood, and declare him innocent. They consult therefore how they might charge him with a Crime against the State, by saying, that he threatened to hinder the Transportation of Corn from Alexandria to Constantinople. This Accusation made such Impression upon the Emperor's Mind, and so stirred him up against St. Athanasius, that he immediately banish'd him to Triers, a City of Gaul. The Enemies of St. Athanasius having thus procured his Banishment who was the great Opposer of Arius, they call'd back again this Heretick, and used all their Endeavours to restore him to the Communion of the Church. But Constantine would not hear of it, 'till after he had drawn up a Confession of Faith, which appear'd contrary to his Errors, and had sworn and protested that this was his Doctrine; yet, even after he had done this, the Emperor, being always jealous of the Man, said to him, 'If thy Faith be right, as thou wouldst make us believe, thou hast done well to swear; but if not, then let God condemn thee to some Punishment for this false Oath. Which Words were followed with a suitable Effect; for in a little time after, Arius perished miserably, the day before he should have been admitted to the Communion of the Church at Constantinople.

The Reader no doubt may wonder that I have not spoke a Word all this while of the Baptism of this Emperor; for it seems very strange, that one who took so great Care of the Affairs of Christians, one who was convinced of the Truth of their Religion, and was ignorant in no Point of their Doctrine, should continue so long a time without initiating himself into the Church by the Sacrament of Baptism. And yet this was certainly so, either because he waited to receive Baptism, when he should be near his death, that by this Sacrament he might thoroughly expiate his Sins, and so appear innocent before God; or else because he had some other reason for this delay; however it came to pass, he never thought of preparing himself for Baptism until he felt himself sick, nor had he ever the Imposition of the Bishop's hands, to make him a Catechumen, 'till the year 337 (d), a few days before his Death, being then at Helenopolis, as Eusebius observes in the fourth Book of this Emperor's Life,

(d) To make him a Catechumen, till the year 337.] Eusebius says expressly, That Constantine then first received imposition of hands, and that he assisted at the solemn Prayers of the Church; which plainly shews, that he was not a Catechumen before. Neither does the title of the first Book, ch. 32 of the Life of Constantine, contradict this Observation, for there it is only said that Constantine was catechized, κατηχηθείς, the meaning of which is, only that he was instructed in the Christian Doctrine, which does not prove that he was a Catechumen, and we never read before this time that he assisted at the publick Prayers of the Church.

(e) All the Ancients unanimously affirm.] Eusebius, B. 1st. of the Life of Constantine, c. 42. St. Jerome in his Chronicle, says, Constantinus ultimo vite sue tempore baptizatus est. St. Ambrose in his Funeral Oration upon Theodosius, says of Constantine, Cui licet baptismatis gratia in extremis constituto omnia peccata dimiserit. The Fathers of the Council of Ariminum, in a Letter written at the beginning of that Synod, say, that he died a little after he was baptized: which is certainly spoken of Constantine the Great, after they had mentioned in the same place his assisting at the Council of Nice. I might add to this many other unquestionable Witnesses, such as Socrates, B. 1st. c. 39. Sozomen, B. 2d. c. 34. Theodoret, B. 1st. c. 32. Evagrius, B. 3d. c. 42. the Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle, &c.

(f) I forbear to mention any more of the many Absurdities and Impertinencies which are contained in those Acts.] There 'tis said, that St. Sylvester first appointed the celebration of Sunday, that he held a Synod of 75 Bishops at Rome in the year 315, where they found 109 Jewish Priests. The same Author tells a story of a Font and its Ornaments, which smells rank of a Fable. He makes Laws for Constantine which are ridiculous, and which never any heard of before. He reports, that Constantine laid the first Foundation of the Church of Rome, and carried thither 12 baskets full of earth in honour of the 12 Apostles. These remarks, and many more of that sort, make it as clear as day, that those Acts are supposititious. And yet there is brought to maintain them, first, the Authority of Pope Gelasius, who places them among those Monuments that are genuine; And, that of Adrian, who cites those Acts in his Letter to the Empress Irene, for maintaining Images; to which are added, the testimonies of the Author of a book called the Pontifical of Damasus; of Nicholas the first in his Letter to the Emperor Michel, of Anastasius, Nicephorus, and some other modern Authors. But are

Chap. 61. After this he received Baptism from the hands of Eusebius of Nicomedia, in the Suburbs of that City, as Eusebius of Caesarea, St. Athanasius, St. Jerome, and St. Ambrose, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, Evagrius, and all the rest of the Ancients unanimously affirm (e). It is therefore a fabulous Story which is related in the Acts, falsely attributed to Pope Sylvester, That the Baptism of Constantine was celebrated at Rome. And indeed, nothing can be more fabulous than the Account set down in those Acts: For there it is feign'd, that Constantine, being an Enemy to the Christian Religion, and desiring to persecute it, was smitten with Leprosie; That the Soothsayers said unto him, the only way to cure him, was to bathe himself in the Blood of new-born Infants; That many of them were sought out to have their Throats cut, but Constantine being moved by their Tears, and the Cries of their Mothers, restored them again, without putting them to Death: That he was afterwards admonished in a Dream by St. Peter and St. Paul, that he should be cured if he were baptized by Sylvester; which having done, he was presently purified by Baptism, both from his Sins and from his Leprosie. What Forgeries, what Fables are here! What inconsistent Ravings of Madmen! Constantine was never an Enemy to the Christian Religion; he did never persecute it; he was always a Christian from his heart before he came to Rome. There is no Historian that speaks of his having a Leprosie, or that he was cur'd of it by Baptism. How came Eusebius to forget so considerable a Miracle in the Life of Constantine? With what Face could Julian the Apostate object to the Christians, that Baptism never cleansed any person from the Leprosie, if his own Grandfather had been cured by it? St. Cyril, to confute this Falshood, never alledged an Example so illustrious as this of the Emperor had been. But I forbear to mention any more of the many Absurdities and Impertinencies which are contained in those Acts (f). 'Tis certain, Constantine died in a little time after his Baptism in the year 337, of the vulgar Account, May 22d. in the Consulship of Titianus and Felicianus, the 64th. year of his Age, after he had reign'd thirty years and ten Months.

This Emperor was one of the greatest Princes that ever was, whether you consider his Conduct and Policy, or take a view of the great Actions of his Life, or reflect on the great Services he had done to the Church. Some accuse him of being an Arian, but that's a Calumny; for though he favour'd some Bishops that were of Arius's Faction, and unjustly banish'd St. Athanasius; yet, he always maintained the Creed of the Nicene Council, and suffer'd it not to be violated while he liv'd. The Greeks have given him excessive Praises, and plac'd him among the number of Saints, but I think the Latins have done more wisely, in suspending their Judgment as to that. We can say nothing of his Style, because it is very probable, that the Writings which

all these Authorities to be compared with those of the Ancients whom we have cited? And what else do they prove, but that those Acts were forged since the time of Gelasius? This Pope therefore had never seen them himself, nor does he approve them of his own Knowledge, but only saith, that he heard that some Persons had read them. As to Adrian 'tis very well known, that he was not very critical in the choice of the Monuments which he cited, and that he alledges sometimes those that are forged, as well as those that are genuine. The following testimonies are still of less Authority.

Secondly, Gregory of Tours is cited for those Acts, who, B. 2d. c. 31. of his History, saith to King Clovis, Behold, a new Constantine, who goes to Baptism to heal the Malady of an inveterate Leprosie, and to wash out the spots and stains of his past Life by those most holy waters. But this passage proves nothing, because he does not mean the Leprosie of his body, but only of his soul; and moreover, it were not at all strange that Gregory of Tours, a very credulous Man, should give credit to those forged Acts.

In short, our Adversaries not finding any ancient Christian for their turn, have recourse to Zosimus a Pagan Author, and a great Enemy to Constantine, who says, that Constantine was tormented with remorse of conscience, after he had kill'd Crispus his Son, and Fausta his Wife; and having sought in vain for some expiation by the sacrifices of the Pagans, he applied himself to an Egyptian, who told him, that the Christian Doctrine had power to expiate all sins; after which discourse, he abandoned the Religion of his Ancestors. But those who employ this passage to prove the baptism of Constantine at Rome, do great injury to Constantine's reputation; by giving credit to the lye of an Heathen, who for this is convicted of forgery by all our writers. Secondly, they do not consider that the death of Crispus and Fausta happened after the Council of Nice, and so this whole story of Zosimus is nothing to their purpose: In fine, Zosimus says not that he was baptized, but that he embraced the Christian Doctrine. I shall not now stay to refute those that pretend Constantine was twice baptized, the first time at Rome by Sylvester, the second time at Nicomedia by Eusebius, for the same authorities we have alledged, destroy this supposition; and besides, it is altogether incredible that Eusebius and the other Bishops with him, should have re-baptized Constantine with so much pomp and ceremony, if he had been baptized before; especially at a time when the dispute about the Trinity was not started.



bear his Name, were composed by others, though done by his Order; They may be distinguish'd into three sorts; his Discourses, his Letters, and his Edicts.

*Eusebius* assures us, B. III. of the Life of this Emperor, Ch. 2. That he had acquir'd so profound a Knowledge of the Liberal Sciences, that even to the end of his Life, he compos'd Harangues for the Instruction of his Subjects; and that the method which he observ'd in his Discourses, was, first to begin with the Refutation of the Errors of the Pagans, who ador'd many Gods; and then he proceeded to prove the Unity of God, and his Providence by which he governs the Universe: After which, he explain'd the Motives which brought the Son of God down from Heaven to this Earth, and describ'd the Circumstances of the Life which he led here; from whence he pass'd on to the Description of the last Judgment, and terrified his Hearers with the vehemence of his Discourse, Threatning the Vengeance of God, and the just Punishment of their Sins against the Covetous, the Passionate and the Violent. The same *Eusebius*, gives us, B. III. Ch. 12. a short Harangue of *Constantine's* to the Fathers of the Council of *Nice*, exhorting them to Peace; to which may be added, that Form of Prayer which he prescrib'd to his Soldiers, related in B. IV. and the Admonition he gave a Covetous Man of his Court, which is to be found Ch. 30. of the same Book: But doubtless the most considerable of his Monuments, is, that great Oration which he made to the Convention of the Saints, translated by *Eusebius* into Greek, and annexed to his Life. The Preface of this Oration is about the Feast of *Easter*, the Goodness of our Saviour, and the Ingratitude of Men; but he concludes it with an Apostrophe to the Church. In the Body of this Discourse, he disputes against Idolatry and the multiplicity of Gods; and shews that there is but the one only true God, the Creator of all things, and the Father of the Word, who is begotten of Him, tho' the Father suffer no Diminution by it, and who is united to him: He confutes Destiny, establishes Providence and Free-Will, and overthrows the Errors of the Philosophers: He discovers the Advantages which Mankind receiv'd by the Incarnation of the Son of God, and shews that his coming was foretold by the Prophets, to whose Authority he adds the Prediction of the *Sybil*, which he endeavours to verifie by the Testimony of *Virgil*: He describes the unhappy death of those Emperors who persecuted the Church, and finishes this Discourse with saying, that we ought to attribute all the Good we do to God, and before we undertake any thing, always to implore his Aid by Prayer, as being the Fountain of all Good. The whole Discourse is Sublime, and worthy of the Majesty of such an Emperor as *Constantine* was.

The Letters of *Constantine*, are much more numerous than his Discourses. Here's a Catalogue of them, an Account of their Arguments, the Times when they were written, and the Places where they are to be found.

1. There is a Letter of *Constantine* to *Cacilian* Bishop of *Carthage*, for distributing the Alms which he gave to the Poor of *Africa*, written in the Year 312, and set down by *Eusebius*, Hist. B. X. Ch. 6.

2. There is a Letter of his to *Anulinus* for the Immunity of the Clergy, written the same Year, B. X. Ch. 7.

3. His Letter to *Miltiades* Bishop of *Rome*, Empowering him to Judge the Cause of the *Donatists*, written in the Year 313, *Euseb.* B. X. Ch. 5.

4. His Letter to *Ablabius*, [Dr. *Cave* calls him, *Ælaphius* or *Ælianus*] commanding him to send the Bishops of *Donatus's* Party, and *Cecilian*, to *Arles* to be judg'd there; written in 314, at the end of *Optatus*.

5. His Letter to *Chrestus* Bishop of *Syracuse*, commanding him to repair to the Council of *Arles*; written the same Year, related by *Euseb.* Hist. B. X. Ch. 5.

6. His Letter to *Cacilian*, wherein he commands him to come to *Rome*, to be judg'd there a-new; written in 315, which is to be found at the end of *Optatus*.

7. His Letter to *Probianus*, Proconsul of *Africa*, to seize upon a *Donatist*, called *Ingentius*, set down by St. *Austin*, Ep. 68. and in his Third Book against *Cresconius*. Ch. 73. written in 315, as appears from hence, because *Probianus* did not succeed *Ælianus* in the Office of Proconsul of *Africa* till this Year.

8. His Letter to *Celsus*, Deputy of *Africa*, written about the end of the same Year, or the beginning of the next, wherein he recommends it to him, to Advertise the Bishops of both parties, that he should come e'er long, to judge them; and to advise them in the mean time to continue in Peace. He testifies in this Letter, That he had a mighty Passion to establish a good Agreement among them.

9. Another Letter of his to the same *Celsus*, written by his Order by the *Prefectus Prætorio* in favour of Four Bishops of the *Donatists*, and one Presbyter who had obtained their Liberty.

10. His Letter to *Eunalius*, Deputy of *Africa*, in which he gives him Notice of the Judgment he had given in favour of *Cacilian* against the *Donatists*, recited in the Conference of *Carthage*, Ch. 516. There is a Fragment of it in

St. *Austin's* Third Book against *Cresconius*, Ch. 71. It was written in 316.

11. His Letter to the Bishops of *Africa* wherein he testifies, That he had done all that was in his Power, to procure Peace to the Church; but since he could not compass it, he must wait till God himself afforded a Remedy for their Divisions. This Letter is at the end of *Optatus*.

12. His Letter to the Bishops of *Numidia*, in which he grants them a place to build a Church upon, in the Room of that which the *Donatists* had taken by force, and discharges the Ecclesiasticks from publick Taxes. *Ibidem*.

13. His Letter to *Eusebius*, for building of Churches at the Charge of the Emperor, written in 324 or 325, B. II. of the Life of *Constantine*, Ch. 46.

14. His Letter to the Bishop of *Alexandria* and *Arius* the Presbyter, concerning their Differences, wherein he exhorts them to Peace, written about the end of the Year 324, and related by *Eusebius*, B. II. of the Life of *Constantine*, Ch. 64. &c.

15. His Letters to all the Bishops about the Decisions of the *Nicene* Council, B. III. of the Life of *Constantine*, Ch. 17.

16. His Letter to the *Egyptians* upon the same Subject, *Ibid*.

17. His Letter to *Alexander* upon the same Subject, *Ibid*.

18. His Letter against *Arius*, mention'd by *Socrates* in the First Book of his Hist. Ch. 9. and related at the end of the History of *Gelasius Cyzicenus*.

19. His Letter to the *Nicomediens* against *Eusebius* and *Theognis*, related in part by *Theodoret*, Hist. B. I. Ch. 20. and entirely by *Gelasius Cyzicenus*.

20. His Letter to *Macarius* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, for building a Church in that City, in *Euseb.* B. III. of the Life of *Constantine*, Ch. 30.

21. His Letter to *Eusebius* for building a Church in the place where the Oak of *Mamre* stood, where *Abraham* had a Vision; in *Euseb.* B. III. of the Life of *Constantine*, Ch. 52.

22. His Letter to those of *Antioch*, upon the Deposition of *Eustathius*, written in 330, set down by *Euseb.* B. III. of the Life of *Constantine*, Ch. 60.

23. His Letter to *Eusebius* upon his refusal of the See of *Antioch*, B. III. of the Life of *Constantine*, Ch. 61.

24. His Letter to the Synod upon the same Subject, *Ibid*. Ch. 62.

25. His Letter to *Sapor* King of *Persia*, in favour of the Christians, B. IV. of the Life of *Constantine*, Ch. 9, &c.

26. His Letter to *Eusebius* upon his Book of *Easter*, *Ibid*. Ch. 35.

27. Another Letter to him, concerning the Copies of the Bible, Ch. 36.

28. His Letter to St. *Athanasius*, in favour of *Arius*, in *Athan. Apol.* 2. p. 778.

29. His Letter to the Church of *Alexandria*, in favour of St. *Athanasius*, *Ibid*. p. 779.

30. His Letter to St. *Athanasius*, against the Cheats of his Enemies, *Ibid*. p. 785.

31. His Letter to *John*, the Head of the *Meletians*, wherein he congratulates his Reconciliation to St. *Athanasius*, *Ibid*. p. 787.

32. His Letter to the Council of *Tyre*, in *Euseb.* B. IV. of the Life of *Constantine*, Ch. 42.

33. His Letter to the Bishops of the Council of *Tyre*, to cite them to *Constantinople*, in *Athanasius*, *Apol.* 2. p. 803.

34. His Letters to *Publius Optatianus Porphyrius*, who Dedicated some Poems to him, that were wrote in Prison; published by *Paulus Velserus*, and annexed to the *Nuremberg* Edition of *Marcus Velserus's* Works. [The 6th Letter to *Cacilian* is only hinted at in a Letter of *Constantine's* to the *Donatist* Bishops, wherein he tells them, That tho' he had before given Orders that they should return into *Africa*, there to have their Controversy with *Cacilian* Examined, yet he was now resolv'd that they should of both Sides go to *Rome*, as he himself had written already to *Cacilian*. This Letter is in the Collection of Records at the End of *Optatus*.

As also another Letter to the Catholick Bishops in the Council of *Arles*, wherein he congratulates the Conclusion of their Differences, and expresses his detestation of those Persons, who would not abide by what was already determined: Adding withal, That if the *Donatists* would not be quiet, they should be brought before the *Vicarius Præfectura*, to whom he had given Orders to send them to his Palace, where they should meet with such treatment as they deserved.]

There are many other Letters, of which *Eusebius* design'd to make a distinct Volume, as he himself testifies, B. III. of the Life of *Constantine*, Ch. 24.

Tho' the Edicts, which bear Names of the Emperors, are commonly Penn'd by their Secretaries of State, yet I must give an account of those that *Constantine* publish'd in favour of the Christians.

The first Edict of *Constantine* for the Liberty of Religion, was publish'd at *Milan*, in the Year 313, whereof there is mention made in the following Edict.

The second Edict of *Constantine*, by which he gave full Liberty to Christians of the publick Exercise of their Religion,



Constantine the Emperor.

on, and commanded that their Churches should be restor'd to them, was published sometime after the first, and is set down by *Eusebius*, *Hist. B. X. Ch. 5.*

His third Edict restrains this Favour to Catholics. 'Tis found in the same place.

His Fourth Edict in favour of Religion, is dated the last of *October*, the same Year: It continues the Immunity of Ecclesiasticks, whom the Hereticks had caus'd to be charg'd with Publick Taxes, contrary to the Privileges which had been granted them. The Emperor commands that those who were taxed, be discharg'd, and that a Course be taken to hinder any such Proceedings for the Future.

Among the number of those Edicts, made in favour of the Christians, that which was directed to *Ablabius*, may be reckoned, bearing Date, *May 12. 315.* in which *Constantine* commands, That Provision be made for the Maintenance of the Children of the Poor in *Italy*.

The fifth Edict of *Constantine* for the Christian Religion, is dated *November 16.* the same Year, wherein he condemns the *Jews* to the Fire that should abuse the Christians. It is to be found in the *Justinian* and *Theodosian* Code.

His seventh Edict directed to *Protopogenes*, dated *June 7th. 316.* grants a very considerable favour to the Christian Church, by appointing a new way of giving liberty to Slaves, in the Presence of the Bishop and the People. This Law is related in the *Justinian* Code, *Tit. 13. l. 1.* Besides this, There are two other Edicts upon the same Subject: The first, which is dated in the Year 321, related in the same Place, is added to that, which we have been speaking of, That the Clergy may give liberty to their Slaves, even out of the Church. The third Edict upon the same Subject is lost.

The first which we have of those Edicts of *Constantine*, that establishes the Jurisdiction of Bishops as to Temporals, seems to be that which is related in an Edition to the *Theodosian* Code, publish'd by *Sirmondus*, under Title 17th. It imports, That if those who plead a Cause shall appeal to the Judgment of the Bishops, they shall be refer'd thither, altho' the Process be enter'd before another Judge. This Edict is dated, *June 21st. 318.* There is besides this, another on the same Subject, without the date of the Year, related in the same Collection, under the first Title, wherein he Confirms and Explains the former Order, concerning the Judicial Decisions of Bishops, and he will have them to stand firm, even tho' they are given between *Minors*, commanding, that at all times, and as oft as any one of the two Parties shall desire an appeal to the Judgment of the Bishop, it shall be granted him. He ordains also in this Edict, That the Testimony of a Bishop shall be received by all the Judges.

In the Year 319, *November 19th.* He confirmed the Immunity of the Clergy by a new Edict, declaring, that they should be free from all publick Taxes. This Law is related in the *Theodosian* Code, *Lib. 16. Tit. 2. l. 2.*

There are many more Edicts of the Year 320, and 321, concerning the Church, among which may be plac'd that which abrogates the *Papian Poppæan* Law, which was made against those that continued unmarried; this Law *Constantine* seems to have abolish'd, in favour of the Christians, who honour those that make profession of continuing in Celibacy all their Life. *Eusebius* makes mention of this Edict, *B. IV. of the Life of Constantine, Ch. 26.* and after him *Sozomen*, *B. I. of his Hist. Ch. 9.* and *St. Ambrose*, *B. III. of Virgins.*

It was also about this time, that he made some Edicts against the *Donatists*. The first is related by *St. Austin*, *B. II. against Petilianus, Ch. 92.* and in his Letters 167, and 168, wherein he commands, that the Churches should be taken from them which they possess'd: It bears Date, *Anno 320.*

The second Edict directed to *Verinus*, dated *May the 4th.* in the Year 321, moderates a little the Rigor of the first, for it permits them to return to their own Country, and to live there in quiet, reserving to God the Punishment of their Crime. This is also related by *St. Austin*, *Ep. 152.* and in his Book written after the Conference of *Carthage*. The Edict for the due observation of *Sunday*, of which *Eusebius* makes mention, *B. IV. of the Life of Constantine, Ch. 18,* and 19. related in the *Justinian* Code, *Lib. III. under the Title, De Feriis. B. III.* is dated *March 6th.* in the Year 321. It imports, that all Judges, People and Artificers, shall cease from their Labour on this Day; yet he excepts Countrymen, who are permitted to Till the Ground on this Day, because it often happens, says the Emperor, That a more seasonable time cannot be found to sow their Corn, or Plant their Vines, and it is not fit, that we should lose a favourable Opportunity which Divine Providence has put in our Hands.

There is another Edict of the first of *July*, the same year, by which he permits all sorts of Persons to leave their Goods by Testament, to the Catholic Church.

In the year 323, he publish'd an Edict against those who constrain'd Christians to Sacrifice to Idols, which is in the *Theodosian* Code, *Tit. 2. B. V.*

In the next year he made many Edicts after the defeat of

*Licinius*, for the Liberty of Christians, and for the Restitution of their Goods and their Honour. *Eusebius* relates them, *B. II. of the Life of Constantine, Ch. 20, 24, &c.*

He produces likewise in the same place, his Edicts against the Worship of false Gods; and for the Establishment of the Church. *Ibid.* and *Ch. 48.*

After the Council of *Nice*, he publish'd an Edict, in which he condemns the Books of *Arius* to be burnt, and commands his followers to be call'd *Porphyrans*.

The Edict of the Month of *May*, in the year 326, prohibiting the admitting of rich Persons into the Order of the Clergy, or those that were the Children of such as had born publick Offices, appears but little favourable to the Clergy; but it was necessary, because many rich and great Persons, took Holy Orders, to exempt themselves by this means, from the publick Taxes, which tended to the Oppression of the Poor. Wherefore *Constantine* says wisely in this Edict, that it was just, the Rich should maintain the heavy Expences of the State, and that the Poor should be fed with the Riches of the Church: We have this Law in the *Theodosian* Code, *B. XVI. Tit. 2. l. 6.* Besides this, there is also another Edict publish'd in the Month of *July*, in consequence of the former, altho' it bears the Names of the Consuls for the year 320, which forbids the disturbing of those that had taken Holy Orders, before the preceding Law was publish'd, and commands at the same time, that such as had taken Orders since its publication, on purpose to avoid the publick Taxes, should be remov'd from the Clergy, and sent back into the World, and left liable to publick Taxes. This Edict is related in the same place, *B. III.* After all, by another Edict of the first of *September*, the same year 326, it is ordain'd, that Clergy-men who were Hereticks and Schismatics, should not enjoy this Privilege of Exemption, but should be subject to Taxes and Impositions. This Edict is in the *Justinian* Code, *B. I. Tit. de Heret.* and in the *Theodosian*.

He treats the *Novatians* with more moderation than the other Hereticks, permitting them by an Edict of the Month of *September* in the same year 326, to keep their Churches, their Coemeteries, and the Goods which they had purchas'd after their Separation from the Church. In the Code of *Theodosius*, *Tit. 5. B. II.*

In the year 330, he publish'd an Edict against the Hereticks, in which he forbids their Assemblies. It is related in *Eusebius*, *B. III. of the Life of Constantine, Ch. 63, &c.*

There is in the *Theodosian* Code, another Edict of the same year, in favour of the Clergy that were accus'd, or evil treated by Hereticks.

The Laws concerning the Jews, are the last which *Constantine* made in the favour of the Christian Religion.

By an Edict, *September 27th. 330.* He grants to the Patriarchs of the Jews, i. e. to those that presid'd in their Assemblies, Exemption from the publick Taxes. He renews the same favour by another Edict *December 1st.* in the year following. It is probable that he granted these favours to the Jews for no other reason, but because they Worship the same God with the Christians, and to leave them some kind of Consolation, as he says in one of his Laws, because their's was once the only true Religion: For at the same time he made very severe Laws against the Jews that should purchase or detain Christian Slaves, and condemn'd those to death, that circumcis'd them. There are many other Laws in the *Theodosian* Code upon this Subject, of the years 330, 331, and 336.

I do not place among the Number of *Constantine's* Edicts, the Donation which bears his Name, in which he is suppos'd to give to the Bishop of *Rome* and his Successors, the Sovereignty of the City of *Rome*, and of the Provinces of the *Western* Empire; because this Act has so many signs of Forgery, that 'tis impossible it can be attributed to *Constantine*. I shall here subjoin some of those Reasons which clearly prove, that it is an Imposture.

1. Not one of the Ancients mentions this pretended Liberality of *Constantine* to the Church: But who can believe that *Eusebius*, and all the other Ancient Historians, who have exactly describ'd all the Benefits of this Emperor to the Christians, and especially to the Bishops, should pass over in silence one so considerable as this of the *Western* Empire, to the Bishop of *Rome*?

2. Not one of the Popes who mention the Benefits of Kings and Emperors to the See of *Rome*, or who defend their Temporal Patrimony, did ever alledge this pretended Donation, tho' it had been very much for their Advantage so to do.

3. The Date of this Act is false, for it bears the Names of the Consuls, *Constantine* (for the fourth time,) and *Gallicanus*: Now *Constantine* in his fourth Consulship, had not *Gallicanus*, but *Licinius*, for his Colleague: And this Consulship, answers to the year 313, at which time *Constantine* was not baptiz'd, even in the Opinion of those that believe he was baptiz'd at *Rome* by *St. Sylvester*; and yet mention is made of his Baptism in this Edict of Donation. We must add to this Argument, another Error in Chronology: *Byzantium*

Constantine the Emperor.



Byzantium is there call'd Constantinople, tho' it had not that Name, till ten Years or thereabouts, after the Date of this Edict. 4. The Stile of it is barbarous, and very different from that of the Genuine Edicts of Constantine: It is full of new Modes of speaking, the Expressions are affected, and the Terms such as were never us'd in any publick Acts, till after the time of Constantine.

5. Who can believe that Constantine should give the City of Rome, all the Provinces and Cities of the West, that is to say, one half of his Empire, to the Bishop of Rome, and that this should never be known till the Eleventh Age of the Church?

6. There are infinite Numbers of Falsities and Absurdities in this Edict, which demonstrate that it was compos'd by an ignorant Impostor: take some of them as follows. In it the Pope is permitted to wear a Crown of Gold, like that of Kings and Emperors, whereas in those times, Kings and Emperors did not wear a Crown at all, but a Diadem. The Fabulous History of Constantine's Baptism by Sylvester, and the miraculous Cure of his Leprosy, is reported there as a thing Certain. There are reckon'd up in this Edict, five Patriarchal Churches, and that of Constantinople is put in the second place, whereas it had not this Honour, till a long time after. And yet it is suppos'd, that Sylvester had already acknowledg'd it for a Patriarchal See. These Falsities and many others that occur in this Edict, do plainly prove, that it is a Forgery.

In short, to destroy entirely this pretended Edict, it is sufficient to observe, that while Constantine liv'd, and a long time after his Death, the City of Rome, and the Empire of the West, were always subject to the Power of the Emperors; That the Popes themselves acknowledg'd them as their Sovereigns, without pretending that the City of Rome, or Italy, or any part of the Western Empire, belong'd to them: That all the Temporal Power they have obtain'd since, is owing to King Pepin and the Emperor Charlemagne. The Account of this, deserves a little Digression, which will not be tedious to the Reader, and will not carry us too far from our present Subject.

'Tis certain, that the City of Rome, Italy, and all the other Provinces of the Western Empire, were under the Power of Constantine, and the Emperors that succeeded him. History informs us, that they were absolute Masters of it, that they sent Governors thither, that the City of Rome depended upon their Laws, upon their Power, and the Magistrates whom they should appoint; That they made such Changes there as they pleas'd: In a word, that they were no less Masters of it, than of all the other Cities of the World. When afterwards the Barbarians begun to invade Italy, they sent thither Generals of Armies to defend it, as being a Country that belong'd to them: But in spite of all their Endeavours Theodorick King of the Ostrogoths having conquer'd it, made it Tributary, and govern'd the City of Rome with a Power as absolute as that of the Roman Governors. His Successors, Athalaric and Theodas, maintain'd the Possession of it, until they were chas'd thence in the time of Justinian by Belisarius the Roman Captain, who took the City of Rome by Force. A little time after, Count Narsetes delivered all Italy from the Tyranny of these Barbarians, and reduc'd it under the Power of the Greek Emperors, to which it had belong'd.

His Successor, nam'd Longinus, finding it was difficult to govern all Italy, which was divided into many Petty Principalities, appointed Dukes or Governors over the Principal Cities, and reserv'd to himself the Sovereignty over them; taking the Title of Exarch or Viceroy, and all this while acknowledging the Emperor for his Lord. From this time forward, the Emperors sent Exarchs into Italy, who commonly resided at Ravenna, and govern'd all Italy. But this Exarchate was diminish'd by little and little, and at last was wholly destroy'd, when the Lombards made themselves Masters of Italy. Until this time it does not appear that the Popes were Sovereigns of the City of Rome, and of Italy; on the contrary, they themselves were subject to the Emperor or King of Italy, and obey'd him as all his other Subjects. The History of the Popes furnishes us with many Instances, which prove this clearly. The first is, that of Pope Liberius, whom the Emperor Constantius order'd to be made Prisoner, and carried out of Rome by Leontius Governor of that City, as St. Athanasius testifies. The Schism of Damasus and Ursicinus, does also prove, that the Popes were subject to the Emperors. Maximus, that then govern'd the City of Rome for the Emperor, compos'd the Differences that arose between those two Competitors, and the Bishops themselves address'd to the Emperor, praying him, that Ursicinus might be forc'd to depart out of the City of Rome. The same Observation may be made upon the Schism of Eulalius and Boniface, which was also cur'd by the Order of the Emperor, and afterwards by King Theodorick, when he became Master of Italy. 'Tis remarkable, that this King exercis'd his Power over the Church of Rome and its Bishop with so much Haughtiness, that he appointed a Visitor to this Church, and sent poor Pope John, being very sick, to the Greek Emperor, to obtain a Revocation of the Edict he had made against the Arians; which John not being able

to obtain, Theodorick caus'd him to be imprison'd at Ravenna, where he died. Theodatus sent in like manner from Rome, Pope Agapetus, to the Emperor Justinian, and when he became Master of Italy, he us'd the Popes no less roughly than Theodorick had done; for he exacted of them great Sums of Money to confirm their Ordination, and caus'd the Popes, Silverius and Vigilius, to be carried to Constantinople, where he made them approve the Restauration of Anthimus, to the Patriarchal See of that City. Martin the first, was also banish'd to the Province of Pontus, by the Exarch of Ravenna, according to the Orders he had received from the Emperor. Justinian the younger banish'd also Pope Sergius. In short, The Emperor Leo Isauricus, would have put to Death, Pope Gregory the second: But the Italians growing weary of their Subjection to the Power of Strangers, who could not secure them against their Enemies, began to shake off the Yoke and to acknowledge their Dukes for Sovereigns. The Pope nevertheless oppos'd them in it, and did all that lay in his Power to retain them in their Allegiance, acknowledging, as he himself speaks in his Letter written to the Duke of Venice, That the Republick of Rome was subject to the Dominion of the Emperors. But the Lombards afterwards invading Italy, and having no expectation of Succours from the Greek Emperor who was entangled by other Wars, the Popes, Gregory the Third, and Zachary, were oblig'd to have recourse to Charles Martel Governor of the French. This Prince by Menaces obtained of Luitprand King of the Lombards, and his Successor Rachisus, the Restitution of the Exarchate of Ravenna, which by his means was twice restored to the Exarchs depending upon the Greek Emperors. But at last Astolphus the Brother of Rachisus made himself Master of it for ever, and oblig'd Eutychius, the last Exarch of Ravenna, to retire into the East.

Stephen the Second being afraid for the City of Rome, was oblig'd to make a Truce with Astolphus for forty years in the Name of the Roman Republick. But this King breaking his Word, came four months after with a great Army to take and sack the City of Rome. In this extremity, Stephen writes presently to the Greek Emperor for Succours, but seeing there were no hopes of any from thence, he had recourse to King Pepin, who coming to besiege Pavia, forc'd King Astolphus to sue for Peace; which was granted him, upon Condition that he should not only restore to the Church of Rome, all the Lands and Territories which he had possess'd in Italy; but also should yield up the Exarchate of Ravenna, and the Cities of the Roman Duchy. This Peace was quickly broken by the Perfidiousness of this Lombard King, who perceiving that Pepin was gone out of Italy, went forthwith and besieged the City of Rome. Pepin presently reliev'd it, and rais'd the Siege; and yet Astolphus found himself in too good a Condition to perform the Articles of Peace, which he had made: But Pepin forc'd him to give Hostages, and enlarg'd the Bounds of the Exarchate of Ravenna, which Fulradus the Abbot of St. Denys, receiv'd in his Name, and presently restored into the hands of the Pope. It is observable, that in the time of these two Expeditions of Pepin, an Ambassador came from the Greek Emperor, and demanded back again the Exarchate of Ravenna, as belonging of right to his Master: But Pepin believing that he was lawfully dispossest, thought it more convenient to give it to the Pope. In the mean time, the Greek Emperor was still Master of Sicily, Apulia, Calabria, and all the extreme Parts of Italy, and had a Governor call'd George in the City of Naples, who combin'd with Desiderius the Successor of Astolphus, to invade the Exarchate of Ravenna.

Paul the first knowing of this League, and seeing himself attack'd by this Lombard, wrote presently to Pepin, his Protector. Desiderius, fearing the Power of this King, push'd the Matter no further at this time, and promised to restore to the Roman Church what he had taken from it: But he declaring himself openly after the Death of Pepin, Pope Adrian implor'd the Aid of Charlemagne, who came with a great Army, defeated Desiderius, and shut him up in Pavia. From thence Charles went to Rome, and restored to the Pope all the Cities which his Father Pepin had given him, and all the Estates which the Roman Church had possess'd in Italy. In consideration of which Benefits, Adrian, as Head of the Roman Republick, granted him, with the consent of the People of Rome, the Title of Patricius, and gave him the Sovereignty over the City and all the Republick of Rome; inasmuch that all the People, and even the Bishop himself, took an Oath of Allegiance to him. After this, Charles wanted nothing but the Title of Emperor, which he received in the year 800, being then proclaimed Emperor by the People of Rome, and afterwards consecrated and crowned by the Pope. When Charles had gotten the Title of Emperor, he regulat'd all the Affairs of Italy; he permitted the Lombards to live peaceably under his Dominion; he gave the Name of Romania to the ancient Exarchate, and shar'd Italy with the Greek Emperor, on condition, that all which was on this side Naples, should belong to him; and that the City of Naples, and all that was on the other side of it, should continue in the Greek Emperor's Power.



Constantine the Emperor.

From this time the Successors of Charles were Kings of Italy, and Sovereigns of Rome; though the Popes were temporal Lords of the Cities that anciently belonged to the Exarchate of Ravenna, and some others. *Ludovicus Pius*, the Son of *Charlemagne*, sent *Bernard* to Rome, to allay the Dissentions that were risen there. After the Death of this *Bernard*, *Lotharius* comes to Rome with an Army, to punish some Rebels, and ordains, that for the future the Magistrates of Rome should be created by the Emperors. But *Charles the bald* parted with this noble Right, and surrendered up to the Romans the Sovereign Power, restoring them, If I may so say, to their ancient Liberty.

In the mean while, the Popes began to lay by little and little the Foundations of their Sovereign Dominion. For although the Sovereign Power did as yet remain in the Body of the People, who created the Magistrates in Rome, and the neighbouring Cities, nevertheless, the Popes who were now grown rich and powerful, used all their endeavours to make themselves Sovereigns, and that the shadow of Sovereignty should only remain in the People. Yet the Romans had two Consuls, one Prætor, and one Governor of the City, whom they chose; and oftentimes cast off the Yoke which the Popes would impose upon them; which was the Cause of those cruel Wars that happened between the Popes, the principal Citizens of Rome, and the Emperors of Germany: But at last the Popes got the better on't, and remained sole Masters and Sovereigns of Rome, and the Countries about it.

All that we have said concerning the Foundation and Growth of the Pope's Power, plainly shews, that the Settlement of their Empire is not owing to *Constantine*, but to the Kings of France; and by consequence, that the Edict of Donation that bears the Name of *Constantine*, is wholly supposititious; but it is not so easie to find out who was the Author of this false Monument, and upon what Motives he forged it. 'Tis certain that it is more ancient than

*Hincmar*, since that Bishop cites it in his third Ep. ch. 13. and *Isidore* \* has put it in his Collection. It is also alledged by Pope *Leo* the ninth, in his Epistle to *Michael Cerularius*; and *St. Anselm*, *Ivo Carnutensis*, and *Gratian*, have inserted it into their Collections. To conclude, *Balsamon* a Greek Author, has related a part of it in Greek, in his Commen-

aries upon *Photius's Nomocanon*. *Baronius*, and those that blindly follow his Conjectures, have suspected the Greeks of this Forgery, pretending that they forged this Monument to establish the Antiquity of the Patriarchate of *Constantinople*, by affirming, that the Church of Rome owes its Grandeur to the Emperor *Constantine*. But besides, that 'tis no ways probable that the Greeks should forge an Act contrary to their own pretended Right over Italy, this Edict is found cited by the Latines 200 years before it was known to the Greeks. *Morinus* believes that it was written by *John*, a Deacon of the Church of Rome, who lived in the year 963: But that cannot be, since it was cited before that time by *Hincmar*. *Montieur de Marca* maintains, That the Popes framed this Monument with the Consent of the French Kings, that they might oppose it against the Greek Emperors, who demanded back again the Exarchate of Ravenna, as belonging to them: But what probability is there, that the Popes and French Kings should have recourse to this Forgery, which might easily be discover'd, having much better reasons to alledge to the Greeks, why the Exarchate of Ravenna did not belong to them? Some have attributed this false Monument to the Author of the Collection of *Isidore*, a notorious Forger of such kind of Pieces; and this Conjecture is more probable than the rest, but neither is it certain, and therefore it is better to suspend our Judgment about this Matter, than to build it upon Conjectures that have so little solidity.

Besides the Greek Fragments of this Edict recited by *Balsamon*, 'tis said, there are four Greek Manuscripts of the whole Edict in the Vatican Library. The Latin Editions of it do not altogether agree; for *Isidore's* is different from that which is found in the ancient Manuscript of *Iustellus*. One *Bartholomew Picernas*, boasts that he made a new Translation of it from a Greek Manuscript in the Vatican Library, which he printed with a Dedication to Pope *Julius* the Second: But he has done nothing but corrected the ancient Latin Edition. A Priest of *Deventer* has also printed this Edition at *Cologne* in the year 1535. The Differences of all these Editions are to be seen in *Father Labbé's* first Volume of the Councils. It seems more probable to me, That the Greek was taken out of the Latin, than that the Latin was translated from the Greek. However it be, this Monument has neither Authority nor Usefulness.

## JUVENCUS.

Juvenius.

Hitherto we have not met with any Poet among the Christian Writers. Here is a very excellent one who flourished under the Reign of *Constantine*; he was called *C. Vedius Aquilinus Juvenius*, and was descended of one of the noblest Families in Spain. *St. Jerome* assures us that he was a Priest, and that's all that he tells us of his Life. He composed a Poem about the year 329, divided into four Books; wherein he describes the Life of Christ in Hexameter Verse, without wandering from the Text of the Four Evangelists. *St. Jerome* also testifies, That he wrote some Books in Hexameter Verse about Mysteries; and 'tis said, that he composed some Hymns, of which *St. Jerome* says not a word: But 'tis probable enough, that one who had so fertile a Vein in Poetry, as he had, wrote several other Books. However that be, we have now only four Books of the History of the Gospel under his Name: In the Exordium of this Poem he says, That if the Verses of those who have published the Actions of mortal Men, which they adorned with their Fictions, have purchased them a Reputation so lasting for many Ages, he ought to be assured of immortal Glory, who writes the Life of Jesus Christ, and needs not fear that the Day of Judgment shall consume his Work.

*Quod si tam longam meruerunt carmina famam,  
Quæ veterum gestis hominum mendacia nectunt;  
Nobis certa fides æternæ in sæcula laudis  
Immortale decus tribuet, meritumque rependet:  
Nam mihi carmen erunt Christi vitalia gesta,  
Divinum in populis falsi sine crimine donum;  
Nec metus ut mundi rapiant incendia secum  
Hoc opus.*

After this, he invokes the Assistance of the Holy Spirit,

to enable him to recount the Actions of Christ, in such a manner as is suitable to their Greatness.

*Ergo age sanctificans adsit mihi carminis auctor  
Spiritus, & puro mentem riget amne canentis  
Dulcis Jordanis, ut Christo digna loquamur.*

After this Invocation, he begins the History of Christ, and relates in Verse, all that has been said by the four Evangelists, without wandering from the Text, and without adding any thing uncertain or fabulous. He concludes those four Books with a Compliment to the Emperor *Constantine*, whom he thanks for the Peace of the Church, and mightily commends, because he was the only King who would not allow the peculiar Names of God to be attributed to him.

The Air of the Poem is very Poetical, the Cadence of the Verse is fine and soft; but the Words are not always Poetical, and sometimes they are not very good Latin. That which is chiefly to be commended in this Author, is the Faithfulness of his Translation; wherein he has rendred almost word for word the Text of the Evangelists. This was a difficult undertaking, which he has performed with good Success, and one may say, that it is almost impossible to have done it better.

There are a great many Editions of this Author. His Book was printed with *Sedulius* and other Christian Poets at *Cologne*, in *Octavo* 1537; at *Basil*, in *Octavo*, 1537, 1550; at *Venice* by *Aldus*, in *Quarto* 1502; at *Basil* by *Oporinus*, in *Quarto* also, 1564; at *Lyons* by *Tornesius*, 1588; at *Paris*, in 1543, 1575, 1589, 1624; at *Vienna*, in *Quarto* 1519; and in many other places: And, it is also to be found in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*.

## RHETICIUS.

Rheticus.

*Rheticus* Bishop of *Autun*, had so great a Reputation in the time of *Constantine*, that the Emperor chose him to be one of the Judges in the Cause of the *Donatists*. He assisted at the Council of Rome, wherein *Cæcilian* was Absolv'd, and afterwards at the Council of *Arles*, held in the Year 314. *St. Jerome* says,

that in his Time, this Bishop's Commentaries upon the *Canticles*, were extant, and also a large Volume against *Novatian*; but he met with no other Books of his. The same *St. Jerome*, speaking of this Author's Commentaries, in his Second Letter to *Florentius*, says, that he gave a lofty sense of the *Canticles*: And lastly, in his Ep. 133. to *Marcellus*, he



he gives a Critical Judgment of these Commentaries, which is very little to their Advantage. He says, They are full of Extravagant Explications; That he found an infinite number of Errors and base Things in them; That the Style, indeed, is lofty and swelling, but such as is not suitable to an Interpreter, who ought not to aim at the discovery of his own Eloquence, but the true sense of his Author. He relates in the same place some of the gross Mistakes of this Author; e.g. That he confounds *Tharsis* which is mentioned in the *Psalms*, with the City of *Tarsus* where St. Paul

was born; that he believ'd the Hebrew word *Ophaz*, which signifies *Gold*, signified a *Stone*, and so confounds it with the Name, *Cephas*, which is given in the Gospel to St. Peter. In short, St. Jerome wrote to *Marcellus*, That he had not sent the Commentaries of this Author as he desir'd; because there were many things in them that displeas'd him, and but few things that he could approve of: And we have nothing more of these Commentaries, nor of the other works of this Author.

## EUSTATHIUS Bishop of Antioch.

**E**ustathius, a Native of Syda, a City of Pamphilia (a), was chosen Bishop of Antioch, after he had govern'd the Church of Beraa for some time (b), in the room of Philogonus, in the year 323 from the Birth of Christ. He assisted at the Council of Nice, where he sat in one of the chief Places (c), and there maintained the Faith of the Church with great Constancy. After the Council of Nice, being one of the Zealous Defenders of its Decisions, and one of the greatest Adversaries to the Arians, he drew upon himself the Hatred of the Bishops of Palestine, which burst forth immediately upon the first occasion they found: which offer'd it self in the Year 329, when Eusebius of Nicomedia, and Theognis of Nice, return'd from their Banishment, and went to Palestine, under pretence of visiting the Church of Jerusalem: for then they pass'd by Antioch, where they were honourably received by Eustathius, and they on their part gave marks of their Friendship to him. But at their Return they brought with them to Antioch, Eusebius of Caesarea, Patrophilus of Scythopolis, Aecius of Lidda, Theodotus of Laodicea, with some other Eastern Bishops, with a design to depose Eustathius. These Bishops being then Assembled at Antioch in the year 330 (d), did not only falsly charge him with the Error of the Sabellians, but also accus'd him of infamous Crimes. Theodoret says, that they hir'd a Woman of an ill Life (e), to say, that she had a Child by Eustathius; That this wicked Woman entered with a Child in her Arms into the place of their Assembly, and declar'd with

a loud Voice, that she had it by Eustathius; That this holy Bishop having ask'd her if she had any witnesses of what she affirm'd; she answer'd she had none; and yet notwithstanding this, the Bishops believ'd it upon her Oath, and condemn'd Eustathius as convicted of the Crime. St. Athanasius says nothing of this Story, which appears otherwise to be fabulous enough; but he observes only that they accus'd Eustathius of having treated the Emperor's Mother reproachfully (f), and that immediately he was sent into Banishment, with many of his Priests and Deacons; but the place of his Exile is not certainly known (g). In whatsoever Place it was, there he ended his days, and 'tis probable, that he liv'd not long after his Condemnation; for there is no mention made of him in History, and 'tis false, whatever Socrates and Sozomen say, That he return'd again from Banishment in the time of the Emperor Jovian (h). This Bishop is the first, if we will believe St. Jerome, that wrote against the Arians. He compos'd many Books against their Doctrine, abundance of Homilies, an infinite number of Letters, many Treatises of the Soul, and a Discourse of the Pythonists against Origen. Facundus quotes in Latin, Ch. 1. of his B. XI. Four Passages of Eustathius of Antioch, whereof the two first are taken out of B. VII. and the two last out of B. VIII. against the Arians. He alledges them in this place to prove, That this Bishop of Antioch, in speaking of the Incarnation, made use of Expressions, at least as harsh as those that were objected to Theodorus of Mopsuestia: in effect, the Passages

(a) Syda, a City of Pamphylia.] As St. Jerome observes, this is a Sea-Port Town, called at present Forte.

(b) After having governed the Church of Beraa for some time.] It is agreed upon all hands that he was Bishop of Beraa. St. Jerome, Theodoret, Socrates and Sozomen testify it. He was also Bishop of that Church, when Alexander of Alexandria wrote his Letter against Arius, for Theodoret notes expressly, that it was directed to him. Sozomen says in the First Book of his Hist. ch. 2. That the See of Antioch was vacant after the Death of Romanus, and that Eustathius was ordain'd Bishop of Antioch in the Council of Nice: and in Ch. 17. of the same Book, he says, that he was already Bishop of Antioch when he assisted at this Council; yet St. Romanus was not Bishop, but only a Martyr of Antioch, and Eustathius succeeded immediately to Philogonus some time before the Council of Nice, but after the beginning of the Arian Controversy, that is to say, in the year 323, or 324.

(c) He sat in one of the Chief Places.] Proclus of Constantinople, in a Synodical Letter to the Oriental Bishops, set down by Facundus, B. I. Ch. 1. says, that he was the Chief of the Fathers in the Council of Nice. Facundus gives him the same Title, B. XI. Ch. 1. and Pope Felix III. calls him, in his 6th. Ep. to Zeno, President of the Council. Theodoret, B. I. of his Hist. Ch. 7. says, that he spoke to the Emperor in the Name of the Council; and Euseb. B. I. Life of Const. ch. 11. says, that he who first Harangued the Emperor, was seated in the Chief Place on the right Hand: But he seems to say at the Beginning of his Books of the Life of Constantine, that it was himself that made this Harangue, as Theodoret assures us, Hist. B. I. ch. 19. The Author of the Tripartite Hist. willing to joyn these several Opinions together, says, that Eusebius did not speak till after Eustathius. Theodorus of Mopsuestia, says, that Alexander of Alexandria, was entrusted with that Office. Be that as it will, it does not follow, that he who spoke first must therefore be President of the Council, as having the first Place upon the right hand: for besides that this might be given him only for the time while he spoke, it may be that this place was not the most honourable: Moreover, Eustathius might be call'd the Chief, because he was one of the first; But it is more probable, that Hosius was President of the Council.

(d) Being then assembled at Antioch in the Year 330.] All Historians agree, that Eustathius was depos'd under the Reign of Constantine. Eusebius an unquestionable Witness, gives us an Account, B. III. Life of Constantine, ch. 59. of the Tumult that arose in the Church of Antioch upon the Deposition of Eustathius, as a thing that happen'd after the Council of Nice, but before the Death of the Emperor Constantine. St. Athanasius begins with this Deposition, the History of the Arian Persecution under Constantine; and though there be in the Text Constantinus for Constantine, that is a mistake; for 'tis plain from St. Athanasius, that Flacillus, who was ordain'd in the room of Eusta-

thius, had the Title of Bishop of Antioch, at the Council of Tyre, held under Constantine, from whence it evidently follows that Eustathius was then depos'd. The like Error appears in some Editions of St. Jerome's Books of Ecclesiastical Writers; but in the ancient Editions and in the Greek Version, we read under Constantine, and not under Constantius.

(e) Theodoret says, That they hir'd a Woman of an ill Life.] Philostorgius reports also this Story, B. II. Ch. 7. Socrat. and Sozom. allude to it, when they say, that Eustathius was accus'd of infamous Crimes. St. Jerome mentions it in his Apol. against Rufinus; Eustathius says, he found Sons which he knew not of; Filios dum nescit invenit: and the Emperor Constantine seems to hint it in his Letter to the Bishops, the infamous Persons being driven away, as he speaks.

(f) Of having treated the Emperor's Mother reproachfully.] 'Twas to Constantine that they wrote this Calumny; for Eustathius having recourse to the Emperor, and being come to Constantinople to complain of the injustice that was done him, the Bishops assembled at Antioch made use of this Calumny to stir up the Emperor against him. They added also, that he was the Author of that Sedition which arose at Antioch after his Deposition. These things mov'd the Emperor to Banish him presently, without inquiring into the Merits of his Cause. The Eusebians also did afterwards make use of an Artifice just like this, against St. Athanasius.

(g) But the place of his Exile is not certainly known.] Theodoret says, that he was sent to Illyricum; Philostorgius says only, that he was sent into the West: But St. Jerome assures us, that he was carried away to Trajanopolis, a City of Thracia. St. Chrysostome says, that he died in Thracia: And in fine, Theodorus Lector at the beginning of the Second Book of his History, says, that Calendion the Patriarch of Antioch, caus'd the Reliques of Eustathius to be transported from Philippopolis in Macedonia, to Antioch.

(h) 'Tis false,---that he return'd again from Banishment in the time of the Emperor Jovian.] Theodoret says, that Eustathius was dead when Meletius was ordain'd Bishop of Antioch. And certainly Meletius ought not to have been ordain'd in his place before, and the Eustathians (so call'd because they would not communicate with any Bishop of Antioch that was ordain'd by the Arian Faction) would never have suffer'd Paulinus to have been ordain'd while Eustathius liv'd. There is no mention of him in all the Disputes that follow'd after, neither did he return after the Death of Constantine, when all the banish'd Bishops were recall'd; for it does not appear that he was present in any Council, or that he ever demanded to be restor'd to his Bishoprick: In a word, there is nothing more said of him in History. From all which I conclude, that 'tis something probable, that he died before the year 337.



which he relates, seem to favour the Error of Nestorius (i). But his Doctrine must not be anathematized, says *Facundus*, upon the Account of some Expressions that are less exact, which he made use of at a time when he spoke simply and without precaution, because the Error of Nestorius did not yet appear. The Passages of *Eustathius* which *Theodoret* gives us in Greek, *Hist. B. I. Ch. 8.* are much more considerable than those which are cited by *Facundus*: It is taken out of the same Work against the *Arians*, and probably out of the two first Books. Take it whole as *Montfieur Cousin* has Translated it.

A very numerous Council being assembled about this matter in the City of *Nice*, where 270 Bishops, or thereabouts, assisted, (for that the Number was so great, I cannot precisely set it down, and besides, I took no great care to inform myself of it.) When they first began to enquire into the Faith, a Libel of *Eusebius* was produc'd, which contain'd a convincing Proof of his Blasphemies. The reading of it, caus'd a sensible Grief in all that heard it, and great Confusion in its Author. The Malignity of *Eusebius's* Associates being discover'd, and the Impious Writing being publickly tore in pieces, some under pretence of the Peace which they propos'd, impos'd Silence upon those that us'd to speak better than others. The *Arians* apprehending that they should be cast out of the Church by the Judgment of so great an Assembly, condemn'd the Impious Doctrine, and sign'd the Confession of Faith. But having secur'd by their Cabals the principal Dignities to themselves, instead of suffering Canonical Penance as they ought, they maintained the Doctrine that was condemn'd, sometimes in private, and sometimes in Publick, by several Arguments which they had invented for that purpose. The desire they had to sow the Seeds of Division, made them shun meeting with the Learned, and attacking the Defenders of the Faith; but we do not think that these Atheists can overcome God, for whatever Efforts they make will be vanquish'd according to the authentick Testimonies of the Prophet *Isaiah*. *Theodoret* adds, See here what *Eustathius* has written of the *Arians*. There is also another Passage in Greek taken out of this Work, related by *Anastasius* in his Collections, wherein *Eustathius* maintains, That Jesus Christ cannot be said to be Created and Begotten according to the same Nature; for if he was Created he was not Begotten, and if he was Begotten he was not Created. The same *Theodoret* citeth in his Dialogues many Passages of *Eustathius* about the Incarnation, taken out of his Book upon the Soul, and his Discourse upon these words of the Proverbs; *God hath created me in the beginning of his ways*: out of his 15th and 92d. Homilies upon the *Psalms*, and out of two other Treatises upon the Inscriptions or Titles of some *Psalms* (k).

All the Passages of *Eustathius*, reported by *Theodoret* (l), Prove, That there are two Perfect Natures in Jesus Christ, the Divine and the Human Nature; That he has a Body and a Soul like us; That he is Passible according to the Human Nature, and, That the Humanity is not chang'd into the Divinity: From whence it appears, that *Eustathius* did more formally reject the Error of the *Eutychians*, than that of the *Nestorians*, Although there are some Expressions

(i) *In effect, the Passages which he relates, seem to favour the Error of Nestorius.* In the first, he says, *That God who united the Human Nature to the Word for the Salvation of Mankind, has conceal'd from this Human Nature the Day of Judgment, lest the Man should teach Mankind the time of his second Coming.* In the Second he seems to say, That Jesus Christ incarnate is another Person than the Word, but the word *Person* is not always taken in a strict sense. In the third, he says, *That the Word dwells in the Human Nature as in its Temple*: an Expression which *Nestorius* often made use of. In the last, he says, that the Scepter which God prepar'd for his Son, does not agree to the Father, nor to the Word, but only to the Man Christ, *Who is*, says he, *the Lord of all the Creatures, because of the Mixture of the Divine Word.* 'Tis evident, that these Expressions are not exact; but then we ought not for this to accuse him of Error, for 'tis easie to excuse him, not only because of the time when he wrote, but also because 'tis common enough with those that liv'd a long time after him, to make use sometimes of Expressions very like this, to distinguish the Humanity of Christ from his Divinity to which it is united. To which we may add, That 'tis plain from the passages related by *Theodoret*, that he was far enough from the error of the *Nestorians*.

(k) *Upon the Inscriptions or Titles of some Psalms.* The first is taken from the Treatise, *Εὐσταθίου τῆς ἐκλογῆς*, and the Second from the Treatise, *Εὐσταθίου τῆς ἀναστάσεως*. The 6th. Psalm which is our 5th. has for its Title in the *Septuagint* *Στρωγογραφία τοῦ Δαβὶδ*, i. e. the Inscription of a Title for *David*; and the 57. *Τὸ Δαβὶδ ἐκ τῆς ἐκλογῆς*, i. e. an Inscription to *David*, or to *David* for an Inscription. *Στρωγογραφία* is properly an Inscription upon a Pillar. The *Psalms* 57, 58, and 59. have the like titles. The Treatise which *Theodoret* cites in this place, *Εὐσταθίου τῆς ἐκλογῆς*, was compos'd upon these Inscriptions; as the second, *Εὐσταθίου τῆς ἀναστάσεως*, was compos'd upon the Inscriptions of the *Psalms* of Degrees. *St. Gregory Nyssen* has since made a Treatise upon the Inscriptions of the *Psalms*. This Observation I owe to the Learned *Coselerius*.

in the same Passages, which plainly enough shew that he was persuaded, that these two Natures were united in one and the same Person. But the Oriental Writers have always more applied themselves to remark the distinction of the two Natures in Christ, than their intimate Union; whereas on the contrary, the Egyptians are more addicted to discourse of their Union than their Distinction: Which thing afterwards was the Subject of the great Disputes that were amongst them about the Mystery of the Incarnation.

The Treatise of *Eustathius* concerning the *Pythonis* (m), cited by *St. Jerome*, was publish'd in Greek in the Year 1629, and Translated into Latin by *Allatus*; together with a Discourse of this Author upon the same Subject. The Question there treated of is, whether the Witch mention'd *B. I. of Kings, Ch. 28.* did really bring back the Soul of *Samuel* into this World to speak unto *Saul*? *Eustathius* maintains the Negative against *Origen*, who had taught the Affirmative in one of his Homilies: and after he has related in a pleasant manner all the Circumstances of the History, he refutes the Explication of *Origen*. He lays it down for a Principle, that the Devil cannot bring back Souls from the other World: He says, it is ridiculous to give him this Authority over the Souls of the Just, and that there is none but God only, who is Lord over them. He demands of *Origen*, Whether the Witch made *Samuel* appear in Body and Soul together, or if she only brought back his Soul; and then he shews, that neither the one, nor the other is probable. He rallies *Origen* for attributing to the Holy Spirit the Words which the Witch pronounced when she was acted by an evil Spirit. He maintains that *Saul* did not at all see the Ghost of *Samuel*, but only was astonish'd with the extraordinary Speeches, and Violent Motions of the Witch, and therefore cast himself down upon the ground to Worship. He proves, that 'tis contrary to common sense, to say, as *Origen* does, That the Gods which the Witch says she saw ascending out of the Earth, were the Souls of the Just and the Angels: He observes, that the Prediction of the *Pythonis* was found to be false; and tho' it had been true, it would not therefore follow, that it was from the Holy Spirit, since the Devil has often made such like Predictions, which Chance and the Circumstances of things, that are known to him, have sometimes verified. He does also make it appear from the Circumstances of this Prediction, That it was an Imposture of the Devil, and that it cannot be attributed to the Holy Spirit, without some kind of Impiety. After this, he answers the chief objection of *Origen*, taken from the Scripture, which gives the Name of *Samuel* to that Apparition: To which he says, that he was astonish'd at an Author, who durst explain the whole Scripture Allegorically, treat as a Fable the History of *Moses* concerning the Terrestrial Paradise, and give Mystical Senses to all the Histories of the Old Testament, that he should endeavour to put off for Truth, the Fictions of a Woman acted by an evil Spirit. He shews, That when the Scripture gives the Name of *Samuel* to this Apparition, 'tis not to be understood as if *Samuel* himself in Body and Soul were there; but only that this Woman made him believe by the Representation which she gave *Saul* of this Spectre, that this was the Prophet *Samuel* whom he desir'd to consult. In

(l) *All the Passages of Eustathius, reported by Theodoret.* In the Passages cited from the First and Second Dialogue, he asserts, That Christ had a Body and Soul of the same Substance with ours, and there he calls the Flesh of Christ, the Temple in which the Divinity dwelt. He observes in the last passage of his Second Dialogue, that Christ had no need of the legal Sacrifices to purifie himself, because he purifies himself, and sanctifies all things; but he voluntarily submitted to the Law, to deliver us from that Bondage, us who were enslav'd under, and liable to the Malediction of Sin. In the Passages recited out of the last Dialogue, he proves that the Divinity of Jesus Christ was not subject to any Pains or Sufferings, but only his Humanity: There he affirms, That Jesus Christ had a Soul, That he truly suffer'd, though voluntarily; and that the Word dwelling in the Body of the Man as in a Temple, restor'd by the Resurrection that Temple which Death had destroy'd. In a word, he shews, that all the Properties of the Human and Divine Nature were found in Christ; but that we must not attribute to the Divinity that which agrees only to the Humanity, or deny because of his Divinity, the Properties which agree only to the Human Nature.

(m) *The Treatise of Eustathius concerning the Pythonis.* 'Tis entituled in Greek *Εὐσταθίου περὶ τῆς πυθωνίδος*, in Latin, *De ventriloquo*, which cannot be render'd in English, but by a Circumlocution; that is to say, *The Discourse which those Pronounce who have a Devil in their Belly.* To understand this, we must observe that the Ancients believ'd, That the Demon which the Pagans honour'd under the Name of the God *Python*, entred into the Bowels of the Priests and Priestesses, and by strange agitations excited in them a kind of Fury, which made them say many things which were taken for Predictions: For which reason the Women that profess'd to Divine things to come were call'd *Pythonisses*. Such was she, to whom *Saul* address'd himself for consulting *Samuel*, whose History is the Subject of this Dissertation, and therefore I have entituled it, *Concerning the Pythonis*.



*Eustathius of Antioch.* short, he demonstrates, from all the Circumstances of this Story, That there was nothing real in this Apparition; but that it was only an Apparition represented in the imagination of *Saul* and this Prophetess, by the Devil which possessed them. This is the Sentiment which *Eustathius* confirms in this Dissertation, which is short, beautiful and very close; for as he says nothing superfluous, so he omits no Proof which might be of Advantage to his Opinion. There appear in it much Learning and a well-poss'd Judgment, and one may venture to say, that there are few Works of this Nature in all Antiquity so perfect as this Discourse. Yet I think, he has treated *Origen* a little too harshly, in a Question that does not at all belong to Religion, but is purely Critical. To conclude, the Opinion of *Eustathius* is since his time grown the more common Opinion (*n*), and I must confess, that 'tis more probable than the other, tho' I cannot affirm any thing for certain in this matter.

We cannot give any Judgment so much to the advantage of that Commentary upon the Work of the Six Days, or the *Hexameron* which bears the Name of *Eustathius*, publish'd by the same *Allatius*; but on the contrary, 'tis a Work altogether unworthy of a Man of his Sense, and which cannot be attributed to *Eustathius*, without doing him great Dishonour; and there is no probability that it was his. For First, Not only *St. Jerome* and *Theodoret* make no mention of it but it is not found cited by any Author. Secondly, It is an ill contriv'd Collection of Passages out of *Eusebius*, *St. Basil*, the Old Testament, *Josephus*, *Artapanus*, the Gospel falsely ascrib'd to *St. James*, and many other Authors. Thirdly, the Style is perfectly different from that of his Dissertation concerning the *Pythons*, and the Fragments of *Eustathius's* Sermons. Fourthly, the things treated of in this Book, do not at all suit with the Genius of *Eustathius*, for in his Dissertation concerning the *Pythons*, he reproves *Origen* for studying to make too many useless Remarks and Allegories in explaining the Scriptures, while he neglects the literal sense of them, and the Moral Reflections that should be made upon them: Now this Treatise upon the *Hexameron*, is almost wholly compos'd of such unprofitable Remarks, which concern neither Religion nor Manners. Fifthly, this Author begins with an extract out of the *Chronicon* of *Eusebius*, concerning the Antiquity of *Moses*, and then repeats the first Verses of *Genesis*, from whence he takes occasion to make a particular Enumeration of all the different sorts of Plants, Herbs, Trees, Fishes, Birds and Beasts; and to discourse of their Nature and properties, saying many things very fabulous of them: After this, he makes a very imperfect Abridgment of the History of *Genesis*, adding many circumstances to it taken out of *Josephus*.

(*n*) The Opinion of *Eustathius* is since his Time grown the more common Opinion.] *St. Justin* in his Dialogue against *Tryphon*, is of the same Opinion with *Origen*, and concludes, that all Souls, even those of the Just, fall under the power of Demons: But *Tertullian* is of *Eustathius's* Opinion in his Book of the Soul, Ch. 57. where he says expressly, That we must not believe that it was the Soul of *Samuel* which the *Pythons* brought back from the other World; but that 'twas only a cheat of the Devil. Since *Eustathius's* time, there are but few Authors of *Origen's* Opinion, excepting *Sulpitius Severus*. *St. Austin* makes a Problem of this Question, in his Letter to *Simplicianus*, but he inclines to *Eustathius's* side. *Eucherius*, *Bede*, *St. Anselm*, *Rabanus*, and *St. Thomas*, follow *St. Austin*. *Theodoret* and some others, have said, That God form'd this Apparition of *Samuel*, or that he made an Angel appear under the form of *Samuel*. *St. Basil* is of *Eustathius's* Opinion, in his Commentary upon Ch. 8. of *Isaiah*; but he seems to approve the contrary Opinion in his Letter to *Eustathius* the Physician. *St. Gregory Nazianzen* touches

*phus*. He makes a Digression concerning the Genealogy of *Jesus Christ*, in which he copies out a passage of *Africanus*, and then gives an Abridgment of the Fables which are in the *Proto-Evangelium* of *St. James*, concerning the Virgin, *St. Joseph*, *Joachim*, and *Zachary*. Afterwards he resumes the Continuation of his Abridgment of History, which goes as far as the end of *Joshua's* Government, being nothing else but Extracts out of the Books of Scripture, and the History of *Josephus*; whereby it appears, that there is neither Order nor Design in all this Work, and that 'tis nothing else but a heap of Passages confusedly jumbled together by a Man of no Learning or Judgment: which cannot be said of *Eustathius of Antioch*, who was a very Learn'd, Judicious and Eloquent Man, as any one may easily perceive by his Dissertation, and the Fragments we have of his Works. *Allatius* has no proof that this Work is *Eustathius's* of *Antioch*, under whose Name he has publish'd it; but he endeavours to prove, that it was made by some ancient Author, because in speaking of the end of the World, he maintains that it will not continue above 6000 Years, and in giving the Chronology of Time already past, he does not go beyond the 30th Year of *Constantine*. But this proof is not at all convincing, for 'tis probable, that this Author has taken what he says in those places from one of the Ancients, without adding any thing of his own: But suppose he were the Author of what is related concerning the end of the World, may not an Impostor affect to speak so, on purpose to make us believe that his work was Ancient? Be it as it will, there is no manner of Probability that it was written by *Eustathius of Antioch*.

I shall not now commend this Bishop for his Zeal in defending the Faith, his invincible Constancy, his Wisdom and singular Moderation, which appear'd in suffering patiently the reproachful Accusation, wherewith his enemies charg'd him, and the unjust Deposition which they pronounc'd against him; but shall content my self to consider him as an Author, and observe him with *Sozomen*, *Hist. B. II. Ch. 19*. that he had acquired a rare Eloquence, As appears, says he, by his Works, which are most Worthy of Commendation, as well for the antient Purity of Style, as the Sublimity of Thought, the Beauty of Expression, and the Curiosity of his Discourses. These rare qualities of this good Writer appear in his Dissertation of the *Pythons*, and in his Fragment set down by *Theodoret*, which confirm the Judgment that *Sozomen* gives of this Author. I have not seen any other Edition in Greek and Latin of his Works, but that which we have already spoken of, Printed at *Lyons* by *Durandus* in Quarto, in the Year 1629.

both these Opinions in his first Oration against *Julian*: But *Gregory Nyssen*, in a Letter Written on this Subject, expressly refutes the Opinion of *Origen*, and proves that of *Eustathius*. 'Tis no wonder that *Methodius* and *St. Jerome* condemn *Origen's* Opinion, but 'tis surprizing that *Philastrius* has tax'd it of Heresie, *Hares. 28*. The Author of the Question ascrib'd to *St. Justin*, Quest. 52. The Author of the Questions concerning the Wonderful things in Scripture, *B. II. Ch. 2*. and of the Questions of the Old and New Testament attributed to *St. Austin*, Quest. 26. *Isidore*, *B. VIII. Ch. 8*. of his *Origines*, *Zonaras Hist. Tom. 1*. *Synellus* in his *Chronicle*, and many others approve the Opinion of *Eustathius*. The modern Commentators are much divided about it: And indeed, the Opinion of *Origen* may be better maintain'd when 'tis suppos'd, That 'twas by the Permission of God, and not by the Power of the Devil, that the *Pythons* brought back the Soul of *Samuel*; and so it seems to be more agreeable to the Letter of Scripture; but the other is more Rational, and explains the matter in Dispute more naturally.

## PETER of Alexandria.

*Peter of Alexandria.* **P**eter of Alexandria had his Head cut off (*a*) for the Faith, by the Commandment of the Emperor *Maximinus*, in the ninth year of *Dioclesian's* Persecution, that is to say, in the year 311 from the Birth of Christ: We have the Acts of his Martyrdom; but since they do not

(*a*) **H**ad his Head cut off.] *Baronius* sets down the Martyrdom of *Peter* at the year 310; but *Eusebius* says, in two places of his History, that he suffer'd the 9th. year of the Persecution, which is 311. according to the vulgar *Aera*: The Author of the *Chronicon Alexandrinum* follows *Eusebius*. *Baronius* cites for himself, ch. 13. of the eighth Book of *Eusebius*, where *Peter* is numbred amongst the Martyrs; but in this place of his History, he does not reckon up the Martyrs in order of time, but only discourses of many famous Bishops and Martyrs.

(*b*) We ought not to give much credit to them.] These Acts were published by *Surinus*, and afterwards in Greek by *Combesis*: But they neither agree with the History of the time, nor with that of *Peter*. 1. This Author says in two places, that *Peter* died under *Dioclesian*, which is false, since this Emperor abdicated the Empire a long time before the year 311. 2. *Eusebius* says, that *Peter* was seiz'd, and executed upon the spot. These Acts suppose that he

agree with the Ecclesiastical History of that Time, we ought not to give much Credit to them (*b*). Though *St. Jerome* and others, who have given an Account of Ecclesiastical Writers, do not place this Bishop among them; yet he certainly wrote some things. There is in the Council of *Ephesus*

was a long time in Prison; and that he must have written of it to the Emperor who was at *Nicomedia*. 3 He places amongst the Bishops of *Alexandria*, one *Milius*, when in truth, there was never a one of that Name. 4. He places *Heraclas* after *Dionysius* and *Maximus*, though he certainly preceded them. 5. He feigns that *Heraclas* had Disputes with *Origen*, when there was never any such thing. 6. He says, that the Body of *Peter* was carried into the Church of *Theonas*, which was built by *Alexander* the Successor of *Achillas*, who came after *Peter* to the See of *Alexandria*. In short, he relates, that *Arius* was Excommunicated by *Peter* of *Alexandria*, because of his impious Doctrine: But the Ancients say not a word of this Excommunication, neither does *Alexander*, nor *St. Athanasius* object it to *Arius*: And indeed, can there be any probability, that *Achillas* should receive *Arius* if he had been Excommunicated by *Peter*? Especially, if it be true which is related in those Acts, that *Peter* advertized *Achillas* and *Alexander*, that he had seen a Vision, wherein he was



*Peter of Alexandria.* *Justinian* in his Edict to *Menna* against *Origen*, quotes two passages of *Peter of Alexandria*: The first out of a Homily against Pre-existence of Souls; The second out of a Mythagical Discourse composed by him a little before his Martyrdom: this is very remarkable: *I exhort you* (says this Holy Martyr) *to watch, for you shall once more be in Affliction; you know how the Heathens caused St. Thomas my Father and my Bishop, who bred me up, and my Predecessor in this See, to suffer. Would to God I had also been his Successor in Holiness too: You know the Persecution which the great Saint Dionysius endured, and how he was obliged to hide himself, and to be continually changing the place of his Abode, whilst the Heretick Sabellius tormented him in another manner: What shall I say of the holy Bishops Heraclius and Demetrius? What Tribulations did not they endure from Origen, who sowed Divisions in their Church, and who caused Disturbances there which are not yet quieted? And we have in Balsamon, in the Bibliotheca Patrum, and in the last Edition of the Councils, the Canons which are said to be drawn out of one of his Discourses upon Penance. These were written in the fourth year of the Persecution in 306, about the Feast of Easter; for they begin with these words, [Seeing this is the fourth Easter since the beginning of the Persecution.] In these Canons, he regulates the time of Penance. In the first, he ordains, That those who after long Resistance had at last lapsed, being conquered by the Severity of Torments, and had been under Penance for three years, should after forty days be received into Communion, during which time, he exhorts them to watch and pray. In the second, he adds, yet another year of Penance for those who had fall'n without enduring Torments, only to deliver themselves from Prison. In the third, he brings an instance from the Parable of the Fig-tree, to impose four years Penance upon those who had voluntarily fall'n into Idolatry, without being put in Prison. In the fourth, he deplors the unhappiness of those that are altogether desperate, and do no Penance at all. In the fifth, he limits their Penance to six Months, who had pretended, that they had offered unto Idols, or that they had approached their Altars, or given up their Names; or had sent Pagans to offer in their stead. In the sixth he observes, That there were some that sent thither their Slaves, though they were Christians; and in the seventh Canon he imposes upon them three years of Penance, but upon the Slaves one year only. In the eighth, he says, That 'tis but just to make them partakers of the Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ, of the Prayers of the Church and the Word of God, who after they had been once vanquished, returned again to the Combate,*

given to understand, that *Arius* should rend in pieces the Church of Jesus Christ. Besides, we read no where that *Arius* published his impious Doctrine, before the Pontificate of *Alexander*, and therefore if he had been Excommunicated by *Peter* it must have been for some other cause. There are found indeed in a Treas-

and were committed to Prison: or those who suffered Torments, after they had confessed the Faith of Jesus Christ. *Peter of Alexandria.* In the ninth Canon, he blames their Conduct, who expose themselves indiscreetly to Danger, and by this means bring Persecution upon themselves and their Brethren. He proves by the example of Christ and his Apostles, that their Conduct is very much to be blamed; and yet he thinks we ought not to refuse the Communion to those who thus rashly expose themselves to Temptation, because they do it in the Name of Christ. In the tenth Canon, he ordains, that the Clergy who had lapsed, should be deprived of their Ministry, and content themselves with Lay-Communion, which is not to be denied them. In the eleventh Canon, he advises to treat them with Meekness, and receive those Christians into Communion, who having exposed themselves to Martyrdom for the Encouragement of others by their Example, had at last fall'n by the Cruelty of their Torments. In the twelfth, he says, that those who had given Money to deliver themselves from Torments, were free from Sin in so doing, and moreover praises their Conduct. In the thirteenth, he makes an Apology for those that fled to avoid Persecution, and justifies their Carriage by many Examples. In the fourteenth, he says, That they ought to be placed in the rank of Confessors, who had been forced against their wills to taste of Meats offered unto Idols. The last Canon has no connexion with the former, for there he approves the Fasts of *Wednesday* and *Friday*, [On which he says we are enjoined to Fast, according to Tradition; On Wednesday, because on that Day the Jews took up a resolution to deliver Jesus to Death; and on Friday, because he suffered on that day for us: But as to the Lord's-Day, that is a Day of rejoicing, because on that Day Jesus Christ was raised from the Dead, and therefore we do not kneel on that Day at our Prayers.] Of all the Canons of Antiquity concerning the Penance of the Lapsed, there are none more judicious or more equitable than those we have now described. There appears in them a Wisdom and Prudence that is altogether singular, in tempering the Rigour of Punishment by a reasonable Moderation; without which, Justice would be weakened by too much Indulgence. He examines carefully all the Circumstances which might augment or diminish the quality of the Crime, and as he does not lengthen out Penance by too severe Methods, so neither does he deceive the Sinner by too remiss an Easiness. 'Tis probable, that about the time when these Canons were composed, *Peter of Alexandria* deposed *Meletius* Bishop of Egypt, being convicted of Idolatry, who was afterwards the Author of the Sect of the *Meletians*; as *Athanasius* reports in his second Apology.

tise of *Justinian* against *Origen*, some words that are ascribed to *Peter of Alexandria*, which are much like those that are found in those Acts; but besides that, they are not altogether the same: *Justinian* is neither so ancient, nor of so great Authority, as to counter-balance the Reasons which we have alledged.

## ALEXANDER Bishop of Alexandria.

*Alexander Bishop of Alexandria.* After the Death of *Peter* Bishop of *Alexandria*, who suffered Martyrdom in the 9th. year of the Persecution begun by *Dioclesian*, *Achillas* was chosen in his room to the See of *Alexandria*. *Alexander*, of whom we now write, succeeded this *Achillas* in the year 321, if we follow the Testimony of *St. Jerome*; or according to others, towards the year 315. He opposed the Heresie of *Arius* vigorously, and endeavoured to stifle it in its Birth, by Excommunicating him who was the Author of it, and his Followers. This he did in a Council assembled in the City of *Alexandria* for that purpose. But *Arius* and those of his Faction, having found some Bishops that received them into their Communion, though they were condemned by their Bishop, *Alexander* complains in a Letter which he wrote to his Fellow-Bishops, which is related by *Theodoret*, Ch. 4. of the first Book of his History; wherein he describes the Troubles that were caused in the Church by *Arius* and his Faction, he lays open their Heretical Doctrine, and observes that they had withdrawn to some Bishops who had received them into their Communion, and signed Letters in their Favour, because they disguised their true Sentiments, and concealed the Poison of their corrupt Doctrine. He reprehends the Conduct of those Bishops, and accuses them of having violated the Canon of the Apostles, by Patronizing the Actions of those who denied the Divinity of Jesus Christ. Afterwards he refutes the impious Opinion of the *Arians*, and proves from Testimonies of Scripture, That the Word was not a Creature made of Nothing, but that he subsisted from all Eternity, and is equal to his Father, being of the same Nature with him, and that there never was a time when the Son of God was not, and that the Father was always a Father. After having thus established the Divinity of the Son of God by most convincing Proofs drawn from the Holy Scriptures, he proceeds to the

Explication of the Articles contained in the Creed, concerning the Holy Spirit, the Incarnation of Jesus Christ, and the Resurrection of the Dead. He observes that Jesus Christ had a real Body, and not an imaginary one, that he was crucified and was dead; but his Divinity suffered nothing. He adds, That this is the Doctrine of the Apostolick Church, for which he is ready to die; and says, that *Arius* and *Achillas* were cast out, because they taught another Doctrine: wherefore he exhorts his Fellow-Bishops to avoid them, and to joyn with him to repress their Insolence. After all, he prays them to send him their Letters approving what he had done, and concludes his Letter with the Names of those Hereticks whom he had condemned and cast out of the Church.

When the Bishops who maintained *Arius* wrote also on their side in his favour, *Alexander* found himself obliged to write again a large Letter on this Subject to all the Bishops in the World, which is set down by *Socrates*, Ch. 6. of the first Book of their History. I know very well, that 'tis commonly thought that this Letter was written immediately after the Excommunication of *Arius*, before that which is in the fourth Chapter of *Theodoret*: But this is a mistake, since this Letter was written at the time when *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia* was fully declared a Patron of *Arius*. Wherefore *Alexander* having observed in this Letter, That since the Catholick Church was but one Body, and all the Bishops were obliged to preserve Peace in it, It was expedient, that they should reciprocally advertise one another of what happened in each Diocese; to the end, that when one Member was afflicted, all the rest should mourn, or else, rejoice together with it. After he had begun his Letter with this handsome Reflection, he adds, 'That he had once a design to have buried this Disorder in Silence; but since *Eusebius* had taken upon him the Patronage of these Apostates, and had writ-



*Alexander* ten on all hands in their favour, he thought himself obliged to break Silence, and to give notice to all the World of this new Error, and to hinder his Fellow-Bishops from giving credit to the Letters which *Eusebius* might have written. After this, he inserts the Names of these Hereticks, lays open their Error, and refutes it in a few Words. He says, that their Impiety was the cause why they were thrown out of the Church and smitten with an Anathema; and tho' he acknowledges that he was sensibly troubled for their loss, yet he must not wonder that such false Teachers should arise and corrupt the Faith and Doctrine of Jesus Christ, since we are forewarned of them by Christ and his Apostle.

These two Letters of *Alexander* were sharp and vehement; wherein he pursues *Arius* and his Party vigorously, and having represented their Doctrine after such a manner, as discovers all that is odious in it, he disputes against it by many solid Arguments, and writes to his Fellow-Bishops with great Assurance, and yet with due Respect. In short, one may say, That these Letters are a Masterpiece in their kind.

*Cotelerius* has also published a Letter, or a Pastoral Advertisment of *Alexander* to his Priests of *Egypt* and *Mareotis*, written after these two Letters, in which he tells them, That though they had subscribed to the first Pastoral Advertisment which he had addressed to *Arius* and those of his Faction, wherein he exhorted them to return from their

Impiety, and make Profession of the Catholick Faith; yet he thought it still necessary once more to assemble the Clergy of *Alexandria* and *Mareotis*, to shew them the Letter which he had written to all the Bishops since the first Condemnation of the *Arians*, and to give them notice, that *Carus* and *Pistus* Priests, *Serapion*, *Potamon*, *Zosimus* and *Irenaeus*, Deacons, having join'd themselves to the other *Arians*, were deposed. He demands their Consent and Approbation, because, says he, 'tis reasonable that ye should know what I have written, and imprint it in your minds, as if you your selves had written it. This Monument of Antiquity, gives us to understand, That according to the Discipline of the Church of *Alexandria*, which was agreeable to that of other Churches, the Bishop of that great See, held Synods of his Priests or Curates, not only of those that were in the City, but also of those that were in the Country, and that he would do nothing without the Consent and Approbation of his Clergy.

The Cause of *Arius* being afterwards carried into the Council of *Nice*, *Alexander* assisted there, and held one of the chief Places, as appears by the Council's Letter to the *Alexandrians*, wherein they say, That he was Head of the Council, and had a great hand in all its Decisions. He lived but five Months after this Council, and left *Athanasius* Successor to his See, and to his Zeal against the *Arians*.

## St. ATHANASIUS.

*St. Athanasius* **S**T. *Athanasius* was born at *Alexandria* (a), but the precise Year of his Birth is not certainly known, neither do the Ancients tell us any thing of his Kindred (b). He was so young during the Persecution of *Dioclesian* and *Maximian*, that when he speaks of it, he does not say, that he had seen what he says, but only that he learn'd it of his Fathers (c). We know nothing either of his Infancy, or Education. *Ruffinus*, indeed, tells us, that St. *Athanasius* being yet a Child, and playing with other Children, imitated the Ceremonies of the Church, and baptiz'd his Comrades; and that St. *Alexander* Bishop of *Alexandria*, perceiving it, and having enquir'd the manner in which they were baptiz'd, he approv'd the Baptism, and from that time, design'd St. *Athanasius* for the Clergy. But this Story, which, besides its being so very improbable, cannot agree with the Age of St. *Athanasius*, passes among Learned Men, rather for a Fable than a Truth (d). St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, assures us, in his Panegyrick on St. *Athanasius*, that this Saint applied himself but a short while to the prophane Sciences, and proceeded quickly to the Study of the Holy Scriptures. Afterwards he entred into the Clergy, and discharg'd his Function, when he was in Orders, with general Approbation, according to the Observation of *Theodoret*. He was particularly taken Notice of by *Alexander* his Bishop, whom he accompanied to the Council of *Nice*, being then but a Deacon, and yet the first of the Deacons of his Church. He oppos'd there the Heresie of *Arius*, and 'tis believ'd likewise, that he maintain'd a Disputation against the Hereticks. When he return'd again to the City of *Alexandria*, *Alexander* cast his Eyes upon him to make him his Successor. *Apollinarius* says, in a Passage related by *Sozomen*, B. II. Ch. 17. of his *History*, that St. *Athanasius* fled to avoid being chosen Bishop, and that *Alexander* being near his Death, did several times call for him. After the Death of this Bishop, he was chosen Bishop of *Alexandria*, in the beginning of the Year 326 (e), by the common Voice of all the People, and ordain'd by

the Bishops of *Egypt*, *Libya* and *Pentapolis* assembled in the City of *Alexandria*. This is the Testimony which the Bishops of these Provinces give of his Ordination in a Synodical Letter reported by St. *Athanasius*, Apol. 2. p. 726. where at the same time they refute the Calumny of the *Arians*, who said, that *Athanasius* was privately Ordain'd by seven Bishops against the Will of all the rest. The *Arians* and the Bishops which Patroniz'd them, as soon as they saw St. *Athanasius* their Adversary promoted to this See, look'd upon this Promotion as a great Obstacle to their Designs, and therefore resolv'd to drive him out of the Church. And that they might execute this Design the more easily, they join'd with the Schismatics call'd *Meletians*, (or rather *Melitians*) (f) because they had follow'd the Party of an *Egyptian* Bishop call'd *Meletius* or *Melitus*, who being deposed in a Synod by *Peter* of *Alexandria*, for having Sacrific'd to Idols (g), separated himself from the Church, and made a considerable Faction in *Egypt*. Thus the Bishops that favour'd *Arius*, not being able to persuade St. *Athanasius* to receive him into his Communion, no more than his followers, tho' *Eusebius* had written him a threatening Letter to that purpose, did for that reason accuse him of laying a New Tax upon all the Linen or Woollen Vestments of the *Egyptians*, for the use of the Church of *Alexandria*; and deputed *Ison*, *Eudemon*, and *Callinicus*, *Meletian* Bishops, to carry this Accusation to the Emperor. But *Alipius* and *Macarius*, Priests of *Alexandria*, being then at Court when this Accusation was brought against St. *Athanasius*, defended him, and demonstrated his Innocence to the Emperor *Constantine*, who thereupon wrote to *Athanasius* to come and appear before him. At that time *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, being resolv'd at any rate to ruin St. *Athanasius* at Court, caus'd these three Informers to stay there, who invented new Accusations, alledging that the Priest *Macarius* had broken a Sacred Chalice by *Athanasius*'s Order, and that *Athanasius* himself had conspir'd against the Emperor, by sending a Chest full of Gold to *Philumenus* who design'd to Usurp

(a) *At Alexandria*.] He was a Clergy-man of this Church, and the Clergy were commonly of that Place where they discharg'd their Office; but besides this Conjecture, 'tis plain also that he was originally of *Alexandria* by the Letter of *Constantius*, who recalling him from his Exile, says that he would restore him to his own Country, &c. Apol. 2. p. 769, 770. and he takes his Country and Church for the same thing. Orat. 1. contr. Ar.

(b) *Of his Kindred*.] The Greek Author of his Life, who is very late, says that they were very noble and of great Piety; but he gives us no Name, nor cites any Author to warrant his groundless Assertion: His Aunt was a Catholick, and died during the Tyranny of *Gregory*, Ep. ad Solit. p. 817. You may see in a Latin Letter of this Saint related at the end of *Lucifer's* Works, that during his Persecution, he had not the Liberty to see his Parents, which may be understood of his Father and Mother, according to the proper Signification of the Latin Word.

(c) *But only that he learn'd it of his Fathers*.] In his Letter ad Solit. p. 855. I heard from my Fathers, that the Persecution was rais'd under *Maximian* Grandfather to *Constantius*.

(d) *Rather for a Fable than a Truth*.] 1. This Story of Children baptiz'd by *Athanasius*, does not at all agree with the Discipline of the Church of *Alexandria* upon the Subject of Re-baptization, and 'tis a thing unheard of that it should be approv'd of, or that any could approve a Baptism of this Nature, as *Alexander* of *Alexandria* is suppos'd to have done. 2. It does not agree with the Age of St. *Athanasius*, for *Alexander* was not

ordain'd Bishop of *Alexandria*, according to the Testimony of St. *Jerome*, until the Year 321. and St. *Athanasius* being ordain'd Bishop in 326. was not, in this Interval, of an Age to play such little Pranks. And though it were suppos'd, against the Authority of St. *Jerome*, that *Alexander* was ordain'd in 315, this would not remove the Difficulty; for it cannot be said, that St. *Athanasius* play'd at this Sport when he was above 10. or 12. Years old, from whence it would follow, that he was ordain'd Bishop at the 25. or 27th, year of his Age, which is not very probable.

(e) *In the Beginning of the Year 326*.] *Alexander* died five Months after the Council of *Nice*, and St. *Athanasius* succeeded him immediately. St. *Epiphanius* says in *Heret.* 68. and 69. that *Achillas* was chosen by the Catholicks after the Death of *Alexander*, and *Theonas* by the *Meletians*, and that *Athanasius* was ordain'd three Months after: But all this Story is fabulous, because *Achillas* was Bishop of *Alexandria* before *Alexander*, and all Historians testify that St. *Athanasius* succeeded *Alexander* immediately; and St. *Athanasius* says as much expressly in his 2d. Apology.

(f) *Or rather Melitians*.] Their Leader is call'd by all the Ancients, *Meletius*, and never *Melétios*.

(g) *For having sacrific'd to Idols*.] St. *Athanasius* testifies, that this was the Occasion of the Schism of *Meletius*, which is much more credible than what St. *Epiphanius* reports to be the Origin of this Schism, after a fabulous manner, being deceiv'd by the Memoirs of some *Meletians*.



St. Athanasius.

the Empire. But the Emperor himself having examin'd this Accusation in one of their Suburbs of *Nicomedia*, call'd *Psammathe*, declar'd St. Athanasius Innocent of those Crimes, and sent him back to *Alexandria* with a very obliging Letter in his favour. This was done in the Year 331. The Enemies of St. Athanasius not resting satisfied with this Judgment, the next Year renew'd the Accusation of the Chalice broken by *Macarius*, founded upon the Deposition of one *Ischyas* who call'd himself a Priest, altho' he was ordain'd by *Collythus*, who was not truly a Bishop, and therefore had not Power to give him a valid Ordination. *Ischyas* had dwelt at *Mareotis*, a Country of *Egypt*, where there was neither Bishop nor Suffragan, but only a great many Parishes govern'd by Priests. He had one of these Churches, which *Athanasius* understanding, sent *Macarius* to forbid him when he visited his Diocese, to Celebrate the Divine Mysteries, and to execute any part of the Sacerdotal Function. This gave the occasion of accusing *Macarius*, that he had broken one of the Sacred Chalices, altho' he found *Ischyas* out of the Church and in his Bed. But to render St. Athanasius more odious, they accuse him of having put *Arsenius* to Death, who was Bishop of *Hipsele* in *Thebais*, and of the Faction of the *Meletians*. The Emperor who had already examin'd the first Accusation, (which was likewise confounded by the Letter of *Ischyas*, who acknowledged, that he was forc'd to invent this Calumny,) did not take any further notice of that Article, but wrote to *Dalmatius*, to enquire into the second Accusation, concerning the Murder of *Arsenius*. This oblig'd St. Athanasius to search every where for this Bishop whom the *Meletians* had hid in the Monasteries at their Devotion: And at last, he was found at *Tyre* where he was made known before *Paul* the Bishop. Then, St. Athanasius having given notice to *Constantine*, that his Accusers were convicted of an Imposture, the Emperor wrote to *Dalmatius*, to stop all further Process, and sent a very obliging Letter to St. Athanasius, wherein he exhorts him to moderation, condemns the Rage of the *Meletians*, and promises him Protection. But for all this, the *Arian* Faction lost not their Courage, nor did they cease to contrive still new Accusations against him: Whereupon the Emperor being tormented with their continual Importunity, thought fit to call a Council, to put an end to all these Differences; which he order'd to meet at *Cæsarea*, in *Palestine*, where St. Athanasius was Summon'd to appear. But this Saint, perceiving that the Council was compos'd of his Enemies, would not appear there. His Absence, irritated the Emperor against him, who call'd another Council to meet at *Tyre*, in the year 335, and wrote to St. Athanasius, that he should not fail to come there, which he did in such Terms, as might make him sensible, that he was not satisfi'd with his Conduct. St. Athanasius was forc'd to appear there in the quality of a Criminal; but he answer'd the Accusation of the Murder of *Arsenius*, by producing him before the Council. *Ruffinus*, says, That they still went on to accuse St. Athanasius, by a Woman of an ill Life, who was presently convicted of being a Cheat, because she took for him a Deacon call'd *Timotheus*, who feign'd himself to be *Athanasius*. But this History which is supported by no other Authority, but that of *Ruffinus*, appears very doubtful, because neither St. Athanasius nor the Council of *Alexandria*, which relates exactly all the Calumnies and Forgeries which were invented against St. Athanasius, say any thing of it, which they had never omitted, if it had been propos'd. There were some other wandering Reports alledg'd against him, but wanting Proof, they insisted upon that of the Chalice, which was supposed to be broken by *Macarius*; and to inquire into this Crime, they sent Six Bishops to *Mareotis*, who were very resolute against St. Athanasius, who heard many Witnesses to this purpose, in spite of all the Protestations of the Clergy of *Mareotis* and *Alexandria*. In the mean time, St. Athanasius retires, and appeals to the Emperor; but the Synod condemns and deposes him upon the Information at *Mareotis*. This was no sooner done, but a Letter was brought from the Emperor, directed to the Bishops of the Council, to come presently to *Jerusalem*, to Celebrate the Dedication of a Church. In the mean time, St. Athanasius arrives at *Constantinople*, and desires Audience of the Emperor to justify himself: But this

was not granted, and all that he could obtain, was an Order, wherein the Emperor sends for the Bishops that had condemn'd him, to come to Court, and give an Account to him of their Proceedings. But instead of coming in a Body, they sent only *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia* with Five other Deputies, who without saying any thing of the former Accusations fram'd against St. Athanasius, accus'd him now of having threatned to hinder the Exportation of Corn from *Alexandria* to *Constantinople*. The Emperor was so provok'd by this Accusation, that without hearing St. Athanasius, he banish'd him presently to *Triers*, a City in *Gaul*; but would not suffer his Bishoprick to be fill'd.

After the Death of *Constantine the Great*, the three *Cæsars* his Sons, *Constantine*, *Constantius* and *Constans*, permitted all the Banish'd Bishops to return to their Churches. St. Athanasius was sent back to *Alexandria* with Letters from *Constantine*, after he had been a Year and some Months in Exile (b). This Emperor praises St. Athanasius in his Letter, and says, that his Father would not have Banish'd him, but that the *Eusebians* had a design upon his Life, and that he had intended to recall him before his Death. He was no sooner return'd to *Alexandria*, but his antient Enemies attack him a-new: They say, that since his Return, he had stirr'd up Sedition in the City, and caus'd some Persons to be put in Prison, and others to be us'd harshly: but they chiefly insisted upon his Deposition by the Synod, alledging that he was incapable, according to the Canons, of returning to his Church, or performing his Episcopal Function, till he was restor'd by another Synod. They insinuated themselves into the favour of *Constantius*, and moreover accuse St. Athanasius of selling and taking Money for the Corn, which the Emperor had given to be distributed among the Poor, and the Widows of *Alexandria*. This Accusation drew upon St. Athanasius a very sharp Letter from the Emperor. And the *Eusebians* not contented to have *Constantius* on their side, would also have gain'd the other two *Cæsars*, and therefore wrote to them against St. Athanasius, but they fail'd of their aim, and were refus'd. They endeavour'd also to render Pope *Julius* favourable to them, by offering him the Arbitration of all their differences with St. Athanasius. But this Pope having accepted their offer, and summon'd them to come to a Council, they refus'd it. In the mean time, St. Athanasius was absolv'd by a Synod of almost a Hundred *Egyptian* Bishops in the Year 339, who gave an Authentick Testimony of his Innocence in all the Heads of his Accusation. On the other side, the *Eusebians* assembled a Council at *Antioch* in 341, where after they had made a new Creed different from that of *Nice*, they resolv'd to send a Bishop to *Alexandria*: for which end, they first pitched upon *Eusebius* of *Emesa*; but he refusing, they chose one *Gregory*, and went to find out the Emperor, and pray'd that this *Gregory* might be sent to *Alexandria*. St. Athanasius having only heard of this Choice, withdrew to *Rome* in the Year 341 (i); where he was kindly receiv'd by Pope *Julius*, who admitted him to Communion, and sent presently Legates with Letters to *Eusebius*, and the other Bishops, to cite them to *Rome*. But the *Eusebians* did not come at the day which *Julius* had appointed them, detain'd his Legates till the Month of *January* 342 (k), and sent *Gregory* to *Alexandria*, who made himself Master of that Church by force, and used those of *Athanasius*'s Party very ill. While the *Eusebians* thus desolated the Church of *Alexandria*, the Pope held a Council at *Rome* in the Church of *Vito* the Presbyter (l), towards the end of the Year 341 (m). There all the Accusations of the *Eusebians* against St. Athanasius were examined, he himself was justified, declared Innocent by all the Bishops of the Council, and continued in Ecclesiastical Communion: but they determin'd nothing particularly about his Restauration (n) to the See of *Alexandria*. The Eastern bishops after a long delay at last made answer, towards the beginning of the year 342, by the Pope's Legates whom they sent back, excusing themselves because of the War of the *Persians*, that they could not come to *Rome* at the Day that he had appointed, and blaming *Julius* for receiving *Athanasius* into communion after he was condemn'd, and for hearing a cause a-new, after it had been already determin'd. This Letter was written by a Synod of *Antioch*, held almost a year after that which we have mention'd: And

(b) *A Year and some Months in Exile.*] *Theodoret B. II. Ch. 1.* says, that he was there two years and four Months, but he is mistaken; for he was sent into Banishment at the End of the year 336, and was restor'd again June 15, 337. before the Sons of *Constantine* had taken upon them the Title of Emperors.

(i) *Withdrew to Rome in the Year 341.*] *Baronius* makes him go in the year 339, and supposes he was twice there; but *Valesius* has very well prov'd, that he was but once there, since he mentions but one Voyage. When he withdrew, he had only heard of the Ordination of *Gregory*, and the Persecution which was preparing against him and his Church, as he himself says in these Words, *μὴν ἀκούσας*.

(k) *Till the Month of January 342.*] For so it must be read in the Letter of *Julius*, and not as *Baronius* thought.

(l) *In the Church of Vito the Presbyter.*] So the Words of *Julius* must be understood, *ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Βίτου πρεσβυτέρου*, which are ill translated in these Words, *In the Church*

where *Vito the Presbyter* assembled them: For he did not assemble the Bishops but the People, according to the common Phrase, *colligere Populum*, to hold a publick Assembly of their People, in the Church. *St. Irenæus* says, *qui praterquam quod oportet colligunt*, which is spoken of Schismatics, who made Assemblies out of the true Church.

(m) *Towards the end of the Year 341.*] *Valesius* thinks that the Council of *Rome* was not held till the year 342, after the Return of the Legates: But *Julius* says plainly, that the Bishops of *Italy* met at the Day appointed, and that the Legates were detain'd a long time after till the Month of *January*, in the year 342.

(n) *They determin'd nothing particularly about his Restauration.*] *Julius* and St. Athanasius say expressly, that he was only assur'd of that Communion which had been granted him, and that his Enemies complain'd of nothing else.

that



that which perplexes this Part of History to this Day, is the want of distinguishing these two Councils of *Antioch*, or the placing them at different times. *Julius* having received this Letter, took some time before he answer'd it, thinking that somebody at least would come from the Eastern Bishops; but nobody coming, he wrote them a long Letter (o), which is set down by *St. Athanasius*; wherein he gives an account of all his Proceedings, and reprehends theirs with great sharpness.

The Cause of *St. Athanasius* continued in this State till the Council of *Sardica*, summon'd by the Emperors in the Year 347. The Bishops of the East and the West met there, but those of the East would not assist at the Council, unless *St. Athanasius*, *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*, and the other Bishops depos'd by them, would appear as Criminals and Persons Excommunicated, and those of the West would not agree to this Condition: Whereupon the former withdrew, and the latter being left alone to the number of a Hundred, or thereabouts, pronounc'd the Sentence of Absolution of *Athanasius*, of *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*, and the other Bishops that had been condemn'd; restor'd them to their Dignities, and condemn'd their Principal Adversaries; while the Bishops of the East on the other side, being Assembled at *Philippopolis*, wrote against those Bishops whom they condemn'd, and Excommunicated *Julius*, *Hosius*, and the other Zealous Partisans of *St. Athanasius*. Things being at this pass, there was no Security for *St. Athanasius* to return to the East, without the Authority of the Emperor *Constantius*, who was Lord of that Part of the World, and therefore he stay'd then at *Naissa*, a City of *Dacia*, till *Constantius* commanded him to come to *Aquileia*, and granted him his Protection.

The Death of *Gregory*, which happened in the year 348, came very seasonably to remove the chief Obstacle of *Athanasius's* Return: For then, either because *Constantius* knew his Innocence, and the Malice of his Accusers, or because he was desir'd to do so by his Brother, he would not suffer any to be ordained Bishop of *Alexandria*, and recalled *St. Athanasius* who was gone from *Aquileia* to *Rome*, to take his Farewel of the Church of that City and its Bishop, and was come from thence to find out *Constantius*, and pray him to call his Enemies before him, that he might convict them in his Presence. The Emperor would do no such thing, but only sent him back to *Alexandria*, with Letters directed to the Bishops of *Egypt*; to the Clergy and the People of *Alexandria*, to which he adjoyn'd two Edicts to abrogate and annul all that had been done against this holy Bishop. *St. Athanasius* returning triumphantly with these Letters, was received even by the Bishops that had been less favourable to him; and two of his greatest Enemies, *Ursacius* and *Valens* seem'd to be outwardly reconcil'd to him. The Emperor *Constantius*, *Athanasius's* Patron, dying in the Month of *February*, 350, he had some Jealousie lest *Constantius* should renew that Persecution which he had already made him suffer. But the Emperor sent him word, that he should not trouble himself on that Account; That he designed to keep him always in his See, and forbad his Enemies to attack him. Thus *St. Athanasius*, who was not yet entred within his Diocess, arriv'd thereat last in the Month of *March*, 350, where he was received with the publick Rejoycing of the Bishops of *Egypt*, his Clergy, and all the People. But he enjoyed this Repose but a few years, which seem'd to be granted him for ever; for after the year 354, the Emperor *Constantius* sent a Courtier of his to the City of *Alexandria* with Letters to him, wherein he gives him leave to retire from *Alexandria*, supposing that he had desired it. *St. Athanasius* seeing that this Order was founded upon a false Supposition, was of opinion, that he ought not for this to go out of *Alexandria*. Twenty six Months after, *Diogenes* comes to *Alexandria*, and spreads a Report that the Emperor had given order to drive away *St. Athanasius* from this City; but since *Diogenes* brought no Letters from the Emperor, *St. Athanasius* made answer, that he should either shew him a Letter from the Emperor, commanding him to depart from *Alexandria*, or at least, that the Governor of *Egypt*, or General of the Army, should deliver him an Order in writing to this purpose. Twenty three Days after, *Syrianus*, General of the Army in *Egypt*, entred with his Soldiers into the Church, on the 27th of *January*, 356, abused the Clergy, the People, and the Virgins that were there assembled. During this Tumult, *St. Athanasius* being carried out by some Monks, saved himself, and retired into a Desert (p). *Constantius*, understanding what had pass'd; sent an Edict to those of *Alexandria*, wherein he approves what

was done against *St. Athanasius*, and exhorts the Youth to pursue him. The Count *Heraclius* published this Edict, and encouraged some lewd young Men of *Alexandria*, who entered into the Churches, beat all those they met with, tore the Veils, the Seats and the Ornaments, and broke the Episcopal Chair in Pieces, with such Violence, that none could check those Disorders; which were yet further heightened upon the Arrival of *George*, who was ordained Bishop of *Alexandria* by the Enemies of *St. Athanasius*. For this Man being come into the City of *Alexandria* some Days before *Easter*, entred forcibly into the Church, and caus'd all those that were for *St. Athanasius* to be driven away. Who meeting together in the Coemeterie and the desert Places, for the Celebration of the Divine Mysteries on *Easter-Day*, and the following *Sundays*, were driven from thence and beaten by the Soldiers; nay, and some of them lost their Lives. In short, because the Bishops of *Egypt* and *Libya*, were all for *St. Athanasius*, they drove away eighty of them, and sent six into Banishment. These Outrages were authorized by the Letter which *Constantius* wrote to the *Alexandrians*, in which he declares against *St. Athanasius*, and enjoins them to obey *George*. Thus it was impossible for *St. Athanasius* to return into the City of *Alexandria*, and therefore he was forced to lie hid in the Desert, where he compos'd many Books.

After the Death of *Constantius*, *Julian* the Apostate became Master of the Empire, who taking no side in the Disputes of Religion that were among the Christians, permitted all the exil'd Bishops to return to their Country. It happened at the same time, that *George*, who had intruded himself into the Church of *Alexandria*, was kill'd in a popular Sedition in the year 362. His Death facilitated the Return of *St. Athanasius* to the City of *Alexandria*, and his Restoration to his See in that City. When he was returned, he assembled a Council to regulate the manner of receiving the *Arians*, who had a Desire to return into the Bosom of the Church, and to compose some Differences which had happened in the Church of *Antioch*. But he could not long employ himself for the good of the Church, for the Pagans having rendred him odious to the Emperor *Julian*, he sent an Order directed to those of *Alexandria*, importing that *Athanasius* should depart from their City, because he had only permitted the exil'd Bishops to return into their Country, but not to re-enter upon their Sees. The People of *Alexandria*, who loved *St. Athanasius* extremely, sent Deputies to the Emperor, to pray him, that he would not force him out of *Alexandria*: But this Message only provoked the Emperor against him, who thereupon presently banish'd him, not only from *Alexandria*, but also from all *Egypt*. It is said also, That he gave secret Orders to put him to death. *St. Athanasius* having heard this News, fled beyond the River *Nile*: And 'tis reported, That he was followed very close by those that were sent to stop him, and he returning the same way that they pursued him, met them on the Road, but when they enquired if he had seen *Athanasius*, one of his Company answered, That he was not far off, and if they would make haste, they might overtake him; and so having deluded them, he returned to *Alexandria*. But be this as it will, 'tis certain, That he lay conceal'd 'till the Reign of *Jovian*, a Christian Prince, who succeeded *Julian*. In the year 363, this Emperor came and found him with some other Bishops of *Egypt*, at the City of *Antioch*, where they held a kind of a Synod (q); and there they drew up a Letter, which was addressed to the Emperor, wherein they propos'd to him the *Nicene* Creed, as the Rule of Orthodox Faith, and condemn those that denied the Divinity of the Holy Spirit.

*St. Athanasius* was also persecuted under the Reign of *Valens*, who being baptized in 367, by *Eudoxius*, an *Arian* Bishop of *Constantinople*, made an Edict, wherein he ordains, That all the Bishops that had been depos'd under *Constantius*, should be forced away from their Sees. The Governor of *Egypt* having received this Edict, prepared to put it in execution against *St. Athanasius*, but was hindred by the People. In the mean time, this Saint fearing lest he should be seized, (as they really intended to do afterwards) and seeing the Commotions of the People appeas'd, retired to the Country into the Sepulchre of his Fathers, and lay there conceal'd for the space of four Months; but *Valens* was oblig'd to re-call him. We are inform'd by the 47th Letter of *St. Basil*, That at this time *St. Athanasius* had some Difference with the Governor of *Libya*, whom he Excommunicated; but we know nothing of the Occasion of this

(o) He wrote them a long Letter.] *Valesius* thinks that this Letter was written by the Council, but that cannot be; for the Pope's Legates were return'd when it was written, and they were detain'd in the East after the Day appointed for the Council, as we have already noted. It does not at all appear by this Letter, whatever *Valesius* says, that the Legates were return'd when it was written: On the contrary it is evident that the Council was held on the Day prefix'd, and that the Legates were then in the East. And therefore to reconcile these things, it must be said, that the Letter was written after the Council, although by Order of the Council, which had charg'd *Julius* to write

his Decision, and to answer the 1st. Letter from the Eastern Bishops, but not the 2d. which was not yet arriv'd.

(p) Retired into a Desert.] *Sozomen* and *Ruffinus* say, that he was hid in a Cistern, but *Athanasius* says, that he retired into a Desert, and continued there ever after.

(q) At the City of *Antioch*, where they held a kind of a Synod.] 'Tis commonly thought that this Synod was held at *Alexandria*: But *Valesius* has well observ'd, that the Beginning of the Letter shews, that it was written by the Bishops, deputed from the Provinces of *Egypt*, who were come to *Antioch*, where the Emperor was at that time.



St. Athanasius.

Quarrel. At last, St. Athanasius, after so many Revolutions and Persecutions, did happily end the Course of this troublesome Life, in the year 373. of Jesus Christ (r), after he had been Bishop of Alexandria more than 48 years. And thus I have given you in a few words the History of this Saint taken out of his own Works, and the Authors that wrote either his Life, or the History of his time: Let us now give an account of his Writings.

St. Athanasius was one of those Authors who were forced to write, and were engaged to take Pen in hand, rather by an Obligation to defend themselves, than upon any Design to make Books; and therefore the greatest Part of his Books, are either Apologies to justify himself, or Invectives against his Enemies, or Treatises of Controversy against the Errors of the Arians. They are all written in the form of Letters, a way of Writing which is most simple in the Composition, and at the same time most natural, and most proper for one that is in a place of Retirement.

There is great probability, that his two Treatises against the Gentiles, were the first which he composed, because he does not there attack the Arians, as he does in all the other Books which he made, after he had any personal Differences with them. The last of these two Books, is entituled at present, *Concerning the Incarnation*, and Theodoret cites it under that Name; but St. Jerome gives them both the Title of, *Treatises against the Gentiles*, and indeed, they are both written rather to convert Pagans, than to instruct Christians.

The next Work of St. Athanasius, after these two Treatises, is his Apologetick (f) to the Emperor Constantius, which he wrote some time after he was forced away from Alexandria, in the year 356. He wrote also the same year, Two Letters (r) upon the Persecution which the Christians of Alexandria suffered, when George took Possession of that Episcopal See. The first, which was addressed to the Bishops of Egypt, is improperly called *The first Discourse against the Arians*. The second is written to all the Orthodox Bishops. A little time after, he composed his two Apologies in the place of his Retirement: 'Tis likewise very probable, that he wrote at that time his four Treatises against the Arians, which he addressed to the Monks, as we learn from the beginning of his Letter to Serapion, concern-

(r) *In the year 373 of Jesus Christ.* Proterius Bishop of Alexandria, places the Death of St. Athanasius in this year, in a Letter to St. Leo; and St. Jerome says, that Peter of Alexandria was chosen the same year. These Authors are more credible than Socrates, Rufinus and St. Cyril, who place it in the year 371.

(f) *The next Work of St. Athanasius, after these two Treatises, is his Apologetick.* This was composed immediately after his retiring. Which he did with a Design to speak it in the Presence of Constantius: But understanding the Mischiefs he had done to those that favoured him, he thought it not safe to come near him. His two Apologies and his Epistle to those that lead a Monastick Life, were written after this, where he speaks with much Sharpness and Freedom against Constantius, particularly, in his Letter to those that lead a Monastick Life.

(r) *He wrote also the same year, two Letters.* I say that these two Letters were written a little while after the Enthroning of George, though I know Baronius is of opinion, that the first was written a long time before, when Gregory seized upon the Church of Alexandria, and that the second was written in 361. but this opinion is not defensible. As to the first, Baronius was deceived by the Version, where he found sometimes the Name of Gregory, and sometimes that of George; but this Confusion is avoided in the Greek, where one may always find the Name of George, when mention is made of him that came to intrude into the Church of Alexandria: But that which can never be answered, is, That Gregory is mentioned there as one that had been condemned long ago, and was no more. See the place, p. 948. For after all the Churches in the World had anathematized Gregory, whom the Arians had formerly, *επισκοπος*, made Bishop; yet the same Arians presently sent George thither. Here you see how Gregory and George are well distinguished. We may add to this Authority, that the Circumstances related in this Letter agree with the Enthroning of George, and not at all with that of Gregory. It may be alleged for the Opinion of Baronius, 1. That 'tis said in the Letter, Philagrius the Governor of Egypt introduced him, who is there spoken of, and 'tis very well known, that Philagrius carried Gregory to Alexandria: But I cannot see why he might not as well be employed to conduct George thither likewise. 2. 'Tis alledged, that 'tis said in the Letter, that he who was sent to Alexandria by the Arians, was ordained by Eusebius; and Eusebius was certainly dead in George's time: But 'tis easy to answer this difficulty, for 'tis not in the Greek *Ευσεβιος*, but *Ευσεβιανος*, the Eusebians, which is the Name that St. Athanasius commonly gives to his Persecutors. St. Athanasius seems to say, that he was at Alexandria when this Trouble happened; but 'tis well known, that he was out of the City when George came thither, since he withdrew before Easter, and George did not thrust himself into those Churches till that time. To which I answer, That Athanasius does not say, that he was at Alexandria when George arriv'd there; but only when Philagrius publish'd the Edict against him. Lastly, 'tis objected, that 'tis said towards the end of this Letter, that they would have a Council assembled at Rome in the preceding Year; but the Roman Church, say they,

ning the Death of Arius. His Letter to those that lead a Monastick Life, is made up of two different Pieces: The first is a Letter written to the Monks, which is a kind of Preface to some Treatise against the Arians, and may be so to that which follows; it contains about a Page and an half, and ends at these words in page 810. *Gratia Domini Jesu Christi sit vobiscum. Amen.* The following Treatise, which was addressed to those that lead a Monastick Life, is a History of all that passed from the beginning of Arianism, to the fall of Hosius and Liberius, i. e. to the year 358. There are some Periods in the beginning, which are lost, so that not only this Treatise has no Connection with the Letter that precedes it, but also there is no Sense in the beginning of it: And I am astonished to think, that so many able Men should read this Book without perceiving, or at least without observing it. The Letter to Serapion, concerning the Death of Arius, was written after the Treatise which is directed to those that lead a Monastick Life, as appears by the Beginning of it. The Book of Synods was composed in 359 (u), before the Councils of Seleucia and Ariminum, were ended: He afterwards added in this Book, what concerns the Council of Constantinople in 360, and what is there said concerning the Death of Constantius. The two Latin Letters which are at the end of the Works of Lucifer Calaritanus, were also written under Constantius. The Letter of the Council of Alexandria, to those of Antioch, was written after the Death of that Emperor, in 362; The Letter of the Council of Antioch, under Jovian, was written in 363: That which is directed to all the Bishops of Egypt and Arabia, Syria and Phoenicia, was written in 368, under the Reign of Valens, as well as that which is directed to the Africans (x). And the Letter to Epictetus was written last (y).

There are besides, many other Works of St. Athanasius, of which the Chronology is not known, which it concerns us to distinguish well from those that are doubtful or supposititious. These works are in the first Volume. The Homily upon these Words, *My Father hath given me all things*, p. 149. The Epistle to Adelphius, p. 155. That to Maximus, p. 162. Two Letters to Serapion, to prove that the Son and the Holy Spirit are not Creatures, p. 166, and 173. An Exposition of the Faith, p. 240. A Letter concerning the Hi-

was not then in a Condition to have assembled in the Year 356, because Liberius was then in exile. *Ans.* This Objection is easily destroy'd, for Liberius and the other Bishops of Italy had many times desired the assembling of a Council. 1. By their Legates sent to Milan in 354. 2. In 355. before Liberius went from Rome. And, 3. When he was come to Court: St. Athanasius therefore might say truly in 356, that those of Rome had desired a Council the Year before. The Letter to the Egyptians was written before George arriv'd at Alexandria, for there he is mentioned as one ready to be sent thither, p. 290. and he is describ'd as one that was not yet known to the Egyptians. There Cecrops is mention'd as a Bishop alive; but he was swallowed up by an Earthquake which destroyed Nicodemia in 358. There Liberius and Hosius are mention'd with Commendation, who fell away in 357. Baronius objects two Things to prove that it was not written till 360. 1st. Because it is said there, that it was now 36 Years since the Arians were declared Hereticks: 2dly, because mention is made in it of a Creed which they would have sign'd; but we read of none that there was at this Time. In Answer, to the 1st. Objection it may be said, that the Figures are wrong, or rather, that we must count the 36 Years from the 1st. Synod held by Alexander against the Arians. 'Tis more easy to answer the 2d. by saying, that the Arian Bishops might make a Creed when they sent George; besides that, Athanasius says only that he heard say, that they had made one and not that they had done it. Be it as it will, this 1st. Treatise against the Arians is a Letter to the Bishops of Egypt, which is nothing of Affinity with the Subject and Matter of the other Four: The Oration that follows begins as a new Discourse, and St. Cyril cites a passage out of the 3d. Book of Athanasius concerning the Trinity, which is found in that which is now call'd the 4th. and Theodoret cites one taken out of the Second, which is now in the 3d. Treatise.

(u) *The Book of Synods was composed in 359.* This is evident, because he does not finish the History of the Council of Ariminum, concluding with the Nomination of the 1st. Deputies which were sent to the Emperor; and at the end he adds the Letter of Constantius, and the generous Answer of the Bishops, which he had learn'd afterwards. He speaks always of that Council as a thing present, and with Commendation; and he says nothing more of what pass'd at Constantinople after the Council of Seleucia. This Book is probably that which St. Jerome says, St. Athanasius had Written against Ursacius and Valens, unless we should rather say, that it was a Work subjoyn'd to his Letter to those that lead a Monastick Life.

(x) *As well as that which is directed to the Africans.* This is to the Bishops of the Western Africa, and not to those of Cyrenaick, as Baronius thought, who says, that these Letters were written under the Pontificate of Damasus.

(y) *And the Letter to Epictetus was written last.* He observes in this Letter, that Auxentius and the other Arians, were anathematiz'd by the Councils of France, Spain, and Rome. St. Cyril says that it was corrupted, but that which we now have agrees with that which is related by the Emperor.



St. Athanasius.

History of the Decision of the Council of Nice, p. 248. A Letter of the Judgment of Dionysius of Alexandria upon the Trinity, p. 548. A Treatise of the Union of the Human Nature to the Word, which is cited by Theodoret, under the Name of, *A Book against the Arians*, p. 595. Two Books of the Incarnation, against Apollinarius, p. 614. 633. A Treatise against the followers of Sabellius, p. 650. An Epistle to John and to Antiochus, p. 951. An Epistle to Palladius, p. 952. An Epistle to Dracontius, p. 955. An Epistle to Marcellinus, concerning the Interpretation of the Psalms, p. 959. The Homily of the Sabbath and Circumcision, p. 964. A Treatise upon the Words of Jesus Christ, *Whoever shall be guilty of Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this World, nor in that which is to come*, p. 970.

In the Second Volume, there are few of his Genuine Works; but here follow those which we own. Two Letters to Serapion, concerning the Divinity of the Holy Spirit, p. 10. and 16. A short Discourse against the Arians, p. 22. The Conferences of St. Athanasius with the Arians, in the presence of Jovian, from p. 27, to p. 29. An Epistle to Ammon, p. 35. A Fragment of one, p. 39. A Festival Epistle, p. 38. An Epistle to Ruffinian, p. 40. A Book of the Abridgment of the Holy Scripture, p. 55. All these Works, whereof some are cited by the Ancients, agree well enough with the Style of St. Athanasius, and they contain nothing in my Opinion, which gives just cause to suspect them of Forgery (2).

There is not any of the other Works, that bear the Name of St. Athanasius, besides those which we have already mentioned, that is Genuine, but they are all either manifestly Supposititious, or very doubtful.

The Treatise which has this Title, *That there is but one Jesus Christ*, altho' it be ancient, yet is not written by St. Athanasius. For, first, This Author places Marcellus of Ancyra, amongst the Hereticks, whereas St. Athanasius always communicated with him as a Catholick Bishop, even in the last Years of his Life, as appears by the Letters of St. Basil, which complain of St. Athanasius upon this occasion. Secondly, The Author of this Treatise, acknowledges but one only Hypostasis in Jesus Christ, whereas St. Athanasius always took this Word, rather to signify the Nature, than to denote the Person (aa).

For this last reason we ought also to reject the little Treatise of the Incarnation against Paulus Samosatenus, which is in the First Volume of St. Athanasius, p. 591. because the Author of it owns three Hypostases in the Trinity.

(2) Which gives just cause to suspect them of Forgery.] Yet there is some Doubt, of some of those Works which are mention'd in this place; But the Conjectures which are alledged have little Solidity. Some have doubted of the Letters to Serapion, but these are written in the Style of St. Athanasius. The two which are in the 2d. Volume, are an Abridgment of the 2d. which is in the 1st. Volume. The exposition of Faith which is in p. 240. of the 1st. Volume, is cited by Facundus, B. XI. Ch. 6. The Treatise of the Union of the Human Nature is cited by Theodoret in his 2d. and 3d. Dialogue; and so it cannot be deny'd, that it is St. Athanasius's, especially since it has his Style, although the Author of St. Athanasius's Life Affirms the contrary. The 2d. B. of the Incarnation against Apollinarius is no ways doubtful; but the 1st. is call'd in question, which is more obscure, and less methodical: Yet Leonius B. II. against Eutyches cites the 2d. under the Name of the 2d. Treatise of St. Athanasius against Apollinarius. The Letter to Marcellinus about the Interpretation of the Psalms, is in all Probability that which St. Jerome and Cassiodorus call a Treatise of the Titles of the Psalms, because it contains the Subject and Argument of every Psalm. The Epistle to Serapion of the Death of Arius, is cited by the ancient Historians. The Homily of the Sabbath and Circumcision is not wholly of St. Athanasius's Style, but the Difference is very inconsiderable. Some have doubted of the Tract upon these Words, *Whoever shall speak Blasphemy against the Holy Spirit*; but unjustly, for this Tract has not only the Style of St. Athanasius, but also is prov'd to be really his, because Gobarus in Photius, Cod. 232, testifies, that St. Athanasius had many times cited Theognostus, who is not found cited but in this Book, and in the Treatise of the Judgment of Denys of Alexandria. And, Lastly, because the Treatise which we now discourse of, is cited in the Council of Lateran, held under Martin the 1st. in the Year 549. I think we ought not to reject the conferences of St. Athanasius with the Arians before Jovian. 'Tis certain that St. Athanasius came to find out this Emperor; and Philostorgius says, that the Arians came to accuse St. Athanasius in his presence. Moreover, they are written with great Simplicity, and appear to be very Ancient. Scultetus doubts of the Letter to Ammon, because it prefers Celibacy to Marriage, alledging that St. Athanasius taught the contrary in his Letter to Dracontius: But he was mistaken. The Fragment of the 39th. Festival Epistle ought to be received as undoubtedly his, after St. Jerome's Testimony, who says, that St. Athanasius wrote those Letters which bear his Name. I say the same of the Abridgment of the Holy Scripture, which is upon the same Subject with this Festival Epistle, and has the same Opinions of the Canonical Writers. Some doubt of this last Treatise; 1. because the Author calls Lucian, who was a Ring-leader of the Arians, a holy Martyr. 2. Because he does

The Refutation of the Hypocrisie of Meletius, is rather the work of Paulinus of Antioch, or some of his Party, than of St. Athanasius, who was neither so conceited of the Notion of three Hypostases, nor so transported with Anger against Meletius, as the Author of this Treatise was.

The Book of Virginité (bb), has nothing of the Style of St. Athanasius, and it contains some Precepts very remote from the Genius and Discipline of his time. There is a Difference between him that wrote upon this Subject, who is cited by Theodoret, and him whom St. Jerome mentions.

The Treatise of Testimonies drawn from the Holy Scriptures, to prove the Essential Unity of the three Persons of the Holy Trinity, is none of St. Athanasius's. 1. Because the Author there relates some Passages of the Questions to Antiochus, which were written a long time after St. Athanasius, as we shall shew hereafter. 2. The Style of this Treatise is very different from that of St. Athanasius. 3. He uses childish Expressions, and gives impertinent Definitions of Angels and Men.

The Homily of the Annunciation, or of the Virgin, is also written by a later Author than St. Athanasius. 1. Because he expressly refutes the Error of Nestorius, and that of the Monothelites; and yet neither St. Cyril, nor any other Catholick Author, alledges this Book against those Hereticks. 2. In explaining the Doctrine of the Church, he uses such Terms, as were not in use till after the Nestorians and Eutychians time; as when he says, That he acknowledges two Natures in Jesus Christ, *without Confusion or Mixture, without Change or Division*, Terms which were not us'd till after the Council of Ephesus. 3. He detests the Error of those that call'd Jesus Christ, a Man-bearing God, an expression which St. Athanasius did not reject, and the Ancients sometimes made use of, and which was not condemn'd till after Nestorius had abus'd it. 4. He gives a ridiculous Etymology of the Greek Word *solis*, by saying, that it comes from *isla*, which is not a Greek word.

The Life of St. Syncretica (cc), publish'd in Latin, by Bollandus, and in Greek, by the Learned Cotelierus, in his First Volume of the Monuments of the Greek Church, is suspected of falshood, because no body mentions it before Nicephorus; and in some Manuscripts, 'tis ascrib'd to a Monk nam'd Polycarp; besides that, it has nothing of the Style of St. Athanasius.

The Life of St. Anthony has better Authority (dd); for St. Jerome and St. Gregory Nazianzen, say positively, that St. Athanasius wrote the History of the Life of this Father of Monks; but still 'tis doubted, whether that which we now

not reckon the Book, entituled *Pastor*, among useful Books, as St. Athanasius does in his 39th. Letter, and in his Book of the Nicene Synod. But 'tis easy to answer these Conjectures. As to the 1st. That St. Athanasius did not think that Lucian was of the same Opinion that Arius had afterwards, or that knowing he died in the Bosom of the Church, he thought that he ought not to condemn him: Or Lastly, that he cited him as commonly he had been accus'd to cite him. As to the 2d. That he says nothing of the Truth of the Book entituled *Pastor*, but neither does he reject it as a wicked Book, and by Consequence there can nothing be built upon this Conjecture.

(aa) St. Athanasius always took this Word, rather to signify the Nature, than to denote the Person.] The Council of Nice seems to have taken the Word Hypostasis in this Sense, when it condemns those who say, that the Word is another Hypostasis, or Substance. St. Athanasius says often in his 5th. Oration, that the Father and the Son are one Hypostasis only; and in his Letter to the Africans, that the Hypostasis is the Substance. In short, though the Synod of Alexandria was persuaded that this Difference concern'd not Matters of Faith, yet they approv'd more the Opinion of those who take Hypostasis for Nature.

(bb) The Book of Virginité.] This Book is written in a low Style, and contains Precepts about the Quality of the childish Clothes of Virgins: There are in it Expressions unworthy of St. Athanasius, as, when he calls a Virgin, the Dancer of Jesus Christ. Theodoret, B. II. of his Hist. Ch. 4. cites a Passage out of a Book of St. Athanasius address'd to Virgins, which is not to be found in this Treatise; which shews that this is not the genuine Treatise of St. Athanasius.

(cc) The Life of St. Syncretica.] 'Tis cited as St. Athanasius's by Nicephorus Callistus, and there is a Manuscript of it which bears his Name; but in another 'tis ascribed to a Monk nam'd Polycarp, which is very likely to be true: For the Style is unworthy of Athanasius. It is full of childish Comparisons, which are to be met with almost in every Period, and agree much better to a Monk, than to St. Athanasius.

(dd) The Life of St. Anthony has better Authority.] 'Tis alledg'd against this Life, to prove that it is not St. Athanasius's, that this Saint relates the Death of Balacius, after another manner than it is related in this Life: For St. Athanasius says, in his Epistle to those that lead a Monastick Life. That the Letter of St. Anthony was written to Gregory, who gave it to Balacius; whereas in the Life of St. Anthony, it is said, that this Letter was address'd to Balacius himself. 2dly, 'Tis reported in the Life of St. Anthony, that Balacius was killed by Nestorius the Governor of Egypt's Horse, who accompanied him: Whereas St. Athanasius says, that the Horse upon which Balacius rode, did bite him: But these Differences are of little Consequence, and

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have, be not different from that which was known to these Ancients. *Rivet* and other Protestant Criticks, being Enemies of all those Books which concern Monks, boldly reject this Life, as a supposititious Work: But their Reasons are not wholly convincing, and all the Circumstances of the Life of St. *Anthony*, related by the Ancients, are to be found in this Book, and therefore I think it very probable that this was St. *Athanasius's*, altho' something might be added or chang'd in it, as it often happen'd to Books of this nature.

The Creed which bears the Name of St. *Athanasius* (ee), pass'd a long time without any Contradiction, as a Work which was truly this Father's; and yet, now all the World agrees, that 'twas none of his, but some Authors that liv'd a long time after him. 'Tis not certainly known whose it is; some have attributed it to some Frenchman; others, as Father *Quesnel*, think that 'tis written by *Vigilius Tapsensis*, who liv'd towards the End of the Fifth Age of the Church. Howsoever this be, 'tis certain that 'twas compos'd after the Council of *Chalcedon*, because it rejects so formally the Errors of the *Nestorians* and *Eutychians*, that 'tis evident it aims at these two Heresies.

St. *Cyril of Alexandria*, in his Book address'd to Queens, and his Defence of the Eighth Anathematism, cites a Confession of Faith under the Name of St. *Athanasius*, about the Incarnation of Jesus Christ, which is still found among the Works of this Father, in the Second Vol. P. 30. St. *John Damascene*, B. III. Of the Orthodox Faith, Ch. 6. and *Theorianus*, attribute it to St. *Athanasius*. *Basil of Selencia*, in the First Act of the Council of *Constantinople*, says, 'Twas reported that St. *Athanasius* was the Author of an Expression which is found in this Confession of Faith, viz. That the Word had but one Nature Incarnate. But *Leontius* in his Book of Sects, denies that St. *Athanasius* was the Author of this Sentence, and the Catholick Bishops at a Conference held at *Constantinople* against the *Severians* in the Year 533, have also rejected it, as being falsely attributed to St. *Athanasius*. And truly the Doctrine and Expressions of this Confession of Faith about the Incarnation, do not at all agree with those of St. *Athanasius* in his Books of the

the same Author may relate differently such kind of little Circumstances, either through the Fault of his Memory, or because he is better inform'd at one time than another. The Difference of Stile which is to be met with, between this Letter and the other Works of St. *Athanasius*, gives us more Trouble: But it may be that he proportion'd his Stile in this Life, both to the Matter, and the Capacity of the Monks for whom he wrote it. This is certain, the Ancients do testify that St. *Athanasius* wrote the Life of St. *Anthony*, and all that they report of it, is found to agree with what is said in that Book which we now have. See St. *Chrysost.* Homil. 8. on *Matth.* St. *Austin* in his *Confessions*, *Palladius Hist. Laus.* Ch. 8. *Socrates Lib.* I. c. 21. and *Lib.* IV. c. 23. All which makes me think, that 'tis not convenient to reject it.

(ee) The Creed which bears the Name of St. *Athanasius*.] The Reasons that convince me that this Creed is none of St. *Athanasius's*, are these. 1. Because 'twas not known till the Sixth Century. 2. Because St. *Athanasius* never would make a Confession of Faith, nor a Creed, being persuaded he ought to keep to that of *Nice*. 3. Because this Creed rejects so plainly the Errors of the *Nestorians*, *Eutychians*, and *Monothelites*, that 'tis easy to perceive, 'twas made since those Hereticks, on purpose to reject their Errors. 4. The Stile and terms do plainly shew, that this Creed was made by a Latin, and not by a Greek Author. 5. No Account can be given, upon what Occasion, at what time, and for what Reason, St. *Athanasius* should make this Creed. See *Vossius* in his Book *De Tribus Symbolis*. 6. It appears by the Terms, that 'twas the Work of a Latin Author. 7. 'Tis not found among the antient Manuscripts of St. *Athanasius*. 'Twas made since the Council of *Chalcedon*, as the Reasons we have now given do clearly prove. 'Tis cited in the Council of *Autun*, in the year 670, and there we read in the Fourth Council of *Toledo*, in 633, some Phrases which seem to be taken out of this Creed. But it must be confess'd, that this last Council does not say, that they were taken out of the Creed of St. *Athanasius*, and that there is no certainty, that this Canon of the Council of *Autun*, where mention is made of St. *Athanasius's* Creed, is so antient, as we have said, since it is not found among the Canons of that Council under *Leodegarius*; but in a Collection of those Canons taken out of the Library of the Monastery of St. *Benignus* of *Dijon*. *Hincmar* and *Abbo*, who liv'd about the tenth Century; *Radulphus*, *Haimo*, *Hugo*, and some other antient Frenchmen have cited it as St. *Athanasius's*. The Greeks also, as *Manuel Calecas*, Lib. 2. have made no scruple to ascribe it to him. *Pistheus* thought that a Frenchman compos'd it, because the French Authors were the first that expressly cited it: and perhaps some Frenchman did draw this Creed, partly from the Council of *Toledo*, and put the Name of St. *Athanasius* to it. Father *Quesnel* is of opinion, that 'twas the Work of *Vigilius Tapsensis*, and it must be confess'd, that this Conjecture are very probable: For, 1st. This Author has forg'd many Books under the Names of the Fathers, and particularly under the Name of St. *Athanasius*. 2. In all his Writings he opposes the *Nestorians* and *Eutychians*, and this Creed attributed to St. *Athanasius*, is directly against the Errors of those Hereticks. 3. The same *Vigilius* made several Confessions of Faith under the

Incarnation; in which he does not only say nothing which may favour the Error of the *Eutychians*, but also he formally rejects it, and rather favours the contrary Opinion.

The other Works attributed to St. *Athanasius*, are yet more manifestly supposititious, and no body almost has acknowledg'd them for Genuine. The Dispute against *Arius* (ff) which is in the First Volume, is a Dialogue compos'd under the Names of St. *Athanasius* and *Arius*, by some body that liv'd long after. This is plain, and all the World is agreed in't; but 'tis not known who is the Author of it. Some have attributed it to *Vigilius Tapsensis*; but for my part, I rather believe that 'tis the Work of a Greek, than a Latin Author, and that it may well be attributed to *Maximus*.

The Letter of *Liberius* to St. *Athanasius*, and the Answer of this Saint to *Liberius* (gg), agree not at all with the History of these two Bishops, and have no resemblance of their Stile.

The Explication of these words of Jesus Christ to his Apostles, Go to the Village that is over against you, and there ye shall find a Colt tied (hh); the Homily upon the Passion (ii) of Jesus Christ, and that upon the Seed (kk), which are found at the End of the first Volume, have neither the Stile nor the Air of St. *Athanasius*, and contain many things unworthy of him.

The Discourse against all Heresies, which is the last Work of the first Volume of St. *Athanasius*, is confus'd, and the Stile mean, as is observ'd in an antient Manuscript. He opposes in a few words all Heresies, contrary to the Custom of St. *Athanasius*, who refutes very largely all those he takes in hand. The Oration upon the Ascension of Jesus Christ, is of a Stile more florid than that of St. *Athanasius*, the Phrases are forc'd and tumid, whereas St. *Athanasius* writes in a Simple and Natural Stile. The Oration of *Melchisedeck* cannot be St. *Athanasius's*, since the Author mentions the Fathers of the Council of *Nice* as dead long before.

The Letter of *Jovian* to St. *Athanasius*, and that of St. *Athanasius* to *Jovian*, which are in the second Volume, are much to be suspected. That of St. *Athanasius* discovers the

Name of St. *Athanasius*. 4. The first part of the Creed seems to be a Recapitulation of the Chapters of *Vigilius Tapsensis's* Book against *Vurimadus*: and even in the third Book, the three first Chapters contain these Propositions, *Deus Pater, Deus Filius, Deus Spiritus Sanctus; Dominus Pater, Dominus Filius, Dominus Spiritus Sanctus; Omnipotens Pater, Omnipotens Filius, Omnipotens Spiritus Sanctus*, which are word for word in the Creed. These are the Conjectures of Father *Quesnel*, to which one may adhere so much the rather, while there is nothing to be had more certain about this Matter. Be it as it will, 'tis certainly the Work of a Latin Author, which has been since translated into Greek, which is the reason why the Greek Copies differ among themselves.

(ff) The Dispute against *Arius*.] 'Tis evident that 'tis not a Conference made in the Council, but only a fictitious Dialogue made by some body, under the Names of St. *Athanasius* and an *Arian*, and not of *Arius*; for the Catholick says, that his Adversary is a Monster come out of the Sect of *Arius*. The Author of this Dialogue is so ignorant, that he thinks the Council of *Nice* was held in the year 310.

(gg) The Letter of *Liberius* to St. *Athanasius*, and the Answer of this Saint to *Liberius*.] These Letters neither agree with St. *Athanasius*, nor with *Liberius*: the last to St. *Athanasius* is so written, as if there were some doubt of his being a Catholick: He requires him to Anathematize *Arius* and *Sabellius*, that I, says he, may obey your Commands. The Letter of *Liberius* and the Answer of St. *Athanasius*, are written as if they were Confessions of Faith, and they favour the Error of *Nestorius*. The Stile of these two Letters is Childish and mean. The Letter attributed to *Liberius*, begins with a *Them*.

(hh) The Explication of these words of Jesus Christ, Go to the Village that is over against you, and there ye shall find a Colt tied.] This Homily is a Fragment of some Commentary upon the Gospel. It is not the Stile of St. *Athanasius*. He explains all the passages of Scripture in a mystical sense, and draws from thence Allegories, which have more of subtilty than solidity. It is very different from the Air of St. *Athanasius*, which is grave and serious; and besides, he generally interprets the Scripture in its natural sense.

(ii) The Homily upon the Passion.] This also is not written in the Stile of St. *Athanasius*; for though it be something more Sublime than the former, yet it comes not near the Gravity of this Father's Stile. There are ridiculous things related in it of the Fear of Christ. 'Tis said, that he counterfeited the Fear of Death, lest the Devil should not withdraw, and that when the Devil heard him cry out, *Eli, Eli*, he had the boldness to attack him: But on the contrary, St. *Athanasius* in his Fourth Dialogue against the *Arians*, does expressly deny that Jesus Christ counterfeited any fear, and assures us, that as Man he was really afraid. The Author of this Homily disallows all Oaths, whereas St. *Athanasius* approves them upon several occasions.

(kk) And that upon the Seed.] Or rather upon the Action of the Disciples, who ate the Ears of Corn upon the Sabbath-Day. 'Tis found only in one Manuscript, and it has nothing excellent, nor is it written in the Stile of St. *Athanasius*.



St. Athanasius. Forgery, because it contains a Confession of Faith different from that of the Council of Nice, and 'tis certain that he sent no other to this Emperor. The Author of this Letter writes in such terms, as plainly discover that he was not St. Athanasius, but rather Apollinarius, since he acknowledges but one Nature in Jesus Christ; and indeed, Leontius testifies that Apollinarius had inserted this Doctrine in a Letter to the Emperor Jovian. The Book of Definitions, which are pretended to be Collections out of St. Clement, and other holy Fathers, cannot be St. Athanasius's, since the Author cites in it Gregory Nyssen, in the Chapter of the Action. Moreover, he speaks of two Natures and one Person in Jesus Christ, as if he had written after the Birth of the Heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches. A good part of the Book is taken out of a Book of Anastasius Sinaita, entituled, Ὁδηγός, a Guide; and in some Manuscripts, the Definitions are ascrib'd to Maximus, under whose Name Father Combefis had Publish'd them.

All the Learned agree, that the seven Dialogues of the Trinity, are not St. Athanasius's (ll); the difference of the Style, the Terms, and the Doctrine, are convincing Proofs of it; and 'tis plain, that the Author of this Treatise liv'd since the Council of Constantinople, at the time when the Disputes about the Incarnation of Jesus Christ were afoot in the Church. Father Combefis has restor'd them to Maximus (mm), upon the Authority of some Manuscripts, and the Testimony of the Modern Greeks, who cite them often under the Name of this Author. Garnerius a very learned Jesuit, ascribes them to Theodoret, and has printed them under his Name, in a pretended Supplement to the Works of this Father. But he has nothing to support this Opinion but some slight Conjectures (nn); and he does not sufficiently refute the Assertion of Father Combefis.

The following Book, entituled, A Tragedy, is falsely attributed to St. Athanasius. Photius in Cod. 46. sets down all the Titles of the Questions which are handled in this Book, with some others that are not found there, and ascribes them to Theodoret. Garnerius upon the Credit of Marius Mercator, attributes them to Etherius Tyanensis a Disciple of Theodoret.

The Questions to Antiochus, and those that follow them, are yet later (oo) than those Books of which we have already spoken: These were made by some Modern Greek, and seem to be all written by the same Author. The Homily of the Vigils of Easter, has nothing of the Style of St. Athanasius, but is dry and barren, and full of affected

(ll) The Seven Dialogues of the Trinity, are not St. Athanasius's.] 1. The Author speaks there of an Addition made by the Council of Constantinople to the Nicene Creed. Annon & vos fidei Nicene adjecistis? says the Heretick, and the Catholick answers, Sed non ipsi pugnancia. 2. He explains the Six Epithets given to the Holy Spirit by the Council. 3. He treats there of subtle Questions about the Trinity, which were not started in the time of St. Athanasius. 4. He opposes Eunomius and Macedonius, whom St. Athanasius did never particularly attack. 5. The Author of the Dialogue acknowledges three Hypostases in Jesus Christ. 6. The Style is wholly different from that of St. Athanasius. There are cited indeed in the Lateran Council under Martin the 1st. Secret. 6. Three testimonies of St. Athanasius; and the 3d. under this Title, In sermone Athanasii qui per modum interrogationis & Responsionis cum Apollinario fit; which Title agrees well enough with these Dialogues: But what is here related, is no where to be found.

(mm) Father Combefis has restor'd them to Maximus.] In the Greek Manuscript which Beza us'd, 'tis observ'd on the Margin, This Dialogue is not St. Athanasius's, but some say 'tis Maximus's. Two other Manuscripts of Rome and Venice, and that of Duresne, attribute it to Maximus. Gregorius Protosyncellus, Vezzus, Azyndinus, Demetrius, and some other modern Greeks, cite it often under the Name of Maximus, and seldom under that of St. Athanasius. It appears by the Style and by all the Arguments in that Author, that these seven Dialogues are by one and the same Hand; and the Authorities which we have alludg'd, do plainly shew that they ought to be attributed to Maximus.

(nn) Garnerius has nothing to support this Opinion but some slight Conjectures.] He has no Manuscripts, nor Citations from the Ancients. All that he says to prove it, is, 1st. That Theodoret writ against the Arians, the Eunomians, the Macedonians, and the Apollinarians, as he testifies in many Places of his Works. 2. That the Doctrine, the Expressions, and the Reasons of this Author resemble those of Theodoret, and this Author denies as well as he, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son. These Conjectures are very slight, when there are no Manuscripts for him; for it may so happen that two Authors, writing upon the same Principles, may agree very near in these things; besides the Resemblance of the Style is not so great as Garnerius would have us believe. The Proofs which he brings to shew that this Treatise is none of Maximus's are not of any greater Weight: He says this Book was written before the Creed of Ephesus, because there is no Mention in it of the Nestorians and Eutychians: That from Maximus's time the Question was no longer treated of de Genito & In Genito: That there is no Probability, that Maximus, should dispute against the Anomaeans, without opposing the Eutychians, and Monothelites. 'Tis easie to confute these Conjectures, by saying, that Maximus in these Books disputed

St. Athanasius. Figures. The Fragments of the Commentary, upon the Psalms, related by Nicetas in his Catena, are very dubious, and so much the more, because we have no account in the Ancients that St. Athanasius ever compos'd a Commentary upon the Psalms. The same must be said of the Passages taken out of the Catena upon Job; for there is not much Credit to be given to those Catena's made by the Modern Greeks. But the Passages cited by Theodoret, are more valuable, for they are almost all found in some of the Works of St. Athanasius which we have mention'd, excepting only those which he cites as taken out of a large Discourse of this Father about Faith. We must also acknowledge for Genuine the Fragment of a Treatise of St. Athanasius upon these words of Jesus Christ, My Soul is troubled, which is recited in the Sixth Council, Art. 14. for besides the Authority of this Council, which cites it as St. Athanasius's, 'tis easie to perceive, that it has the Style and Air of this Father. 'Tis also very probable, that the Passages cited by Gelasius and St. John Damascene, and set down at the end of the second Volume, P. 547, and 548, are St. Athanasius's. The Passage of a Letter to Euphychius (pp), recited in Latin in the Sixth Council, is not so certainly his, for it is not written in his Style, and we read no where else that St. Athanasius ever wrote to Euphychius. Photius mentions a Commentary of St. Athanasius upon Ecclesiastes, and the Canticles; we have nothing of it at present and I doubt very much, whether it was St. Athanasius's, since Photius himself confesses, that it had not the Style of his other Works, and that none of the Ancients, mention it. The Eleven Books of the Unity of the Godhead in the Trinity, belong to Vigilius (qq), a Deacon of Africk, and afterwards Bishop of Tapsa, as well as the Dialogue, or Conference of Arius and St. Athanasius, which follows these Eleven Books.

The Exhortation to the Monks, and to the Spouse of Jesus Christ, which is in the Collection of Holstenius, has nothing of the Style of St. Athanasius, no more than the Book entituled, Instructions abridged for Monks and Christians, published not long ago in Greek and Latin, by Arnoldus, and printed at Paris by the Widow Martin, in the year 1685. These Books are written in a mean Style, and contain such Rules and Precepts, as neither agree with the Person, nor the Genius of St. Athanasius.

The Letters of St. Athanasius to the Bishops of Egypt, to the Popes Marcus and Felix (rr), and those of these Popes to these Bishops, are notoriously false and supposititious.

against the ancient Heresies, and that he sufficiently oppos'd those of his own time in his other Books.

(oo) The Questions to Antiochus, and those that follow them, are yet later.] In these Questions to Antiochus, the Author cites many Writers more modern than St. Athanasius, as Gregory Nyssen in his 8th. The Author of the Book ascribed to St. Denys, Ibid. St. Epiphanius Question, 3. And many others in other Places. They have nothing of the Style of St. Athanasius, and the Author in many Places is of a contrary Opinion: In short, in Athanasius's time, those kind of Questions that were more Curious than useful, were not suffer'd. The Questions that follow about the Explication of some Doubts upon Places of Holy Scripture, and the other anonymous Questions are by the same Author as the preceding, and are only a Collection of Passages, taken out of St. Chrysostom, St. Cyril of Alexandria, St. Gregory Nyssen, St. Climacus, St. Maximus, which are sometimes recited under their Names. The Author of these Questions calls the Occidentals by the Name of Franks, and says that the Romans are a Nation of the Franks, ἡμεῖς οὗτοι ὡς καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τῶν Φράγκων: Which plainly discovers that they were compos'd by the Modern Greeks, after the Empire of the West came to the Franks. The modern Greeks have made many such Collections, which they have put forth under the Name of ancient and famous Fathers.

(pp) The Passage of a Letter to Euphychius.] Theodoret and the Council of Chalcedon cite a Letter of Atticus of Constantinople Successor to St. Chrysostom, directed to Euphychius. St. Athanasius mentions one Euphychius Bishop of Cappadocia, Orat. 1. against Ar. But the sixth Council says, that the Euphychius mention'd by him was a Priest of Caesarea.

(qq) The Eleven Books and the Conference of Arius and St. Athanasius, belong to Vigilius Tapsensis.] It has been observ'd long since that these were the Works of a Latin Author, who wrote long after St. Athanasius. Sirmondus first discover'd that they were written by Vigilius Tapsensis. This he observ'd in his Notes upon Theodolphus of Orleans, where he says, that these two Books are found in an ancient Manuscript, together with the Books of this African Bishop against Nestorius and Eutyches, in which he testifies himself that he compos'd these Dialogues under the Name of St. Athanasius.

(rr) To the Popes Marcus and Felix.] 1. The Author of this Letter to Marcus, uses the Words of the Epistle to Felix. 2. The Author of this Letter places the Persecution against St. Athanasius, which happened in 335, under Liberius, nineteen years after the Death of Pope Marcus. 3. This Letter is compos'd of Passages of Authors who lived since St. Athanasius, as St. Leo, Atticus, St. Cyril, St. Celestine, &c. 4. He says, that there were eighty Canons of the Nicene Council, forty Greek, and forty Latin, which is a manifest Falshood. 5. He adds, that he reduced



*St. Athanasius.* The Relation of the Passion of the Image of Jesus Christ in the City of Berytus (ss), cannot be St. Athanasius's; since the History which is there related, happened not, as is pretended, till the year 765, and moreover, it is full of Fables, and unworthy of St. Athanasius.

The Fragment upon the Incarnation, against the Disciples of Paulus Samosatensis, is done by an antient Author; but we have it not in Greek, and there is no proof that it was St. Athanasius's.

The other Fragment of the Sabbath, is an Extract from part of the Homily upon the same Subject, which is in Greek, Vol. I. of St. Athanasius's Works.

The seven Homilies published by Holstenius, have nothing of the Style of St. Athanasius, but are written by some late Greek Declaimer. There is nothing in them that is useful or sublime; and they come not near the noble Simplicity of St. Athanasius's Writings, as those who have any relish of such things are all agreed.

The four other Discourses published by Father Combefis, though they are more useful than the former, yet they are not St. Athanasius's. The first rejects so expressly the Errors of Nestorius and Eutyches, that 'tis plain, it was composed after these two Hereticks had published their Doctrine.

The two last about Easter and Ascension, are attributed in some Manuscripts to St. Basil of Seleucia, and 'tis probable that they are all four written by him. St. John Damascene, or the Author of a Discourse upon the Dead, cites a Discourse of St. Athanasius, upon the same Subject; but we have none that bears this Title; and 'tis probable that this which is cited by this Author, is supposititious. I say nothing of the Commentary upon the Psalms, which in its first Edition, bore the Name of St. Athanasius, because now 'tis certainly known, that it was written by Theophylact.

When we consider the Works of St. Athanasius, with respect to the Subject on which they treat, they may be distinguished into four sorts: The first, are Historical, and relate to the History of his own time; the second sort, are purely Dogmatical; the third concern Morality; and the last, are upon the Holy Scriptures. His Apologies ought to be ranked under the first Head. The first Apology was written immediately after he was driven out of Alexandria, and is addressed to the Emperor Constantius. There he refutes the Calumnies which his Enemies had made use of, to render him odious to Constantius. And the better to insinuate himself into the Emperor's Favour; he begins his Discourse with saying, That he made his Defence with much Assurance before an Emperor, who had been long a Christian, and whose Ancestors had embraced the true Religion: That having made use of the Words of St. Paul, for his own Defence, he took him for his Intercessor with the Emperor, to whom, no doubt, he would give a favourable Hearing. Then he adds, That it was not necessary for him to purge himself from the Accusation relating to Ecclesiastical Matters, which his Enemies had formerly framed against him, since as to them he was sufficiently justified by the Testimony of an infinite Number of Bishops, and by the Retraction of Ursacius and Valens, who had acknowledged, that all those Accusations were pure Calumnies invented by them to destroy him; and that tho' these things were not so, yet he ought not to have any regard to an Information made in his Absence by his Enemies, which should be of no weight, according to all Laws both Divine and Human. And therefore without insisting upon those former Accusations in this Apology, he refutes those which were made use of since his Return, to blacken his Reputation with the Emperor. First of all, he is accused of having spoken ill of this Emperor to his Brother Constant. But he takes God to Witness, that he never did it, and says, That it had been a Madness in him, to have attempted so bold a thing: That Constant would never have suffered it: That he had not so great an Interest in him, as to dare say any thing against his Brother: That he never spoke to him, but in the Presence of many Persons who were witnesses of what he said. But to prove the Falseness of this Accusation beyond exception, he makes a

them to seventy, that there might be as many Canons as there were Disciples of Jesus Christ, and Languages in the World; which is the height of Impertinence. 6. The Style is very different from that of St. Athanasius, and is of a Latin Author. 7. In 336, when this Letter is supposed to be written, St. Athanasius was in Gaul, and consequently could not write from Alexandria. In a word, the Letter is dated the 1st. of December, and Marcus died the same year, in the beginning of November. The same Reasons prove, that the Answer could not be written by Marcus, for 'tis dated about a Month after his Death. The Letter written to Felix has as many Marks of Falshood. 1. St. Athanasius never communicated with this false Pope. 2. It has not the Style of St. Athanasius, but of a Latin Author. 3. 'Tis composed of Passages taken out of St. Innocent, Celestine, the Roman Council, and Adrian. 4. When Felix was chosen, St. Athanasius lay concealed, and could not then assemble a Synod. The Answer of Felix is composed of Passages out of the decretal Epistles forged by Isidore, and of Testimonies out of the Fathers; and the Date of the Consuls is false.

(ss) The Relation of the Passion of the Image of Jesus Christ in

faithful Relation of all that passed in his Voyage to Italy; wherein he says, that he parted from Alexandria, to put his Person and Reputation under the Protection of the Church of Rome; That he assisted at the Assemblies of the Faithful there; That he wrote but twice to Constant, while he staid at Alexandria: The first time to defend himself against some Letters full of Calumnies, which his Enemies had wrote to him; And the second time, to send him some Copies of the Holy Scriptures; and that he never went to wait on him but twice, and both times by his own Order. At last, he says, That the Emperor may judge by the manner of his speaking of his greatest Enemies, whether he was capable of speaking ill of him to his own Brother. The second Accusation was no less heinous, for they accused him of having written a Letter to the Tyrant Magnentius, and they said, That they had the Original of his Letter. To which St. Athanasius answers, That this Accusation had no Appearance of Truth; That he had never seen nor known Magnentius; That he never had occasion to write to him; That he had all the reason in the World, to detest him, and to hold no Correspondence with him; That the first Calumny destroyed this, since it was incredible, that one who was so much for the Interest of Constant, should be of this Tyrant's Faction, who had revolted from him, and cruelly killed him. And as to their pretending to have this Letter, he says, It was not to be wondered at, that they had found out an Imposture, since it was very well known, that they had counterfeited the Emperor's Letters. But he prays Constantius, to enquire from whence they had this Letter, and who gave it them; and to summon before him the Secretaries of Magnentius, and inform himself, if they had ever received it: He conjures him to examine this Cause as if Truth it self were present at his Decision; for, says he, If they had accused me before any other Judge, I might have appealed to the Emperor; but being accused before the Emperor, to whom can I appeal, but to the Father of him who is called the Truth, that is, to God? Then he addresses to him in a lively and elegant Prayer, That he might enlighten the Mind of the Emperor, to judge in a Cause which concerned the whole Church. The third Accusation is concerning his Celebration of the Holy Mysteries in the Great Church before it was Consecrated: To which he answers, That he did not celebrate the Dedication of this Church, which he could not do, without the Order of the Emperor; but he confesses, that he did Celebrate there the Divine Mysteries before its Consecration. He excuses himself upon the account of the great Concurrence of People that came to Alexandria on Easter-Day; and says, That the old Churches were small and few in Number, and that the People demanding earnestly to assemble in the Great Church, there to make Prayers for the Safety of the Emperor, he used much Entreaty, but in vain; that they would delay it, and rather assemble, though with some Inconvenience, in the other Churches; and they would not obey him, but on the contrary, were ready to go out of Alexandria; to keep their Assembly in the Fields: That this was the reason which obliged him to Celebrate in the Great Church before it was Consecrated, which he did so much the rather, because during the Fast of Lent, many Persons had been hurt in the press of the People. That it was not a thing without Example, that he had Celebrated Divine Offices in a Church, before its Dedication. That his Predecessor had done the like in the Church of St. Theonas, which he had built, and that he had seen the same done at Aquileia: That it was much more convenient to Celebrate in a place that was intended for the Assemblies of the Faithful, though it was not yet Consecrated, than to do it in the Fields, or in those Churches, where the People were in danger of being stifled. He observes, that though there had been no such fear of Danger, yet it was more expedient, that all the Faithful should offer up their Prayers together in one and the same Place, (tho' it was not yet Consecrated,) than that they should do it apart in several Places. He was also accused of disobeying the Emperor's Orders, when he commanded him to depart

the City of Berytus.] Sigebert in his Chronicle, relates the Story at the year 765, and to the Treatise which he cites cannot be St. Athanasius's. I shall give a short Account of the Story; and leave the Reader to judge whether it be fabulous or no. 'Tis said, that a Christian having over-against his Bed, an Image of Jesus Christ which was of his natural Bigness, removing out of his Lodging, forgot it in the Lodging where it was, though he knew that Jesus Christ gave it to Nicodemus, who left it to Gamaliel, and that from Gamaliel it pass'd to St. James, and from St. James to Simon, and from him to Zacharias, and so it pass'd from Hand to Hand till the Destruction of Jerusalem: That a Jew having hired the House where this Image was, for some time did not perceive it; but having invited some of his Friends to eat with him, they discovered it, and after that, all the Jews assembled together to beat it, and one of them having pierced it with a Lance, there came forth Blood and Water, which wrought abundance of Miracles. The Title of this Story says, that it happened under Constantine and Irene. 'Tis related also in the 2d. Council of Nice, and 'tis said, that it made the Fathers of the Council to weep.

from



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from *Alexandria*. To which he answers, That he was not disobedient to his Orders, but that *Montanus* having brought him the Letter in which the Emperor permits him to depart from *Alexandria*, and go for *Italy*, as if he had asked leave; he did not think it was the Emperor's Intention that he should withdraw, but that his Enemies had informed the Emperor, that he desired to retire. That afterwards *Diogenes* came to *Alexandria*, without bringing any Letter or Order from the Emperor, and at his Arrival, it was sufficiently published, that he must withdraw, but still there was no Order for it to him from the Emperor, either by word of Mouth, or in Writing: That he always said, he was ready to depart, whensoever the Emperor should write to him, or command him to do so; but it was agreed not to trouble the Church, till such time as he should receive his Orders: That twenty three Days after, *Syrianus*, General of the Army in *Egypt*, entered into the Church with his Soldiers the People being there at Prayers, on the *Vigil* when we ought to celebrate Divine Mysteries; that there he committed great Outrages, and obliged him to retire into a Desert; and so he was neither guilty for flying, nor for disobeying the Orders of the Emperor. He says, That if he had retired sooner, he had been guilty both before God and Men, for 'tis a great Crime in a Bishop, to abandon his Flock, when he is not absolutely forced to do it. He adds, That he intended to go and wait upon the Emperor, and was come out of the Desert upon this design; and though he knew very well the ill treatment those Bishops had met with that refused to sign against him, and the Violence that had been used against those of *Alexandria*, who took his part; yet he did not give over his intended Voyage upon that Account, but having seen an Order to seize him, sent to the Magistrates of *Auxumis*, he apprehended the Rage of his Enemies, and therefore returned again to hide himself in his Solitude.

In the first Apology for his Flying, he justifies himself against the *Arians*, who accused him of Timorousness: He describes the deadly Effects of their Fury, and the Mischiefs they had done to the greatest Bishops of the World, *Hosius*, *Liberius*, *Paul* of *Constantinople*, and many others. He shews by the Examples of *Jacob*, *Moses*, *David*, *Elias*, *St. Paul*, and *Jesus Christ*; and by the Command of *Christ* in *Matt. 10*. That it is lawful to fly from Persecution, and that 'tis oftentimes of greater Use than to expose our selves to Danger: He observes, That the Saints who delivered themselves up to their Persecutors, did it by the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost. He demands of his Adversaries, where they had learned, that it is permitted to persecute, and not permitted to fly: He objects to them, that the Devil is the Cause of Persecution, and that *Jesus Christ* has advised Flight. At last, he complains of the Violence they used against himself, and the Mischiefs they still do to the Church.

In the Second Apology, he justifies himself from the former Accusations made against him, by setting down the Judgments given in his favour, in the Councils of *Egypt*, *Rome*, and *Sardica*, whose Letters he produces at full length. These Monuments are very considerable for the History of that Time, because there are particular remarks in them about the Discipline of the Church: As, for Instance, we learn from the Letter of the Synod of *Alexandria*, that the Bishop of *Alexandria*, was chosen by the People, and ordained by the Bishops of the whole Province of *Egypt*; that the Ecclesiastical Laws forbid the Translations of Bishops; that the Mystery of the Eucharist was carefully concealed from those that were no Christians; That 'twas an Impiety to break a Chalice, and to spill the Blood of *Jesus Christ*; That the Eucharist was given to the Laicks in both kinds; that 'twas Consecrated on Sunday, and that it was kept for some time; that none but Priests lawfully ordain'd could consecrate and distribute it; that the Bishop had a Throne, or a Seat, that was rais'd higher than other Seats. *Julius* the Bishop of *Rome*, maintains in his Letter, that he could examine anew in one Synod what had been ordain'd in another, and alledges the example, rather than the Authority of the Council of *Nice*. He lays claim to this Power, and complains that *St. Athanasius* was condemn'd without sending him notice: He blames the *Eusebians* for sending a Stranger, that lived almost 60 Leagues off from *Alexandria*, to take Possession of the Episcopal See of that City. After this, he recites two Letters from the Council of *Sardica*, one addressed to the Church of *Alexandria*, and the other to all the Bishops of the World, which contain an ample Justification of *St. Athanasius*; and the last contains the Subscriptions of many Bishops who Subscribed in this Council afterwards. And after these Letters there follow three Letters of *Constantius* to *St. Athanasius*, commanding him to return; one Letter of *Julius* to the Church of *Alexandria*, wherein he congratulates the *Alexandrians*, upon the Return of their Bishop; the Letters of Recommendation which *Constantius* gave him to return to *Alexandria*, the Letter of the Synod of *Jerusalem* to the Church of *Alexandria* in favour of *St. Athanasius*, and last of all, the Retraction of *Ursacius* and *Valens* addressed to *Julius*, wherein they declare, that all which was said against *Athanasius* was false, that they acknowledged *Arius* for an Heretick, and anathematized his Error; and one Letter from the same Bi-

shops addressed to *St. Athanasius*, wherein they declare, that they are of his Communion. After *St. Athanasius* has thus produced those Instruments of his Absolution, being desirous to shew that he had done nothing partially, out of favour to himself, he goes back again as far as the beginning of the Schism of *Meletius* and the Heresie of *Arius*, and gives an account of all that pass'd upon this occasion until his Exile, reciting the authentick Acts to justify all that he Asserts: So that for the future, to read the History of that time, one should begin at the Second Part of this Apology, which begins towards the middle of *P. 777*. of the Greek and Latin Edition at *Paris*, and then resume the Beginning of the History, when he shall have finished the Second Part.

He wrote also this History long before with more order, and deduces it higher in his Book which is call'd, *A Letter to those that lead a Monastick Life*. After he has there related all that pass'd about the Cause of *Arianism* till the Council of *Sardica*, he insists upon the Circumstances of the Banishment of Pope *Liberius*. He says, that the *Arians* did not at all spare him, that they had not any respect for the City of *Rome*, the Metropolis of the whole *Roman* Empire, nor for the Holy Apostolical See; that by their Instigation, the Emperor had sent a Bishop to *Rome*, to persuade the Bishops there to Condemn *St. Athanasius*. But *Liberius* refusing him, answer'd, that it was against the Canons to condemn a Man that is absent, who had been judged worthy of communion while he was present at *Rome*; that if the Emperor would determine the Controversies of the Church, he should assemble a free Council, where there was neither Prince, nor Courtier; and where all things might be decided in the Fear of God, and according to the Doctrine of the Apostles; and where every one should follow the Faith of the Council of *Nice*, and from whence those should be excluded that would not profess to follow it; and afterwards the Council might examine the Matters now in Debate. He adds, that the Bishop having entered into the Church of *St. Peter* to consecrate the Presents that were brought to *Liberius*, as soon as he understood that they were intended to procure his Subscription against *St. Athanasius*, he reproved the *Sacristan* for receiving them, and threw them out of the Church as Sacrilegious Offerings: That when these things were told to the Emperor, he caused him to be brought to *Constantinople*, and that the Pope spoke to him more sharply than he had done at *Rome*, whereupon he was sent into Banishment; and there he was forc'd at last to subscribe for fear of Death, after he had resisted for the space of two Years. After this, he describes the fall of *Hosius*; and tells us that *Constantius* being solicited by the *Arians*, who would fain engage to their Party a Bishop of so great Authority, exhorted him to subscribe; and that the Holy Man not only could not endure the Proposal, but persuaded the Emperor to let him alone, and retired into his own Country; and that the *Arians* still continuing to solicit the Emperor, he wrote many Letters, fill'd sometimes with fair promises, sometimes with Threats, to oblige him to condemn *Athanasius*. But the generous Oldman answered him in a Letter which *St. Athanasius* produces, wherein he declares to him that he had suffered under the Reign of *Maximian* for the Faith, that he was still ready to suffer, and to shed his Blood for the defence of Innocence and Truth; he advises him not to hearken to those Easterlings, any more than he would do to *Ursacius* and *Valens*. He tells him that he was Mortal, and that he ought to be afraid of the Day of Judgment; That he ought to meddle no more in Ecclesiastical Matters, than the Bishops should in Temporals. His words are excellent, which are these; [Remember, says he, that you are Mortal, fear the Day of Judgment, keep your self in Purity, that you may appear there amongst the number of the Elect: Do not meddle at all in Ecclesiastical Affairs, and command us nothing about those Matters; but learn them of us. God has given the Power of the Empire into your Hands, and has entrusted us with that which concerns the Church; and as he who Invades your Empire, acts against the Order of God, so take heed that you render not your self Guilty of a very heinous Crime, by assuming to your self a power in those things which are of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction. 'Tis written, Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the Things that are God's; So then we are not permitted to govern the Empire of the World, and you, Sir, have no Power at all in Things that are Sacred.] After this, *St. Athanasius* relates the Violence that was done to *Hosius* to make him Subscribe, and how the Emperor caused him to go to *Sirmium*, where he detained him till he had communicated with *Ursacius* and *Valens*. The rest of this Letter is a very vehement Declamation, against the outrages and Persecutions of *Constantius*, and the *Arians*; to which is added, a Protestation of the People of *Alexandria*, concerning the Violences that were used against *St. Athanasius*.

The Book of the Synods of *Ariminum* and *Seleucia*, contains not only the History of these two councils, but also of the principal Creeds made by the Bishops of *Arius's* Faction after that which was made by the Council of *Nice*, which he sets down in its full length. From thence he takes occasion to treat of the word, *Consubstantial*, which he main-



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rains against the *Arians*; and yet he acknowledges, that they are not to be treated as Hereticks, who scruple to make use of this word, though they confess the Faith of the Divinity of the Son: he explains in what sense this word was condemn'd in the Council of *Antioch*, held against *Paulus Samosatenus*, and alledges for his sense the Testimony of the two *Dionysii*, who made use of this Word.

Besides these Works of St. *Athanasius*, which contain the Deduction of the History of that time, there are some others which concern particular Facts.

The First is the Book of the Definitions of the Council of *Nice*, wherein he defends the Decisions of this Council, and takes notice of the considerable Circumstances of it. He says, that the Bishops of the Council who were about 300 in number, desired the *Arians* with great meekness, to justify themselves, but scarce had they begun to speak, when all the Bishops disapprov'd them; that the Hereticks could not agree among themselves, but were obliged to keep silence, and then the Bishops made the Creed, which was sign'd by the *Eusebians*; That *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*, who had refus'd to Sign the Day before, approv'd of it next Day, and wrote to those of his Church about it. After this he disputes against the impiety of the *Arians*, who had relaps'd into their former Error, and proves that the Son of God was from all Eternity. He Justifies the Terms which are us'd by the *Nicene* Council in their Creed, and says, the word *Consubstantial*, has a very good sense, and there is none more proper to express a formal Condemnation of the Error of the *Arians*: And he adds moreover, that this Word is not new, since *Theognostus*, *Denys* of *Alexandria*, *Denys* of *Rome*, and *Origen* have us'd it long before the Council of *Nice*; that this Synod had not established any new Doctrine, but confirm'd that which was approved by Scripture and Tradition. He Observes, that in Matters of Faith, its Decisions did not run in the same manner as those that were made about the Celebration of *Easter*, when this Phrase was us'd, *It pleases us, we will have it so*; for now they only say, *This is the Catholick Faith*; Ita credit Catholica Ecclesia.

The Second Book of this Nature, is a Letter to the Bishops of *Egypt*, which is improperly called, *The First Discourse against the Arians*. There he describes the Outrages which the *Arians* Committed against the Catholicks, and exhorts his Brethren to shun their Snares: He warns them by no means to Subscribe their Confession of Faith, how Catholick soever it may appear to them, but to adhere to that of the Council of *Nice*, in which the Impiety of *Arius* was condemn'd. Then he recites the Principal Heads of his Error and he refutes them by the Testimonies of Holy Scripture. He describes the miserable end of this Heretick; and concludes with an exhortation to the Catholicks to maintain the Faith unto Death; representing unto them, that he is not only a Martyr who suffers death for refusing to offer unto Idols, but also he that dies rather than betray the Truth.

The Letter to all the Orthodox Bishops was Written about the same Time, and upon the same Subject: There he gives an Account of the Violent manner of introducing *George* into the Church of *Alexandria*, and describes the Fury of the *Arians*, and the Damage the Church has suffered by them very particularly.

In the two Letters to *Lucifer*, he describes the Persecutions which the *Arians* set on foot against the Catholicks, and represents the lamentable State of the Church.

In the Letter to *Serapion* concerning the Death of *Arius*, he relates the unhappy end of this Heretick, who perished in a Jakes the very Night before he was to be received into the Church. St. *Athanasius* says, That he learn'd this story from the relation of *Macarius*, a Presbyter.

The Letter written by St. *Athanasius* concerning the Opinion of *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, concerning the Trinity, may be numbred amongst his Historical Books, because it teaches us a very considerable Point of Ecclesiastical History, which we should not have known if St. *Athanasius* had not reported it there; namely, That *Denys* of *Alexandria* wrote against the *Sabellians* of *Pentapolis*, and that in Disputing against them, he made use of such Expressions, as would make one believe that he favour'd the contrary Error; That he was accus'd of this in a Synod held at *Rome*; That he Wrote a Treatise to the Pope, entituled, *A Refutation and Apology*, wherein he defends himself and confutes his Adversaries; and that he taught in this Book a Doctrine perfectly contrary to that of the *Arians*: All which St. *Athanasius* proves in this Treatise, by citing several Passages out of the Book of *Denys* of *Alexandria*.

The Letter of the Council of *Alexandria*, to those of *Antioch*, concerns the state of the Church of *Antioch*, after the Death of *Constantius*. St. *Athanasius* and the other Bishops of this Council advise the Church of *Antioch*, to receive the *Arians* who expressly condemn their Error, to joyn themselves to *Paulinus* and those of his Party, to admit into their communion those that held their Assemblies in the Old City, that is to say, those of *Meletius's* Party, without requiring any other Profession of Faith, but that of the Council of *Nice*. They give them notice, that there was no

Creed made in the true Council of *Sardica*; they advise them to have no Disputes amongst themselves about the *Hypostases*, since those who acknowledg'd Three in the Trinity, and those who own'd but One, were both of the same judgment, and only differ'd in the manner of Expression.

St. *Athanasius* speaks after the same manner of the Reception of the *Arians*, in a Letter to *Ruffinian*, where he mentions the Decision of this Synod.

In a Letter to the Emperor *Jovian*, St. *Athanasius* and the other Bishops of *Egypt*, propose to him the *Nicene* Creed as the only true one: They say, that this contains the Faith which was maintain'd by many Holy Martyrs, who are now with Jesus Christ, that it had never had any Adversaries, if the Malice of the Hereticks had not endeavour'd to corrupt it; but that *Arius* and his followers intending to introduce a new Doctrine contrary to the Truth, the Council of *Nice* condemn'd it, and made a Confession of Faith to establish the Truth, and extinguish the Flame that was kindled by his Partizans: That this Creed was prais'd and sincerely believ'd in all the Churches of Christ, till some Bishops, having a mind to revive the Error of the *Arians*, began to despise it; and yet they did not openly declare themselves against it, but only in their Explications of it they reflected obliquely upon the *Consubstantiality*, and spoke Blasphemies against the Holy Spirit. After they have thus explain'd the *Nicene* Creed, they set it down, and tell the Emperor, that this is the only Creed to which we must adhere.

I say nothing of the Conferences of the *Arians* and St. *Athanasius*, because they contain little remarkable.

The Catholick Epistle to the Bishops of *Egypt*, *Arabia*, *Syria*, *Cilicia*, and *Phœnicia*, was written, as well as the preceding Letters, in the Name of the Synod of *Egyptian* Bishops, in which St. *Athanasius* presided. They Exhort the Bishops to whom they write, to separate themselves from the *Arians*, to act unanimously in the Defence of the Faith, and not to dissemble the Truth for Fear or Ambition; and to acknowledge the Divinity of the Holy Spirit: And at last they propose to them as a Badge and Test of the true Faith, these Words, *The Consubstantial Trinity*.

The Letter to the *Africans* was written upon the same Subject in the Name of St. *Athanasius*, and 82 *Egyptian* Bishops; wherein they recommend the Faith of the *Nicene* Council established by 318 Bishops; publish'd and receiv'd by all the World because this Synod had follow'd the Doctrine, and manner of Expression used by the Holy Scriptures, and the Fathers.

In the Letter to *John* and *Antiochus* Presbyters, St. *Athanasius* rejoices because he understood by their Letters written from *Jerusalem*, that a great number of Brethren were re-united in one and the same Communion; he reproves those that would trouble the Church by their Disputes about words, and wonders that any should dare to reprehend the Doctrine of St. *Basil*.

In the following Letter to *Palladius*, he commends him for being Orthodox, and approves of his staying with *Innocent*. He rebukes those Monks that would not obey St. *Basil*, but praises this Bishop, saying he was the Glory of the Church, for he contended for the Truth, and taught those that needed Instruction, and none could be good Catholicks that had any Dispute with him. He adds, that he had written to his Monks to obey him as their Father, and that they were to blame for complaining of him. Probably 'twas about the question of the *Hypostases*, that the Monks had some Dispute with St. *Basil*.

After we have spoken of his Historical Works, let us now come to the Dogmatical.

The First of these, are the two Treatises against the *Gentiles*, whereof the Second is now entituled, *Of the Incarnation*. In the first of these two Books he Opposes Idolatry, and Establishes the Worship of the true God: he discovers the source of Idolatry, that it comes from the Corruption of Man's Heart, who being created after the Image of God, fell under the guilt of *Adam's* Sin, and inherited from him an unhappy Inclination to Sin, which the Will does very often follow, though it be free to resist it. From this principle he concludes, in the first place, against the Hereticks, that 'tis not necessary there should be two Principles, or two Gods, one Good the Author of Good; and another Evil, the Author of Evil. He refutes this Impious Opinion, by Reason and Authority, and concludes that Sin is not a Substance, but that it entered into the World by the Fall of the first Man. He observes that this is the source of all Idolatry, that Men being fall'n from their first Estate do no longer raise their Heart and Spirit to things Spiritual, but fix them on things Terrestrial and Sensible. He refutes afterwards the different kinds of Idolatry, and shews that we ought not to Worship, nor acknowledge for Divinities, either the Gods of the Poets, or the World, or any part of it. After he has thus overthrown all kinds of Idolatry, he establishes the Existence and Worship of the true God: He demonstrates, that God may be known by the light of Nature, first from our selves, that is to say, by Reflection upon our own thoughts, that he is neither Corporeal, nor Mortal. 2. from the Beauty of the universe, which discovers the

Existence



St. Athanasius.

Existence of him as the cause of it: Then he shews that this God is the Father of Jesus Christ, that he created all things, and governs them by his Word.

The Second Treatise against the *Gentiles*, is that which is entituled, *Of the Incarnation of Jesus Christ*; because there he treats of that Mystery. For explaining the Causes of it, he goes back as far as the beginning of the World; and proves that it was not made by chance, nor fram'd of an eternal Matter, but that God the Father created it by his Word. After this, he speaks of the Fall of Man, who being created after the Image of God, addicted himself to things corruptible and perishing, and so became the cause of his own Misery and Corruption. He says, that the Fall of Man was the cause of the Incarnation of the Word; because God pitying Man, resolved to send his Son to save him, and to give him the means of obtaining that Immortality which he had lost. Upon this Principle he founds the Necessity of the Incarnation of the Word; which he proves, First, Because the Son being the Essential Image of his Father, there was none but he that could render Man like to God, as he was before his Fall: 2. Because as the Word is the Reason and Wisdom of his Father, there is none but he can teach Men and undeceive them of their Errors. From the Causes of the Incarnation, he passes to its Effects, and after he has described the Graces which the Word has merited for Mankind by his Incarnation, he speaks of his Death; and shews that he was to die as he did, by the Torments of the Cross, that by his Death he might conquer Death both in himself and us. Lastly, he proves the Resurrection of Jesus Christ by the wonderful Effects that follow'd his Death, and by the contempt of Death wherewith it inspired his Disciples, after he has thus explained the Doctrine of Christians, he refutes the Jews and Pagans; the former by proving from the Prophets that Jesus is the Messiah promised in the old Testament; and the latter, from the Miracles of Jesus Christ, from the destruction of Idolatry, and the establishment of the Doctrine of the Gospel; which, though contrary to the Lusts and Passions of Men, was entertain'd without difficulty, and in a little time by the greatest part of the World. He concludes these Discourses with an Advertisement to his Friend *Macarius*, to whom they are directed, that he should have recourse to the Holy Scripture, which is the fountain from whence these things are drawn; to which he adds this Remark, that for the better understanding of it, we should lead a Life like to that of the Authors of these Holy Books.

St. Athanasius, wrote but two Treatises against the *Gentiles*, for his other Dogmatical Treatises are either about the Trinity, or the Incarnation. The four Discourses against the *Arians* are the chief of his Dogmatical Works. In the first, which is call'd the second, he convicts the Sect of the *Arians* of Heresie; for which end, he first makes use of an Argument which he employs against all Hereticks, which is the Novelty of their Sect, and the Name which it bears; Then he explains their Doctrine, and proves, that it is impious, full of Blasphemies, and comes near to that of the *Jews* and *Gentiles*. Lastly, he refutes their Reasons, and clears up a great many Difficulties which they propose against the Doctrine of the Church.

In the second Treatise, which is the third in the common Editions, he explains some of the Passages which the *Arians* alledge, to prove that the Son is a Creature, and insists chiefly upon that in *Chap. 8. of the Proverbs, The Lord hath created me in the Beginning of his ways, &c.* He says towards the end, 'That the *Arians* run a hazard of having no true Baptism; because to make this Sacrament valid, 'tis not sufficient to pronounce the Words, but we must also have a right Understanding of them, and a right Faith. He adds, 'That if the Baptism of other Hereticks who pronounce the same Words, be null and void, because they have not a true Faith, 'tis not to be thought, that we ought to give the same Judgment of the Baptism of the *Arians*, who are become the worst of all Hereticks. These Words of St. Athanasius shew, That in his time, those that had been Baptized by Hereticks, were Re-baptized in the Church of *Alexandria*, though they had been Baptized in the Name of the Trinity.

In the third Discourse, which is reckoned for the fourth, he proves, That the Father and the Son have but one and the same Substance, and one and the same Nature, and that they are one God only, though they be two distinct Persons. Afterwards he shews, that all that is said of Jesus Christ in the Scriptures, which seems unworthy of his Divinity, should be applied to his Human Nature, because Christ being a Person composed of the Divine and Human Nature, the Properties of both these Natures may be attributed unto him. At last, he examines a Question proposed by the *Arians*, viz. Whether the Father begot his Word voluntarily or necessarily: To which he answers, That he begot him naturally and not by constraint, and so in this sense he begot him voluntarily, because he would beget him, though he could not but beget him.

In the last Discourse he refutes the *Arians*, proving that the Word is Eternal and Consubstantial to the Father, and the *Sabellians*, who denied that the Son was a Person di-

stinct from the Person of the Father; and the *Paulianists*, who distinguished the Word from the Son of God, and the *St. Athanasius* Paraclete from the Holy Spirit.

The Discourse upon the Words of the Gospel of St. *Matt. Ch. 11. My Father has given me all things, &c.* contains a Refutation of that false Conclusion which the *Arians* drew from those Words, by saying, That if the Father had given all things to his Son in time, there was a time when he had not all things, and by consequence that he had not always a Supreme Empire over the Creatures, from whence it would follow, that he was not equal to the Father: To which St. Athanasius answers, That this Passage does not treat of the absolute Power of God over his Creatures, but concerns the Mystery of the Incarnation: That the Father has given Mankind to Jesus Christ, as a sick Person is left to a Physician for his Cure: That Man having sinned, and Death being the Punishment of his Sin, the Word became Man, and God gave all Mankind unto him, that he might heal them, and restore to them that Life and Light which they had lost.

In the Letter to *Adelphius*, St. Athanasius proves against the *Arians*, that we must worship the Word in the Person of Jesus Christ.

In the following Letter to *Maximus*, he shews, That Jesus Christ is truly God, and truly Man. The Titles of the Letters to *Serapion*, sufficiently shew what they treat about: Against those that say, that the Son and the Holy Spirit are Creatures. The Treatise against the *Sabellians*, is a Collection of Passages out of Holy Scripture, which prove the Trinity of Persons and the Divinity of the Word. The design of the Treatise about the Union of the human Nature with the Word, is rather to prove the Divinity of the Son of God, than to explain the Incarnation. The Exposition of Faith, which is in the first Volume, P. 240. is an Explication of the *Nicene Creed*, concerning the Unity and the Incarnation. The short Discourse against the *Arians*, is a Writing of the same Nature. The Letter to *Epiphanius*, is the Principal Treatise of St. Athanasius, concerning the Incarnation of Jesus Christ, where he refutes the Error and the Arguments of those that maintain that the Flesh of Jesus Christ, was of the same Substance with his Divinity; That the Divinity was changed into the Humanity, or the Humanity into the Divinity; That the Word had adopted a Body without being naturally united to it; That the Body was not assumed in the Womb of the Virgin *Mary*; That the Divinity did suffer; or in a word, That the Word was a Person different from the Man. In short, he there refutes the foundations of the Error of the *Apollinarians* and *Eutychians*, and the Principle of the Error of the *Nestorians*, by shewing, That Jesus Christ is one Person composed of a Divine and Human Nature, wherein all the Properties of those two Natures are found. He refutes the same Errors in the Books of the Incarnation against *Apollinarius*, in which he proves particularly against this Heretick, that Jesus Christ took one Human Nature entire and perfect, That it was not destitute of a Soul, nor of Understanding and Will.

There are few Moral Treatises amongst the Works of St. Athanasius. The Epistle to *Dracontius* is one of the chief. [This is rather concerning Discipline, though urged with Moral Arguments.] *Dracontius* was a Monk that had been chosen Bishop: But, either because he was afraid of Persecution, or else because he thought himself unworthy to govern a Bishoprick, he fled and hid himself, lest he should be obliged to take care of the People, of whom he had been ordained Bishop. St. Athanasius in this Letter, reproves his Pusillanimity, and exhorts him to return to his Bishoprick. He represents to him, That his Conduct scandalized many Persons; That being ordained Bishop, he was no longer at his own disposal, but owed himself to those for whom he was ordained; That he was obliged to take care of them, and that he should be answerable for the Salvation of those that should perish for want of Instruction; That he should improve the Talent that God had given him, and take care of the Flock that God had entrusted him with; That if the Fear of Persecution made him flee from a Bishoprick, it was a great Weakness in him; but if it was from any Dislike of the Episcopal Function, it was an injurious Contempt of the Authority and Mystery of Jesus Christ; That he could not excuse himself, by saying, that he had sworn or vowed to the contrary, since *Jeremy* and *Jonas* were obliged to do contrary to what they had resolved; and besides, that many Monks whom he names, had accepted of a Bishoprick, and that this Profession was so far from being an Occasion of Sin, as some would persuade *Dracontius*, that it would be rather a means to sanctify him by his imitating the Apostles; That this State did not hinder, but he might still observe the Customs of the Cloyster: (You will be permitted, says he, being a Bishop, to fast, or to abstain from Wine: We have known Monks great Eaters, and Bishops great Fasters: We have seen Monks that drink Wine, and Bishops that drink none: Bishops for the most part live in Celibacy, and we have seen Monks married.) [St. Athanasius's Words are these, Many Bishops never married, and Monks have been Fathers of Children. (Πολλοὶ δὲ νύμφησιν ἐκείνην ἔχουσιν.)] B b 2 ried:



St. Athanasius.

St. Athanasius. *ἡ δὲ ἐκείνη ἐστὶν ἡ γυναικεία, ἡ δὲ πατρίδα τῶν γυναικῶν, p. 258. D. Vol. 1.*) As these Words are translated, they have quite a different meaning from that which was at first designed by St. Athanasius. He makes his Comparison between those that practised, and those that omitted the Austerities there mentioned, in such a manner as shews that he thought them absolutely indifferent; and besides, there is a great difference between many and the most part.

Yet I should not have taken notice of it, if in his account of St. Athanasius's Doctrine, Mr. du Pin had not repeated what he had before observed in this place, and with some Additions; for there he says, *That there were Priests and Bishops married, though but few.* Here is a double Mistake; for neither does St. Athanasius say, that there be but few Priests or Bishops married, nor does he speak a word of Priests. Monks were not constantly ordained in those Days. St. Anthony, their great Master, was a Lay-man, and in this very Letter to Dracontius, St. Athanasius, amongst other Arguments to persuade him to accept the Bishoprick to which he was Canonically Elected, tells him, That if the Monks desired to have Presbyters among them, to instruct them in their Duty, they ought not to envy others, who for the same reason were earnest to have Dracontius for their Bishop.]

In the Letter to Ammon the Monk, he refutes the Error of some Monks, who condemn'd the use of Marriage; and shews by the Scripture, that 'tis permitted, and that 'tis an Impiety to condemn it, tho' Virginity is a more perfect State, and deserves greater Rewards.

The Life of St. Anthony may be reckon'd among his Moral Writings, for it contains excellent Instructions for all Monks.

We must also place among the Moral Works of St. Athanasius his Homily of Circumcision and the Sabbath. There he treats of the Institution of the Sabbath, and thinks that the principal end of its Celebration was not merely to rest, but that it was Instituted to make known the Creator; that the Reason why 'tis abrogated in the New Law, and the Feast of Sunday establish'd in its room, is, because the first Day was the end of the first Creation, and the second was the beginning of the New: For the same Reason he believes that Circumcision was appointed on the eighth Day, to be a figure of that Regeneration which is made by Baptism.

Lastly, That I may say something of the Treatises of St. Athanasius upon the Holy Scriptures, the Abridgment of the Scriptures, is the most useful of them. There you may see in one view, an Enumeration of all the Canonical Books of the Old Testament according to the Catalogue of the Hebrews, which contains but 22; and he adds those that are not Canonical, but yet are read in the Church to the Catechumens, which according to him, are the Books of Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Esther, Judith and Tobit; with this Observation, that some plac'd the Books of Esther and Ruth amongst those which they esteem'd Canonical. In the Catalogue of the Canonical Books of the New Testament, he places all those which we acknowledge at present. After he has given us these Catalogues, he makes a very faithful Abridgment of what is contain'd in every Book, and gives the Reason, why 'tis call'd by such a Name, and Discourses of the Author that wrote it. Afterwards, he gives a Catalogue of those Apocryphal Books which are of little or no use at all. He speaks particularly of the four Gospels, their Authors, and the Places where they were compos'd; he treats in a few Words of the Greek Versions of the Old Testament, and at last, gives a Catalogue of some Books cited in Scripture that are lost. The Fragment of the 39th. Festival Letter is upon the same Subject, and it contains also a Catalogue of the Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament, and of those that are useful, tho' they be not Canonical, which he distinguishes from these Apocryphal Books, that have been forg'd by Hereticks; and here he follows the same Catalogue which is in the Abridgment: But, he adds to the number of these Books, that may be read to the Catechumens, *The Doctrine of the Apostles*, and the Book, entituled *Pastor*.

The Book to Marcellinus upon the Psalms is also of the same Nature. St. Athanasius, shews there the Excellency of the Book of Psalms; and relates the Subject of many of them, those that are Historical, and those that are Moral. He observes there, that the Book of Psalms, refers to all the Histories of the Old Testament; That it includes all the Prophecies of Jesus Christ; That it expresses all the Opinions which we ought to have; That it contains the Prayers that should be made, and comprizes all the Precepts of Morality: He observes, that there are some Psalms Historical, some Moral, some Prophetical, besides those that consist of Prayers and Praises; all which he distinguishes, and places

ried: In a word, 'tis permitted to every one, in whatsoever state he is, to use such Abstinences as he pleases.) He concludes, with exhorting him to return to his Bishoprick before Easter, that his People might not be abandoned, and obliged to Celebrate that Feast without him; and with earnest Entreaties, that he would not hearken to their Counsels, that would hinder his Return: *They would, says he, have Priests among themselves, Why then are they unwilling that the People should have Bishops?*

in their proper Rank and Order. He shews, that the Psalms represent to every one of the Faithful, the State of his own Soul, that every one may see himself there represented, and may observe from the different Passions there express'd, what he feels in his own Heart, and that in whatever State any one is, there he may find Words suitable to his present Disposition, Rules for his Conduct, and Remedies for his Troubles. Wherefore he divides the Psalms according to the different Matters of which they treat, that every one may make use of them according to his Necessities, and according to the different States that he falls into. He adds, that those who Sing, should be of a free and quiet Spirit, that the Melody of their Song, may agree with the Harmony of their Spirit. And last of all, He would not have any Words of the Psalms, which may appear simple, chang'd, under pretence of making them more Elegant.

The Treatise upon these Words of Jesus Christ, *Whoever shall speak a word against the Holy Spirit, his Sin shall not be forgiven him, neither in this World, nor in the other*, is an Explication of this difficult place of Scripture, wherein he first observes, that Origen and Theognostus thought, that the Sin against the Holy Ghost, was the Sin of those who after they were baptiz'd, lost the Grace of Baptism by their Crimes. But St. Athanasius maintains, that this Explication is not Natural, because those that violate their Vows of Baptism, sin no more against the Holy Spirit, than against the Father and the Son, in whose Name Baptism is administred: And to shew that this Opinion of the Ancients, is not defensible, he observes, that these Words of Jesus Christ were address'd to the Pharisees who were never baptiz'd, and yet sinned against the Holy Spirit, by saying, that Jesus Christ cast out Devils in the name of Beelzebub: He adds, that if this Explication were admitted, it would give up the Cause to Novatus. He explains the Passage of St. Paul to the Hebrews, where the Apostle says, *'Tis impossible that those who were once baptiz'd should be renew'd again, which does not exclude*, says St. Athanasius, *Repentance after Baptism, but only a second Baptism.* After he has rejected this Explication, he advances a New one of his own; and is of Opinion, that to sin against the Holy Ghost, is to deny the Divinity of Jesus Christ, by attributing to the Devil, as the Pharisees did, his most Divine Actions. Thus he explains himself: Those, says he, who observing the Human Actions of Jesus Christ, consider'd him as a Man only, were in some measure excuseable; Those also who observing his Divine Actions, doubted if he was a Man, were not so much to be blam'd: But those who seeing his most Divine Actions, deny'd his Divinity, by attributing his Actions to the Devil, as the Pharisees and the Arians do, commit so enormous a Crime, that they cannot hope for Pardon. The former sin against the Son of Man, i. e. against the Humanity of Jesus Christ; and the latter sin against the Spirit, i. e. his Divinity. This in short, is the sum of the Explication that St. Athanasius has given of these Words of the Gospel, whereof he treats, and I leave it to the Judgment of the Reader, if he can find another more probable than this of the Ancients.

We may add likewise to those Treatises of St. Athanasius, upon the Holy Scripture, the Fragments that are found at the end of his second Volume, and particularly, that which is taken out of the Sixth Council, upon these Words of Jesus Christ, *My Soul is exceeding sorrowful*.

I shall make no Extracts out of those Books which I have rejected, as being none of St. Athanasius's, tho' there be some things in them which may be useful, because I would make no Confusion, by mixing the Doctrine of another Author with that of this Saint, and therefore without staying to speak of these Books, I proceed to his Character.

His Style cannot be better describ'd than 'tis already by the Learned Photius, in Vol. 140 of his *Bibliothèque*. 'The Discourses of St. Athanasius, says he, are clear, simple and natural, and yet they have much strength and gravity: He places the Reasons which he uses in a wonderful Light; He shews great copiousness of Invention, and a wonderful easiness of Thought. There is in his Works, a Depth of Logick, I do not mean of that barren Logick which proposes Reasonings and Syllogisms, without any Ornament, and makes use of Dialectical Terms as School-Boys do, who would make a show of Wit; but of a Logick like that of the antient Philosophers, who propos'd their Ideas and Reasonings in an excellent manner, accompanied with great Ornaments of Eloquence. He makes use also of Testimonies of the Holy Scripture, and draws from thence convincing Proofs of what he advances. In a word, his Books alone are sufficient for the Refutation of Arianism, and he that should say, that St. Gregory and St. Basil drew from this Fountain those great Torrents of Learning which they employ'd against this Error, would not be much mistaken'. The same Photius says also in another place, speaking of the Letters and Apologies of this Father, 'That they are written with Clearness, Elegance and Grandeur; That he has given a turn at once persuasive and agreeable to all that he says'. This Character appears chiefly in his *Apology*

St. Athanasius.



St. Athanasius. to the Emperor *Constantinus*, which is a Matter-piece in its kind, for never any Book had a greater Air of Candor and Simplicity than this, never was any Discourse more Elegant, more beautified with Figures, or more persuasive: Here was St. *Athanasius's* great Excellency in all his Works; they appear simple and open, and yet being closely consider'd, one may perceive, that they are compos'd with wonderful Artifice: He observes all along an admirable fitness of Expression, and always adapts his Style to the Subject of which he treats, and to the Persons to whom he speaks. He insinuates himself so dextrously into the mind by his manner of expressing things, that one entertains his Reasons, and feels himself often persuaded by them, before he is aware. How soft soever his Discourse appears, it wants nothing of sharpness; for when he attacks his Enemies, he spares them not in the least, but on the contrary, uses the most smart and emphatical Words that can be found to cover them with Confusion; and to render them Odious, he makes no scruple to load them with the reproachful Names which they have deserv'd, and to represent the Crimes they have committed, in the most lively Colours that can be drawn with a Masterly Hand: And yet he does it after such a manner, that it seems rather to proceed from a Zeal for the Truths of Religion, than from any Personal hatred which he bears to the Men themselves. The Conduct of this Saint is no less admirable than his manner of Writing. St. *Basil* gives this Character of him in his 48 Letter, address'd to himself. 'Who can be found, says he, that has more Prudence than you? Who has a clearer Inspection into the Affairs of the Church, and who has a greater Facility in executing his Designs? Is there any that has more Charity and Compassion for his Brethren? Are not you the Bishop in all the World, that is in most Veneration with those of the *West*?' And in the following Letter he has these Words; 'The more the Miseries of the Church encrease, the more are we oblig'd, says he, to have recourse unto you; we have no hopes of any Consolation under our Afflictions but by your means, since you can do much, both by your Prayers which are very Effectual, and also by the sharpness of your Wit, whereby you understand at the same time what is most advantageous to the Church.' And again in another Letter, 'When we consider our Calamities, and the State to which we are reduc'd, we do almost Despair of Safety; but when we cast our Eyes upon you, we take Courage, and consider you as a Physician whom God has given to heal all our Maladies. Who can be a fitter Pilot in this Tempest, than he who has all his Life time endur'd the like Persecutions for the Faith?' And truly, 'Tis hard to say, which of the two is most to be admir'd in St. *Athanasius*, his unmoveable Constancy and Firmness, which he always shew'd, or the Prudence that appear'd in his Conduct under all his Persecutions. I say nothing of his Humility, his Charity, Pastoral Vigilance, and his other Virtues, because they don't fall directly within the Compass of that Design which I have propos'd to my self in this Book.

His Doctrine is very pure, and his Opinions are not only very Orthodox, but his Expressions are very just and exact. He proves the Existence of a God, the Creation of the World, and Providence, in his Books against the Gentiles. He establishes the Trinity of three Divine Persons, and the Unity of the Nature and Substance, almost in all his Works; but he explains this Mystery with much simplicity; for he would not amuse the Reader with Disputes about Words, nor search too profoundly into this Matter. He confesses, that he cannot comprehend it, and he will not employ human Reasonings to Prove or to Explain the Mystery of the Trinity and the Generation of the Word: In short, He shuns as much as he can, to enter upon any of those subtile Questions, which have since unprofitably exercis'd the Wit of so many School-Divines. He speaks admirably of the Fall of the first Man, of the Punishments of Sin, of the Necessity and Effects of the Incarnation of the Son of God. He explains this Mystery in such a manner as is equally contrary to all the Errors of the Hereticks of either side; for he teaches against the *Paulianists*, that the Word is united to the Humanity; against the *Valentinians*, that it took a Body like ours in the Womb of the Virgin; against the *Arians* and *Apollinarians*, that it took a Soul and Spirit; against the *Nestorians*, that the Divinity is united in the same Person with the Humanity, so that the Virgin may be called the Mother of God; against the *Eutychians*, that these two Natures subsist in the same Person with their Properties, without Confusion, without Mixture, without Change. He believes, that the Soul is Spiritual and Immortal, and makes no scruple to affirm it as a thing certain, that the Saints are happy and with Jesus Christ. He speaks of the Efficacy of Baptism, and rejects that of the Hereticks: He acknowledges not only in his *Apology*, but also in his *Treatise of the Faith*, cited by *Theodoret*; He acknowledges, I say,

\*[That is to say, Body and Blood of Jesus Christ\*. He St. *Athanasius* calls praises Virginité, and prefers it to Marriage, tho' he thinks, that 'tis not for-

bidden. He condemns the Error of the *Novatians*; He acknowledges the Holy Scripture to be the Rule of Faith, and joyns with it Tradition and the Authority of the Holy Fathers. He observes that the Faith is always the same, and and the Wine the Blood of Christ: He had no occasion to Dispute the Question, nor to determine of either side, concerning the Real

Presence. This is plain from his Second *Apology* to the Emperor *Constantinus*, for his Flight, wherein he clears himself from the Crime that was laid to his Charge in the Synod of *Tyre*, That he abetted one *Macarius* a Presbyter in *Mareotis*, who broke the Cup in which the Wine was usually Consecrated: The Council of *Alexandria*, that was call'd to examine the Cause of St. *Athanasius*, in their General Epistle, always call the Cup, *πρόθετον μυστικόν*, the Mystical Cup: and speaking of Presbyters, (p. 732. ap. St. *Athanasius*. Vol. I.) say, *μόνον ὑμῶν ἐστὶν προτίθεν τὸ αἶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ; ἵνα πρὶν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν πρῶτον πινῶμεν*; it belongs to you alone first to drink of the Blood of Christ; that is, to receive before the Congregation: This determines nothing as to the Nature of the Presence; and our Saviour had sufficiently warrant'd such Expressions by his Discourse in the sixth Chapter of St. *John*.

If St. *Athanasius* had said any thing to declare his Opinion, upon a Question at that time not started in the World, his Arguments could have been considered, and his Notions might have then been known: But since all his Writings bend to one scope, from which he hardly ever wanders, any occasional Expressions relating to other Disputes cannot be urg'd any further than as they do in all probability shew what was the Style of that Age; and it is certain, that the Elements were after Consecration, call'd, the Body and Blood of Christ, at that time; as well they might, since the Church then believ'd, what our Church likewise professes, That worthy Communicants do Spiritually eat the Body, and drink the Blood of Jesus Christ, when they eat the Bread and drink the Wine in the Lord's Supper. Mr. *Du Pin*, takes a great deal of Pains in his First Volume, to Vindicate the Fathers who lived before the Council of *Nice*, from the imputation of *Arianism*: And he observes all along, that before those Questions were professedly examined and Determined by the Church, Men did not speak so exactly as they did afterwards: His Observation is certainly right, and it has always been the receiv'd Excuse, whenever the Opinions of these earliest Fathers have been urg'd on the behalf of the *Arian* or *Socinian* Doctrines. If therefore this excuse be just in one Cause, it is equally so in another; and an occasional Expression can no more be urg'd in Favour of *Transubstantiation*, than in Favour of *Arianism*, when we otherways know, what was the Opinion of that Age, in which the Question was never put concerning it. There will be no necessity therefore to take notice in every place, where our Author fancies, that the Ancients favour'd his cause, of the particular Reasons, why they spoke in such a manner, or of the Sense in which their Words are to be understood; since it has been so often prov'd by those who have examined all the contested Passages in the Writings of these more Ancient Fathers, that either they favour our Opinions, or that they speak nothing to the purpose of the Dispute that has so long been managed between us and the Church of *Rome*.]

that it does not change, and that the Councils do nothing but declare what is the Doctrine of the Church. He attributes much to Free-Will, and yet he confesses, that since the Sin of *Adam* Man is inclin'd to Evil, and fix'd upon sensible things. He teaches, that the Soul of Jesus Christ, without dissolving the Union to his Divinity, descended into Hell, to fetch thence the Souls of the Just, and also of those who had liv'd well under the Law of Nature, who were there in Sorrow waiting for their Deliverance. As to what concerns Discipline in his time, one may observe in his Works, that the Communion in both kinds was then given to the Laicks; that the Priests only Consecrated; that the Eucharist was offer'd upon an Altar of Wood; that the Mysteries were hid from the Catechumens and Gentiles; that the Faithful assembled in Churches, where they were a long time at Prayers; that there were then a Multitude of Monks that were subject to their Bishop as their Father, and that some of them were made Bishops; that there were also Virgins who religiously kept their Virginité; that they were not shut up, but assisted at the Divine Mysteries in the Church; That there were Priests and Bishops married, though but few; That Eunuchs could not then be ordain'd; that the Translation of Bishops was condemn'd; That the People and Clergy chose them, and other Bishops ordain'd them; that they must be chosen out of those that were born in the place, rather than Strangers; that they had a Reverence for Churches and Sacred Vessels; that Churches were dedicated with Ceremonies, and that 'twas not permitted to celebrate Divine Mysteries in them before their Dedication, without some kind of Necessity; that there were Fonts in Churches, and that the Bishop had a Chair rais'd on high, call'd the Episcopal Throne; That Oyl and Wine, and Bread for Offerings were kept in the Font; that they had Cemeteries where they assembled in case of Necessity; that the Churches there were govern'd by Priests, who kept there the Assemblies of the People; that the Bishops made their Visitations in their Diocesses; that the Church of *Rome* was consider'd as the first; that the Church of *Alexandria* had much Authority over all *Egypt*; That they us'd to make



*St. Athanasius.* the sign of the Cross, and believed that it drove away Devils; That they received not the Offerings of the Impious, but only those of the Just; That a Bishop was not allowed to abdicate his Church; That they fasted in *Lent*; That they celebrated the Feast of *Easter* with great Solemnity; That they used the Prayers of the Church, and read the Gospel in the Vulgar-tongue, which was understood by the People. I shall not stay to relate the Principles of Morality which are to be found in his writings, because they are but few, and those few are not handled in their full extent, excepting only what concerns flight from Persecution, and from a Bishoprick, and the Defence of the Truth.

The First Editions of *St. Athanasius's* Works are very imperfect and the last are confused. The most Antient that we have found, is a Latin Edition of some Books, which one *Barnabas Celsanus* Printed at *Vicenza* in the Year 1482, and which he Dedicated to *Peter Brutus* a Bishop. This Edition is entituled, *Treatises of St. Athanasius against the Hereticks*, and it contains the Four Treatises against the *Arians*, that of the Union of the Human Nature, together with the Dispute against *Arius*, which was also Printed in 1500.

This Edition was followed by that of *Paris* in 1520, which contains a good part of the works of *St. Athanasius* in Latin, translated by different Authors, together with the Commentaries of *Theophylact* upon the Psalms, which were also published under the Name of *St. Athanasius*, by *Christopher Persona*, who caused them to be Printed at *Rome* in the Year 1477, [in fol. and afterwards in 1496. in fol.] and by *Reuchlin* at *Tubing*, in the Year 1515.

These Discourses were reprinted at *Francfort* by *Knoblochius* in 1522, and at *Basle* by *Froben* in 1527. *Eustachius Cornecef* Printer at *Cologne*, Printed them in 1532, without the Commentary of *Theophylact* upon the Psalms, and they were also Printed the same Year at *Lyons* by the *Treschels*.

After these, *Episcopius* and *Froben* undertook a new Edition of the Works of this Father: they were assisted by *Nannius* Professor at *Louvain*, who made a new Version of the most part of the Books which bear the Name of *St. Athanasius*, and compared the Greek with three Manuscripts. They divided the whole into Four Tomes, and place in the last some Discourses attributed to *St. Athanasius*, which had not been Translated by *Nannius*: This Edition was finished at *Basle*, in 1558, and reprinted in 1564.

*Nizell* added a Fifth Tome, wherein he put the Life of *St. Anthony*, the Five Dialogues of the Trinity publish'd by *Beza* at *Basle* in 1570. This Edition was Printed twice at *Paris*, and the Letter to *Ammon*, in the Year 1572, and in the Year 1581.

Hitherto we have said nothing of publishing the Greek Text of the Works of *St. Athanasius*. *Commelinus*, a famous Printer at *Heidelberg*, first undertook it, which he

happily finish'd in the Year 1600; and the same Year he published in Greek and Latin, over against one another, *St. Athanasius*. all the Works of *St. Athanasius* in two Volumes, whereof the First contains those that were translated by *Nannius*, and the Second all that could be found besides. The Greek Text is revised by many Manuscripts, and Printed very exactly. He took care also to add at the End, the different Readings collected by *Fleemannus*; but these are only in some Copies. This Edition, though very large, is very-confused; for the Books are without any order, without any Observations, and many times the Version is very faulty.

It was a little while after corrected by *Fronto Ducaens*, and Printed at *Paris* without the Greek in 1612, but he has left many Faults.

At last in the Year 1627. the Booksellers of *Paris* made a New Edition Greek and Latin of the Works of *St. Athanasius*. They follow'd *Commelin's* for the Greek, and that of 1612, for the Latin; and though they say in their Advertisement that they have exactly revised the Greek Text by the Manuscripts in the Royal Library, and have Corrected an infinite number of places in it, yet they have still left a good number of Faults behind. They have added in this Edition the Greek of the Life of *St. Anthony*, which was published before by *Hæschelius* in 1611, a Homily upon *Easter*, published by *Plantin* at *Antwerp*, in 1508, the Homilies of *Holstenius*, and some other Fragments; but they have neither chang'd the order of the Books, nor distinguish'd the Genuine from the Supposititious.

What I have now said, sufficiently discovers the Necessity that some very Skilful Person, or rather some Religious Society, should undertake to Publish a New Edition of the Works of *St. Athanasius*. And to make it perfect, they must compare the Greek Text exactly with Manuscripts, make a new Version of all the Books, distinguish the Genuine from the Supposititious, and make a separate Volume of these Last, dividing the first as we have done into Four Parts: The First should comprehend the Historical Books; the Second, the Dogmatical; the Third, the Moral; and the Last, those upon the Scriptures. In the Historical, they must observe the Order and Thread of the History; in the Dogmatical, they must keep the order of the Subject Matters; and in those upon the Scripture, they must first place those that are more general, following very near the Order which we have observ'd in our Abridgment. As to the Supposititious Books, 'twere good to distinguish them into three Ranks: The First, should contain the Books of Antient Authors unknown; the Second, those of Modern Authors; and the Third, those whereof the Authors are known, unless you would rather pass by the last, and remit the Reader to the Books where they are printed, [with the other Works of those Authors to whom they do of right belong.]

## JACOBUS NISIBENUS.

*Jacobus Nisibenus.* *St. James*, a Native of *Nisibis* a City of *Mesopotamia*, which was antiently the Boundary of the Empire between the *Persians* and *Romans*, having led a very austere life in the Desert; and becoming famous by his Confession under *Maximinus*, and by the great number of Miracles which he wrought, was chosen Bishop of that City, where he was born: though he did not for that forsake his manner of Life, nor work fewer Miracles than before; nay, 'tis said, that he even rais'd up the Dead. He assisted at the Council of *Nice*, where he condemn'd the Heresie of *Arius*: and *Theodoret* says, that being at *Constantinople*, when they would oblige *Alexander* Bishop of that Church to receive *Arius* into Communion, he advis'd the Catholics to have recourse to God by Fasting and Prayer, and to Pray all together for the space of Seven Days, that they might agree among themselves what was best to be done. The *Persians* coming about the Year 338, to besiege the City of *Nisibis*, *St. James* upon this occasion did the Office both of a Governor and a Bishop; for he not only made fervent Prayers for his People, but encouraged them by his Exhortations to Rebuild a Wall in the Room of that which the Besiegers had beat down; he mounted upon the Walls of the City, and appear'd Miraculously cloathed with Purple, as if he had been an Emperor. 'Tis said also, that at his Prayer God rain'd an infinite Multitude of Gnats, which so annoy'd the Besiegers, that they were forc'd to retire in disorder. This Story is related not only by *Theodoret*, who has written the Life of this Saint, in his Book entituled, *Philothens* [which is an Historical Account of Thirty eminent Asceticks] and who speaks also of this Circumstance in his *Hist. Ch.* 30. of his Second Book; but also by *Philostorgius* who cannot be suspected of too much favour to so great an Enemy of the *Arians*.

*St. Athanasius* speaks of this Saint, as of a Bishop who had written for the Church: And if *St. Jerome* has not plac'd him among the number of Ecclesiastical Writers, it is because, as *Gennadius* has observed that this Father understood not the Syriack Tongue, having never read these Syriack

Writers, [This with *Gennadius's* leave is something strange: for it is not credible that a Man who lived so long in *Palestine*, where Syriack was the Mother-Tongue, and who understood Hebrew so well as *St. Jerome* did, should not understand Syriack, which is but a different Dialect.] whom he mentions but in their Version; so that we must not wonder that he says nothing of his Works, because they were never translated into Greek. *Gennadius* has made a Catalogue, wherein he says, that the Work of this Author contain'd 26 Books, but he names but 23. The 1st. is concerning Faith; The 2d. against all Heresies; The 3d. of Charity in general; The 4th. of Charity towards our Neighbours; The 5th. of Fasting; The 6th. of Prayer; The 7th. of the Resurrection; The 8th. of the Life after Death; The 9th. of Humility; The 10th. of Patience; The 11th. of Penance; The 12th. of Satisfaction; The 13th. of Virginity; The 14th. of the Life of the Soul; The 15th. concerning Circumcision; The 16th. concerning the Benediction of the Grape, which is the cause that the Bunch of Grapes is preserv'd, which is mentioned by the Prophet *Isaiah*, Ch. 65; The 17th. of Jesus Christ, to prove that he is the Son of God, and Consubstantial to his Father; The 18th. of Chastity; The 19th. against the Gentiles; The 20th. of the Building of the Tabernacle; The 21st. of the Conversion of the Gentiles; The 22d. of the Empire of the Persians; The 23d. of the Persecution of the Christians. *Gennadius*, says also, that this Father made a Chronicle, less studied indeed than that of the Greeks, but more bold; for by using the words of Scripture, he stops the mouth of all those that question the coming of Jesus Christ upon vain Conjectures. 'This Holy Man, as *Gennadius* goes on, died under *Constantinus*, and was buried by *Constantine's* Order in the City of *Nisibis*, to be a kind of a Defender of it after his Death; but some time after, *Julian* entering into this City, either because he could not endure the Glory of this Saint, or because he would reproach the memory of *Constantine*, commanded, that the Relicks of his holy Body should be thrown out of the City; wherefore in a few Months after the Emperor *Jo-*



*Jacobus Nisibenus.* *vian* was forced, to save his Empire, to Surrender it to the *Persians* under whose Dominion it still remains. [*Theodoret* gives us another Account of the removal of St. James's Body: He says, That when *Jovian* Surrendered up *Nisibis* to the *Persians*, the Inhabitants who left the Town, carried

the Martyrs Bones along with them: His Testimony is the more valuable because he lived near the place, and also, because, as he tells us himself in his *Ecclesiastical History*, he took a great deal of Pains to collect and write down the Wonderful Things which were related of this Saint.]

## MARCELLUS of Ancyra.

*Marcellus of Ancyra.* **M**arcellus Bishop of *Ancyra*, assisted at the Council of *Nice*, where he defended the Faith, and opposed the *Arians*, as Pope *Julius* affirms, upon the Report of St. *Sylvester* the Pope. After that Council he wrote a Book against *Asterius* and other Bishops of the *Arian* Faction, entituled, *Concerning the Subraission of Jesus Christ*; wherein he advances many Propositions favouring the Error of the *Sabellians*. The *Eusebians* immediately accus'd him of this Heresie, and 'tis said, that he promised in the Council of *Jerusalem* to burn his Book; but refusing to do it when he was at *Constantinople*, he was condemned and deposed in a Council held in that City by the *Eusebians* in the Year 336. There is some probability that he was restored again to his See after the Death of *Constantine*; but he was driven away at the same time that St. *Athanasius* was forced out of *Alexandria*, and obliged to fly for Refuge into the West, where he was Absolved in the Councils of *Rome* and *Sardica*. *Socrates* and *Sozomen* say, that after this last Council, he was restored to his Bishoprick as well as St. *Athanasius*, but that he could not live there in Quiet, because *Basil*, who was Ordained in his room in the Year 336. was in Possession of his See; and what became of him afterwards is not known. St. *Hilary* and *Sulpitius Severus* affirm, that St. *Athanasius* having discover'd that he favoured the Error of *Photinus*, deprived him of his

Communion; and this Bishop seeing himself condemned by his Judgment, refrained coming to the Church Gate. But this Relation is not true; for St. *Athanasius* does always speak of him in his Writings as a Catholick Bishop; and we understand by the Letters which St. *Basil* wrote to St. *Athanasius* a little before his Death, that this Father continued always in Communion with him. St. *Jerome* places *Marcellus* of *Ancyra* among the number of Ecclesiastical Writers; and says that he composed many Volumes upon different Subjects, but chiefly against the *Arians*. We have nothing of his Works remaining, but some Fragments recited by *Eusebius* in the Books which he wrote against this Author: These passages are very intricate, and favour the Error of the *Sabellians*. Some have accused *Eusebius*, that he took for a positive assertion what *Marcellus* had only proposed by the way of doubt or objection: but the contrary appears sufficiently from *Eusebius's* Book, where 'tis plain, that in the greatest part of the passages which he recites, *Marcellus* of *Ancyra* proposes his true Sentiment, which 'tis very difficult to explain in a Catholick Sense. It appears by these Fragments, that *Marcellus* was a Man that talked much, who had little Wit, or Knowledge, or Eloquence, and was altogether void of good Sense. St. *Epiphanius* in *Heres. 72.* recites a Letter of *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*.

## HOSIUS.

*Hosius.* **H**osius Bishop of *Corduba*, a City of *Spain*, did generously confess the Faith of Christ, in the Persecution of the Emperor *Dioclesian*. The *Donatists* affirm, That he was condemned for his Crimes by the Bishops of *Spain*, and was afterwards absolved by those of *France*: But this is a notorious Calumny, of which they have no Proof, and which is sufficiently confuted by the great Reputation that *Hosius* had all his Life-time; besides, that his Enemies never charged him with any such thing. His Name is found amongst the Names of those Bishops that subscribed to the Canons, which are believed to be made in the Council of *Elvira*. He was known to *Constantine*, while this Emperor was in the West, and followed him into the East; where he was so much esteemed by him, that he was chosen to be sent into *Egypt*, to settle the Controversies that were risen there about the Heresie of *Arius*, and the Celebration of *Easter*. There he assembled a Council, to which the Egyptians have not scrupled to give the Name of *Oecumenical*, and used his utmost Endeavours to reduce *Arius* to the Communion of his Bishop *Alexander*, and to establish Peace: But all was in vain, for it was necessary to have recourse to a more powerful Remedy, which was the General Council of *Nice*. There he was chosen President, either because of his eminent Virtues, and rare Qualities, or because he had a perfect Knowledge of the Matter which was to be handled in that Council. He presided also at the Council of *Sardica*, and maintained for a long time with great Constancy the Faith of the *Nicene* Council, and the Innocence of St. *Athanasius*, under the Reign of *Constantius*. This Emperor did in vain solicit him with Promises and Threatnings, for he answered and wrote to him with unshaken Firmness; but at last, he was so far overcome by the Miseries which he suffered in Banishment, as, not only to Communicate with *Ursacius* and *Valens*, in the year 357, as St. *Athanasius* confesses, but also to subscribe to the second Creed of *Sirmium*, which is *Arian*, as St. *Hilary* and *Phœbadius*, who lived at the same time, do clearly testify. Yet 'tis true, that St. *Athanasius* who endeavours to excuse the Fault of his Friend, as much as he can, says, that he did not subscribe to his Condemnation; and that his Friend at his Death, protested by his last Will and Testament, against what he had done, and expressly condemned the Heresie of *Arius*. These two Authors, whom we cited before, do not speak at this rate of him; but on the contrary, St. *Hilary* says, That his Subscription discovered what he was formerly, i. e. an Hypocrite, who had no other Religion, but that of the Court. But it will be better to spare his Memory with St. *Athanasius*, than to blacken it by Declamations without Ground. His Fault indeed was very great, but then his great Age, and the Violence that was used towards him, do render him the less culpable; and I think we ought to believe upon the Testimony of St. *Athanasius*, that he repented of what he had done before his Death. 'Tis true, that the two *Luciferians* tell us a Story

which would prove the contrary if it were certain; but it looks like a Fable. They say in their Petition to the Emperor *Valentinian*, that *Hosius* being returned into *Spain* with a Declaration of the Emperor, wherein 'twas ordained, That all those that would not communicate with him, should be cast out of their Sees; One *Gregory*, Bishop of the Province of *Bætica*, a dull Man, but a zealous Defender of the Faith, refused to communicate with him; and being forcibly carried away to *Corduba* by the Governor's Guards, he continued firm in his Opinion, and boldly reproved *Hosius*. That *Hosius* being moved with a violent Passion, desired of the Governor to send that Bishop into Banishment: But the Governor answered him, That he must first be condemned. And that *Hosius* being ready to pronounce the Sentence of Condemnation against him, he appealed to the Tribunal of Jesus Christ, and when *Hosius* was just beginning to pronounce the Sentence, he fell into Convulsions, and was cast down dead upon the Ground, or at least lost his Speech. This is what these two *Luciferian* Priests say of *Hosius's* End: But besides that this Relation is refuted by the positive Testimony of St. *Athanasius*, which is much more credible than theirs; it has all-over the Air of a Fable feign'd by *Lucifer's* Party, who please themselves, as is usual for the most part with those Devotees that are too austere, with such kind of Tragical Stories that happen for the Punishment of some Crime. He lived almost 100 Years, and died in the year 358. St. *Athanasius* in his Letter to the *Egyptians*, which is called his first Discourse against the *Arians*, places *Hosius* in the number of those who had written against the *Arians*, but we have no more of him but that excellent Letter to *Constantius*, recited by St. *Athanasius* in his Letter to those that lived a Monastick Life; of which we have made an Extract, when we discoursed of the Works of St. *Athanasius*. *Isidore* of *Sevil* attributes also to *Hosius* a Letter to his Sister, in praise of Virginity; which was written, as he says, in a Style very eloquent and polite: and moreover, he says, That he was the Author of a Part of the Canons of the Council of *Sardica*: Some also have said that he made the *Nicene* Creed, but without Ground.

We may joyn with *Hosius*, some Authors whereof St. *Athanasius* makes mention in his Letter to the *Egyptians*, who composed very Orthodox Books, which we have not at present, and whereof we have not so much as the Titles. These Authors are *Maximinus*, of *France*, Bishop of *Triers*, and his Successor *Paulinus*; *Philogonus*, of *Antioch*; *Cyriacus* of *Myfia*; *Pistus* and *Aristeus*, of *Greece*; *Sylvester* and *Protopogenes*, of *Dacia*; *Leontius* and *Eupsychius*, of *Cappadocia*; *Cecilian*, of *Africk*; *Eustorgius*, of *Italy*; *Capito*, of *Sicily*; *Macarius*, of *Jerusalem*; *Alexander*, of *Constantinople*; *Pedavotus*, of *Heraclea*; *Meletius*, *Basil* and *Longinus*, of *Pontus* and *Armenia*; *Lupus* and *Appianus*, of *Cilicia*. All these Bishops, and many others, composed Letters or Books, which were extant in St. *Athanasius's* time, but now we know nothing of them.



## JULIUS.

**J**ulius, was ordained Bishop of *Rome*, in the year 334, or 335. He called a Council at *Rome*, in which St. *Athanasius* was declared innocent; and wrote a Letter to the Bishops of the *East*, of which we have given an Extract, when we gave an Account of the Works of St. *Athanasius*. He sent his Legates to the Council of *Sardica*, and wrote a Letter to those of *Alexandria*, wherein he congratulates the Return of St. *Athanasius* to them. These two Letters are genuine, and are to be found in the Works of St. *Athanasius*. The *Eutychians* have attributed to Pope *Julius*, a Letter concerning the Incarnation, addressed to one *Dionysius*, which *Gennadius* believed to be truly his; though he observes, That though it might be useful in the time of this Pope, against those that admitted two Persons in Jesus Christ; yet it proved pernicious after the Heresie of *Eutyches* and *Timotheus*, which it very much favoured. But this Letter has been rejected by *Hypatius*, in a Conference at *Constantinople*, with the *Acephali*; by *Facundus*, B. I. Ch. 5. By *Enlogius*, in his third Discourse; and by *Leontius* of *Constantinople*, Book of *Sects*, Ch. 8. who have all affirmed, That it was written by *Apollinarius*, and by the *Eutychians*, and falsely attributed to Pope *Julius*. There is another Letter of *Julius*, about the Incarnation, to *Docius*, which is also cited in the Council of *Ephesus*, Art. 1. *Facundus* has acknowledged it for genuine; and *Vincentius Lirinensis*, says, that in that Council, the Faith of the Church, was confirmed by the Testimony of Pope *Julius*. *Ephrem* has also acknowledged it for genuine; as appears by an Extract out of his third Book of Laws, related by *Photius*. *Anastasius* has cited it in his Collections about the Incarnation, as written

by *Acacius*. *Leontius* only has rejected it in his Treatise of *Sects*, where he affirms, That 'tis the Work of *Timotheus*, a Disciple of *Apollinarius*, as was proved then by many Copies. He adds, nevertheless, That 'tis not at all contrary to the Faith, and that 'tis no great matter whose it is. In short, the same *Leontius*, affirms, That there were no Writings of *Julius* in his time (which must be understood with an Exception to those that are extant in St. *Athanasius*) and that the seven Epistles which bear his Name, were *Apollinarius's*. And truly, there is no probability, that *Julius* wrote Letters about the Incarnation at a Time when there was no Question, but about the Trinity: Besides, 'tis known, that the *Eutychians*, were wont to attribute the Works of *Apollinarius*, to the Fathers, who had the Reputation of Catholics, as St. *Athanasius*, St. *Gregory*, and St. *Cyril*, that so they might deceive the People, and engage them into their Heresie.

I say nothing of the two Decretal Epistles attributed to Pope *Julius*, because they are plainly supposititious. This Pope died in the Year 352, and was succeeded by *Liberius*. The Author of *Damasius's* Pontifical, *Uuardus*, *Ado*, and some others, relate, That he was banished for the space of ten Months, till the Death of *Constantius*: But this cannot be maintained, for *Julius* never suffered any Persecution, nor any Banishment, for the Defence of St. *Athanasius*, since this Father says not one Word of it in his Books, who would never have failed to charge the *Arians* with the Banishment of *Julius*, as well as with that of *Liberius*, and other Bishops of his Party.

## ASTERIUS.

**S**t. *Jerome* places this *Arian* Philosopher among the Number of Ecclesiastical Writers, not because he wrote a Book against the Faith of the Church about the Trinity, but because of his Commentaries upon the Epistle to the *Romans*, upon the *Gospels*, upon the *Psalms*, and many other Books; which shews, that a Heretick may be placed amongst Ecclesiastical Authors, when he writes such learned Books as may be serviceable to the Church. St. *Athanasius* gives a very different Character of this *Asterius* from that which *Eusebius* had given of him in his Book against *Marcellus*. 'One *Asterius*, says he, in his Book of the two Synods, a Sophist of *Cappadocia*, is a Partizan of the *Eusebians*; and when he could not enter into the Order of the Clergy, because he had Sacrificed to Idols, during the Persecution of *Maximian*, he was advised to write a Book for the Opinions of *Eusebius*, the Impiety of which

is equal to that of his Idolatry: For there he compares Jesus Christ to a Locust, and a Worm of the Earth; nay, and seems to prefer these Insects before him. He affirms, That the Word which is in Jesus Christ, is different from the Word which created the World: He runs through all *Syria*, and enters into all the Churches by the favour of *Eusebius's* Recommendation, to teach others to deny Jesus Christ. He insolently opposes the Truth, and goes into those places which are appointed only for the Clergy, and there he rehearses very loudly, his impious Book. Thus St. *Athanasius* describes the Man and his Work. There are some Fragments preserved in his Writings, which expressly contain the impious Opinions of the *Arians*: I am only now to tell you, that this *Asterius*, is different from the Bishop of *Amasea*.

## THEODORUS.

**T**heodorus, Bishop of *Perinthus*, a City of *Thrace*, which was also called *Heraclea*, was a Bishop of the *Eusebian* Party. St. *Athanasius* in his Letter to the Bishops of *Egypt*, places him among the number of those that were condemned, being Priests, and afterwards promoted to Episcopal Dignity by the Intrigues of the *Arians*. He assisted at the Council of *Tyre*, and was one of the Deputies that were sent to *Mareotis*, to inform against St. *Athanasius*. He assisted also at the Council of *Antioch*, and came to that of *Sardica*, and having retired from thence with the Bishops of the *East*; he was Deposed and Excom-

municated in a Synod of the *Western* Bishops. St. *Jerome* and *Theodoret*, testify, that he was very learned, and composed in the Reign of the Emperor *Constantius*, very elegant and clear Commentaries upon the *Gospels* of St. *Matthew*, and St. *John*; upon the Epistles of St. *Paul*, and the *Psalms*, in which he endeavours, particularly to explain the Historical sense of them. We have in the *Catena* upon St. *Matthew*, published by *Corderius*, and printed at *Antwerp*, in the Year 1642, some Fragments attributed to this *Theodorus*: But one cannot be certain upon the Credit of this *Catena*, that they are truly his.

## TRYPHILIUS.

**T**ryphilius, Bishop of a City in the Isle of *Cyprus*, called *Ledra*, was, according to St. *Jerome*, one of the most eloquent Writers of his Age; and was in great Reputation under the Reign of *Constanti-*

us. St. *Jerome* had read his Commentary upon the *Canticles*, and says, That he wrote many other Books that never came to his Hands.

## HELIODORUS.

**G**ennadius informs us of this Author, in this manner. 'Heliodorus a Priest, has written a Book of the nature of Principles, wherein he shews, That there is but one Principle only; That there is nothing Eternal, but God; That God is not the Author of Evil; That all he does, is good: That he created the Matter which the Malice of Men makes use of to do Evil; That

nothing was created without him, and that he having foreseen that Nature would become subject to Corruption by Sin, he forewarned Man of this Punishment.

I have read nothing else that concerns this Author. *Gennadius* places him among those Writers that lived in the time of *Constantius*.



# DONATUS, and Vitellius and Macrobius his Disciples.

*Donat. and Vitell. and Macrobi.*  
**S**T. Jerome places among the Number of Ecclesiastical Writers, *Donatus*, Head of the Party of the *Donatists*, in *Africa*; which in all probability is to be understood of the Bishop of *Carthage* (a). He says, That he wrote many Books concerning his own Sect; and a Book of the Holy Spirit, whose Doctrine was agreeable to that of the *Arians*. St. *Augustine* has wrote a Book against a Letter of this *Donatus* (b), and he assures us in his Book of Heresies, That he was an eloquent Writer. *Gennadius* mentions two other Authors of the same Party: The first is *Vitellius*, who wrote, says he, a Book to defend his Party, upon this Argument, *That the Servants of God are hated of the World*. This Book (adds he) contained excellent Doctrine, if he had not treated the Catholics as Persecutors. He has written

also against the Gentiles, and against the Catholics, who, as he pretends, basely betrayed the Holy Books in the time of Persecution. There are some other Writings of his, which concern the Discipline of the Church. He flourished under *Constantine*, the Son of *Constantine*.

The second is *Macrobius*, a *Donatist* Priest, who is mentioned in the Writings of *Optatus* (c), who was afterwards sent to *Rome*, to be Bishop there of those of his Party. He wrote before his Separation, a Book directed to Confessors and Virgins; which is a Book of Morality, and contains very useful Instructions, chiefly, to teach one to live in Inviolable Chastity. He flourished in *Africa*, among the Catholics, and at *Rome* among the *Donatists*.

*Donat. and Vitell. and Macrobi.*

(a) Which is to be understood of the Bishop of Carthage.] There were two *Donati* of the same Party, as St. *Austin* observes, B. I. *Retract.* ch. 12. The first was *Donatus* Bishop of *Casa nigra*, or *Calame*, who never was Bishop of *Carthage*, whatever *Albaspinaus* says, and the second *Donatus* was Successor to *Majorinus*, against whom St. *Austin* wrote a Book, called a *Discourse against the Epistle of Donatus*; which was written by the latter *Donatus*, for he composed that Epistle which St. *Austin* refutes; and confirmed the Faction of the *Donatists* by his Eloquence.

(b) St. *Augustine* has wrote a Book against a Letter of this *Donatus*.] *Lib. I. Retract.* ch. 21. I have written, says he, a Book a-

gainst the Epistle of *Donatus*, who was Bishop of *Carthage*, next after *Majorinus*, wherein he pretends, that the Baptism of *Jesus Christ* is not valid out of his own Communion.

(c) Who is mentioned in the Writings of *Optatus*.] B. II. p. 37. Ye say, says he, speaking to the *Donatists*, That ye have many of your Party in the City of *Rome*; This is a Branch of your Error, which proceeds from a Lye, and cannot come from the Root of Truth: And if it be demanded of *Macrobius*, what See he belongs to, he may say that he belongs to the Chair of St. *Peter*, which perhaps he never saw. How can he enter into the Church where the Sepulchres of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* are? Did he ever offer to do it?

## St. ANTHONY.

*St. Anthony.*  
**S**T. *Anthony*, who was the first Institutor of a Monastick Life, was born towards the year 250, in *Egypt*: His Parents, who were Christians, and very considerable for their Nobility, took great care to educate him in Piety: He was not instructed in human Learning, neither had he any Commerce with the World. His Father and Mother dying when he was but eighteen years old, left great Riches to him and his Sister: But a little after, he took up a Resolution of forsaking the World entirely; and then he distributed his Inheritance to his Neighbours, sold his Moveables, and gave the Price of them to the Poor, and so retired into a solitary Place towards the year 270. The first place of his Retreat, was a Cell near his own Village, and after that, he shut himself up in a Sepulchre that was more remote; but at last, he passed over the *Nile*, and retired into the Ruins of an old Castle, where he stayed near twenty years. But he was forced to come forth from thence, towards the year 305, to govern those that came to put themselves under his Conduct. About this time, the Number of those that followed him, encreasing daily, several Monastries were begun to be built in the Deserts, to which St. *Anthony* was as a Father. His Charity obliged him to go out of his Solitude, during the Persecution of *Maximinus*, and to come to the City of *Alexandria*, that he might assist the Christians which suffered for *Jesus Christ*. But the Persecution was no sooner ended, but he returned to his Monastery, where he betook himself to his former Exercises, and wrought many Miracles, for delivering those that were possessed, and curing those that were sick. But these extraordinary Actions drawing after him a great multitude of Persons, who troubled his Retirement; he withdrew to the remotest Part of the Mountains, and there built a Cell, or a little Monastery upon Mount *Colzim*, about a Day's Journey from the *Red-Sea*. He lived long in this Solitude, out of which he went nevertheless from time to time to visit his former Disciples, who looked upon him always as their Father. In a word, after he had acquired an immortal Fame here on Earth, he went to receive the Reward of his Labours in Heaven, in the 19th. year of the Reign of *Constantine*, i. e. in the year 356, being the 105th. year of his Age.

These are the principal Circumstances of the Life of St. *Anthony*, taken out of the History of his Life, attributed to St. *Athanasius*, which one may read if he has a mind to know those things more particularly. But this is not the Place to insist upon them, for we consider him neither as a Monk, nor as a Saint, but only as a Writer. And one may say, with all the Respect that is due to him, That in this Capacity, he was much less famous, and less known; for as he had not studied at all, so he could not undertake to write any great Books; but the quickness of his Wit, might furnish him with Pieces of less Consequence, such as Letters, Exhortations and Answers, so that no Writings but of these sorts are attributed to him.

St. *Jerome*, says, That he wrote in the *Egyptian* Tongue, seven Letters to several Monastries, which come near, says he, to the Opinions of the Apostles, and their manner of Writing; and these have been translated into Greek, but we have nothing of them at present, but a Latin Version, which is attributed to one *Sarrasius*. The First of these Let-

ters is, concerning Vocation; the Second, concerning the Snares of the Devil, and the means of avoiding them; the Third is, concerning the Blessings of God towards Mankind; the Fourth, concerning the Incarnation of *Jesus Christ*; the Fifth, concerning Christian Vigilance; the Sixth concerning the Knowledge of one's self, and the Necessity of the Incarnation; the Seventh and Last, is also concerning the Knowledge of our selves; and he Concludes with an Advertisement against *Arius*. Of these Letters, there are Six address'd to the *Arifoxites*, (i. e. to the Monks of one of his Monastries, which was at *Arifinoe*) tho' St. *Jerome* speaks but of one that was directed to them. These are all written with much Candor; the Thoughts and Expressions indeed are something elevated, but the Air is simple and without Ornament. There a Man may find a great deal of Piety, and many Excellent Counsels, especially for those persons that make profession of a Monastick Life. In short, 'Tis obvious to every one that reads them, that the Writer was a much better Christian, than a Scribe; one that understood better the Maxims of Christianity, than the Precepts of Eloquence, and was much more fill'd with the Unction of the Holy One, than with Human Science and Learning.

St. *Athanasius*, or the Author of the Life of St. *Anthony*, which is attributed to this Father, sets down a long Exhortation of St. *Anthony* to his Monks, which contains many Instructions very useful for them, and wholesome Advices about the Temptations of the Devil. There are also found in this Writing, ingenious Answers of the same Saint to the Philosophers, and some other Persons, and a Letter to the Emperor.

There is moreover a short Rule attributed to St. *Anthony*, set down in the Collection of Rules made by St. *Benedictus Anianensis*, who liv'd towards the Year 820, from the birth of *Christ*, which contains many Moral Precepts, and prescribes some Monastical Observations. Besides these, *Gerard Vossius* has given us under the Name of St. *Anthony*, a Sermon, which is a Declamation against the Vices and Excesses of the Men of the World, at the End of which he Exhorts Men to do Penance, by representing unto them the Judgment of God, and the Pains which the damned suffer after the Resurrection. 'Tis hard to say, whether this Discourse be truly St. *Anthony's*, or whether it be only put out under his Name, as a Discourse that would agree exactly to one so retir'd from the World as he was. Be that as it will, it has much of the Style of this Saint's Letters, though more Elegant and Sublime.

Lastly, There were two Books of Latin Sermons, attributed to St. *Anthony* in the time of *Trithemius*; but now all the Criticks agree, that they are none of his; neither can be, since they cite St. *Basil*, St. *Gregory Nyssen*, St. *Chrysostom*, St. *Nilus* and *Photius*, Authors that liv'd and wrote after St. *Anthony*. The Letters of St. *Anthony* were printed apart, and are since inserted into the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. His Rule is in *Benedictus Anianensis's* Code, publish'd by *Holstenius*, from the Copy of Manuscript; (which was in the Monastery of St. *Maximin*, near *Triers*) [at *Rome* in 1661.] and reprinted in *Quarto* at *Paris*, by *Billaine* in 1663.



## St. PACHOMIUS.

St. Pachomius.

**T**Hough St. *Anthony* was the Institutor of a Monastic Life, yet St. *Pachomius* ought to be consider'd as the Author of a Coenobitick Life, because he was the first that appointed regulated Societies. He was Born in *Thebais*, of Gentile Parents, and did for some time bear Arms in the War of *Constantine* against *Maxentius*. When this War was ended, he, who had been always a Christian in his Heart, was baptiz'd, and retir'd with an Hermit nam'd *Palemon*, under whose Conduct he led a very austere Life. He stay'd afterward in *Tabenna*, a Country of *Egypt*, situated on the Brink of the Nile in the Diocess of *Tentyra*, where he Founded a Monastery, in Obedience, as is believ'd, to the Addition of an Angel, and in Conformity to a Rule, which he is thought to have received from it. Be this as it will, (for though this Story be related by many Authors, I do not think that any Man is absolutely oblig'd to believe it :) Be this as it will, I say, the Monastery which he Founded in *Tabenna*, was fill'd in a very little time, and he was oblig'd to build many more of them; so that he peopl'd all the *Upper Thebais* with Monasteries of his Order. 'Tis reported in the Greek Acts of his Life, publish'd not long since in the great Collection of the Lives of the Saints by *Bollandus* and *Papebrochius*, that he was accus'd at a Synod of *Diospolis*, because he Divin'd the most secret

Thoughts of Men; but he was Absolv'd by the same Synod. where were two of his Disciples, after he declar'd that God of his Grace reveal'd to him the most hidden things. He died about the Year 400. We have in the Life of St. *Pachomius* a Rule which is thought to have been given him by the Angels; but there is another also which bears the Name of this holy Abbot, in the Collection of the *Oriental Rules*, in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, and at the End of some Editions of *Cassian*, which is much larger, and seems to have been drawn up at different times. It contains many Rules concerning the Habits, the Diet, the Employments and the Discipline of Monks: 'Tis thought to have been translated by St. *Jerome*, and there is at the beginning, a Letter which imitates the Style of this Father well enough. There are also some Moral Precepts publish'd under his Name, by *Gerard Vossius*, printed at *Mentz* in the Year 1604. And in *Benedictus Anianensis's* Collection, there are Eleven Letters (a) of the same Author, written with much Simplicity, which are cited by *Gennadius*; and a Letter of *Theodorus* his Disciple, concerning *Easter*. *Gennadius* calls St. *Pachomius* a Man truly Apostolical in his Discourses and Actions: His Rule is very Judicious, and comes down to all the Particulars necessary for the Government of a Monastery.

(a) *Seven Letters.*] These were written, as *Gennadius* observes, to the Superiors of the Monasteries of his Community, who are design'd by the Letters of the Alphabet; there is One to the Abbot *Hyrus*, One to the Abbot *Cornelius*, One to all the Superiors, to advertise them to come and Celebrate the Feast of *Easter*, at a Monastery call'd in the Egyptian Tongue

*Batum*, and this is cited by St. *Cyril of Alexandria*, in a Letter cited by *Bucherius*: There is another to the same persons, giving them notice to meet on the Day of Remission, i. e. at the General Chapter, which was held in the Month of *August*; and another to the Brethren, who were gone out of the Monastery to Work.

## ORSIESIS.

Orsiesis.

**O***rsiesis* was Successor to *Pachomius* after *Petrionius*, who govern'd the Monastery of *Tabenna* but a few days. He has written a Spiritual Treatise of the Doctrine or Institution of Monks, which he left when he was Dying to the Religious of his Monastery. 'Tis an Exhortation that he made to them to Watch over themselves, and to discharge their Duties exactly, and

is fill'd with many Passages of Scripture, which he applies to his Subjects very properly. Upon this account 'twas that *Gennadius* said that this Treatise was season'd with Divine Salt, *Divino sale conditus*. 'Twas printed apart by *Gymnicus* at *Cologne* in the Year 1536. and afterwards inserted into the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. 'Tis found also in *Benedictus Anianensis's* Code, that was publish'd by *Holfstenius*.

## THEODORUS.

Theodorus.

**T***heodorus* a Presbyter, one of the Principal Disciples of St. *Pachomius*, and his Successor in the Government of the Abby of *Tabenna*, if we believe *Gennadius*, wrote Letters to other Monasteries, which are almost wholly made up of Passages of Scripture: and yet there he often mentions his Master St. *Pachomius*, and proposes his Example and Doctrine for their

Instruction. He admonishes also some Religious to continue with Zeal in their Vocation, and exhorts those that were separated from the Society of others to a Re-Union. *Gennadius* says, that there were three Letters on this Subject, but we have only one Extant, which concerns the Assembly of Monks at *Easter*, and that, as we have already said, is in the Abbot of *Anian's* Code.

## The MACARII.

The Macarii.

**T**Here are several Hermits of this Name, that liv'd much about the same time, and who are easily confounded, if one does not take heed. The First is he that dwelt in the Desert of *Sceta*, and liv'd in the time of St. *Pachomius* and *Orsiesis*, and was *Evagrius's* Master: He was an Abbot in *Egypt*, and his Feast is kept on the 15th. of *January*: He was call'd the Young Old-Man, because he had in his Youth the Judgment and Gravity of an Old-man. The Second *Macarius*, Abbot in *Thebais*, was the Disciple of St. *Pachomius*, and his Feast is kept on the 12th. of *January*. 'Tis commonly believed, That the First of these *Macarii* was the Disciple and Interpreter of St. *Anthony*, mention'd by St. *Jerome* in the Life of *Paul* the Hermit: But *Possinus* the Jesuit maintains with great probability, that the Disciple of St. *Anthony* was different from both these two; and he proves it, because he was one of these two Disciples, who stay'd with St. *Anthony* in his Solitude Fifteen Years, and interr'd him; which cannot be said of the First *Macarius*, who died in 390, after he had been 60 Years a Monk of *Sceta*.

There is yet a 4th. *Macarius*, a Monk as well as the other three, but Younger than they, who wrote at *Rome* about the beginning of the 5th. Century, a Treatise against the Mathematicians. This is he to whom *Ruffinus* address'd his Apology for *Origen*, and of whom St. *Jerome* says to *Ruffinus* in his 2d. Apology, *If you had not come from the*

*East*, this able Man had been still among the number of Mathematicians; And in his 16th. Letter, He had been Truly a Master. There are many Books which bear the Name of *Macarius*, and 'tis not known to which of the three they belong. These are, First, Fifty Greek Homilies, translated by *Picus*, printed at *Paris* in *Octavo* in the Year 1559, and printed since in *Folio* in the Year 1623, with St. *Gregory Thaumaturgus*. There is also an Edition in *Octavo*, printed at *Francfort* in 1594, with the Translation of *Zacharias Paltrenius*, and they are inserted into the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. Secondly, seven Tracts, publish'd in Greek and Latin by the Jesuit *Possinus*, in his Book, entituled, *Thesaurus Asceticus*, or the *Ascetical Treasure*, printed at *Tholouse* in the Year 1684. Thirdly, a Rule publish'd by *Roverius* from a Manuscript of the Abby of *Becco*, and in the Collection of the Abbot of *Anian*; where there is also another Rule written by way of Dialogue between *Serapion*, *Paphnutius*, and the two *Macarii*, which had been before publish'd at the End of *Cassian*, in the *Antwerp* Edition of the Year 1578.

*Gennadius* assures us, that *Macarius* the Egyptian, i. e. the Elder, who was a Monk of *Sceta*, wrote only one Letter to the young Monks, wherein he teaches that Man can perfectly serve God, when knowing his Nature, he does voluntarily embrace all sorts of Labour, and resists all that is most Charming in this Life, to try the Aids that God has given him:



The Macarii. him; and in short, when by keeping himself pure, he arrives to that degree of Continnence, that it becomes as it were natural to him. The Subject of this Letter comes near to those Principles which are found in the Tracts and Greek Sermons that bear the Name of *Macarius*; which would make me believe that they were his, if *Gennadius* had not assur'd us, that *Macarius* the Egyptian wrote but one Letter only, which he mentions. We must therefore say, either that *Gennadius* was mistaken, or that he intended another *Macarius*; or lastly, That the Author of these Works, was that *Macarius*, who was the Disciple and Interpreter of St. *Anthony*, supposing with *Possinus*, that he was not *Macarius* the Egyptian.

However, the 50 Homilies appear to me to be very Ancient; they are Exhortations to the Religious, and not Sermons to the People. The first contains an Allegorical Explication of the Vision of the Cherubims related by *Ezekiel*, which he applies to the state of Man's Soul in this Life. The 2d. is of the Kingdom of Darkness; that is to say, of Sin; from which he maintains, that Man could not be deliver'd but by the Grace of Jesus Christ, and by the Gifts of the Holy Spirit. In the 3d. he recommends to the Brethren to live in Peace, not to condemn one another; to pray continually, and to purify their outward Man by fighting against the Temptations of the Flesh and the Devil. He says in this Homily, That 'tis in our power to resist and fight, but God only can pluck up Sin by the Roots; And that as a Man cannot See without Light, speak without a Tongue, Hear without Ears, Walk without Feet, Labour without Hands; no more can a Man be sav'd without Jesus Christ. In the 4th. he shews, That in order to Improvement in Virtue, we must renounce the World, that we may obtain the Love of the Holy Spirit, which is absolutely necessary for the Sanctification of Mankind. He teaches in this Homily, That Angels and Souls are very thin and subtle Bodies, which was an Error very common among the Antient Monks. In the 5th. he describes the difference between the Life of this World and that of Christians. The 6th. is of Prayer, where he says, That it should be made in silence, with Peace and Tranquility; That we must not throw forth confused Cries, but having God before our Eyes, we must pray with Attention, and with a Mind full of holy Thoughts. At the end of this Exhortation, there are two Questions and Answers touching some passages concerning the Incarnation of Jesus Christ. The 7th. and 8th. are Questions and Answers about many Difficulties. All which shew, that these are not Homilies to the People, but the Exhortation of an Abbot to his Regulars, who had propos'd to him the Difficulties they might meet with, to be resolv'd in them. There are some of these Questions more curious than solid, and the Answers are often very Mystical. Those of the 8th. are about Prayer. In the 9th. he shews, that none can deliver himself from Temptations, but by fixing his Mind entirely upon God. In the 10th. he says, That though a Man be improv'd in Virtue, yet he ought to consider himself as one that has done nothing, and then he ought to reach forth after God with greater fervour, lest he lose the Holy Spirit by Pride or Laziness. The 11th. and 12th. contain very obscure Reflexions concerning the Fall of Mankind, and the Mercies of Jesus Christ; and in the latter part there are Questions and Answers of very little use. In the 13th he says, That since the coming of Jesus Christ, God requires of Men greater Holiness than before. In the 14th. he discourses of the Reward of Christians. The 15th. has no particular Subject. It begins with a Reflexion upon the Obligation that lies upon Christians to honour Jesus Christ with Purity and Faithfulness: and after this it contains many Questions, whereof the First is concerning the Resurrection; viz. If a Man shall rise with all his Members; and the rest concerning Concupiscence, and the Inclination to Sin, that is found in all Men. He is of opinion, That 'tis a kind of Fire kindled in a Man, which inflames, as one may say, all his Parts; That a Man may resist it, but that to do it aright, he must watch continually over himself, and always fight against it. He says, That those who resist their Passions, receive the Holy Spirit, and the Grace which Jesus Christ has merited for them; but they ought to take good heed, that they be not lifted up with Pride, and that they continue in Humility and Contempt of themselves, as being accountable to Jesus Christ for the Grace they have received; and capable of falling from that State of Holiness in which they are, unless they preserve themselves in it, by the virtue of Humility, which he calls the Sign and infallible Mark of a Christian. In the 16th. he says, That a Man ought always to live in Fear, because he is always expos'd to Temptations; That even those that have not yet received Grace, ought so to behave themselves, as to do Good and forsake Evil by Natural Motives; but those who have receiv'd it, need not such kind of Motives, because this Grace producing Love in their Hearts, makes that become sweet and pleasant, which appear'd rough and uneasy, and makes that appear easie which was thought before to be impossible. In the 17th. he treats of the Spiritual Unction, and the state of the more Perfect Christians, and makes it appear,

that notwithstanding any Holiness they have acquired, they ought always to fear, because they are always in a Capacity of falling away. In the 18th. he declares the marvellous Effects of the Gifts of the Holy Spirit in the Soul of a Spiritual Man. In the 19th. he explains the degrees through which a Man ought to pass to acquire perfection; That he ought first to use his utmost natural endeavours to do good, and then God, seeing him strive after this manner, gives him the grace of Prayer, by which means he obtains all Virtues. In the 20th. he says, That none but Jesus Christ can cure the Soul that is wounded by the Sin of *Adam*, and therefore we must address our selves to him by Prayer, that he would give us his Grace. The 21st. is of the War that Men are obliged to make against their Vices and their Passions. In the 22d. he describes the terrible difference between the latter End of the Just and the Wicked; and says, that at the hour of Death the Souls of the Just are received by Angels and conducted to the Lord; but those of the Wicked are encompassed by Devils, who draw them down with themselves to Hell. The 23d. is of the Victory which a Christian ought to gain over his Passions. The 24th. is of the Necessity of the Grace and Influence of the Holy Spirit, to make us capable and worthy of Eternal Life. He continues the same subject in the 25th. wherein, after he has prov'd, that we cannot shun all the occasions of Sin, nor resist all our Passions, without the assistance of the Grace of Jesus Christ, he makes a lively Representation of the state of the Men of this World, and describes the wonderful Effects which the Coelestial Fire of the Holy Spirit produces in our Souls. The 26th. contains many Questions and Answers, concerning the Temptations of the Devil and the effects of Grace. The Author there teaches, That Man is restored to his Primitive Dignity by the Holy Spirit; that the Devil cannot tempt us any further, than God permits him; That Grace changes the Affections of the Heart; That the Devil knows some part of our Thoughts, but there are others unknown to him; That Grace and Charity have no bounds, and we ought never to say that we have arrived at the highest degree of Perfection; That the Soul goes immediately after Death to that place on which its Love was placed during this Life; That the good which may be done by Natural Strength, can never save a Man without the Grace of Jesus Christ; That we ought always to attribute to him all the good we do, and to say, If God had not assisted us, we should neither have Fasted, nor Prayed, nor forsaken the World: And that God seeing us attribute to him the Actions which may be done by our Natural Powers, has liberally bestow'd upon us the Spiritual, Heavenly, and Divine Gifts of his Grace; That the Actions which are done without Grace, may be Good, but they are not perfect. In the 27th. after he has first considered the Dignity of a Christian, he then Answers to many Questions about the Effects of Grace: He says, that no Man shall ever arrive at the Top of Perfection in this World; That whatever state they are in, whatever Grace they have, they are always capable of sinning; That the strongest Grace does not hinder the Will from following after Evil, because the Nature of Man, as long as he is in this World, is changeable, and that though God has bestowed very singular Grace upon Christians, they ought nevertheless to work out their own Salvation with Fear and Trembling. In the 28th. he deplores the state of that Soul where Jesus Christ dwells not at all, because of Sin. In the 29th. he says, that God gives his Grace after two different manners; That he prevents some with it before they have us'd their own endeavours, and bestows it upon others after they have laboured a long time; and then shews what Reason we have to admire the Goodness and Wisdom of the Divine Conduct both towards the one and the other. In the 30th. he shews, That if the Holy Spirit does not produce within us the Love of God, we cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. In the 31st. He exhorts Men to Prayer, That they may obtain the change and renovation of their Heart. In the 32d. he says, that we cannot certainly know whether we be in a state of Grace as long as we are in this World, because we are always tormented with the Motions of Lust, but at the Day of Judgment, those who belong to God shall be made known. The 33d. is of the Attention and Fervour we ought to have in Prayer. The 34th. is of Eternal Glory. The 35th. is of the state of a Soul which God has delivered from Evil Thoughts, which he calls a new Sabbath. The 36th. is of their different degrees of Glory, who shall rise again from the Dead. In the 37th. he proves, that many who have thought themselves Just, were not really so; and that those who believed themselves to be arrived at the highest degree of Perfection, have oftentimes fall'n into Sin. I pass over the 38th. because that is entire among the little Tracts of *Mark* the Hermit. In the 39th. he says, 'Tis to no purpose to read the Scripture, if we make no Improvement by it. In the 40th. he proves, That there is a concatenation of Virtues one with another, and that there is the same in Vices: He answers also three Questions, and in his Answers, he says, That there are different degrees of Damnation, and that greater Sinners shall be more punished, than those that have not committed so



The *Macarii*. great Crimes; That the quiet State of some Souls does not hinder them from exercising Charity; That Grace and an Inclination to Sin may be found together in one and the same Soul at the same time. In the 41st. he describes the Improvements of Grace in a Soul, and makes it appear, that none can preserve this Disposition of growing in Grace without Humility. In the 42d. he says, that nothing but the Actions of Men can be hurtful or useful unto them. In the 43d. he speaks of the different Improvements of those that strive against Sin, but 'tis so obscure, that hardly any thing can be understood in it. The 44th. is of the Change that Jesus Christ wrought in us, and the manner how he heals our Souls: He continues the same Subject in the following Homily, and explains by many Comparisons, the Union of the Soul with God. In the 46th. he says, That a sick Soul may have recourse to a Physician, to pray and request his Help, and when the Heavenly Physician comes to its assistance, he joyns himself to it, to enlighten and conduct it, and make it his Spouse. The 47th. contains many Allegorical Explications of the Law of *Moses*, which he applies to the different States of the Soul. In the 48th. he says, That those who have a true Faith of Heavenly Things, ought not to have their Affections fixed on things of this Earth; and that those who retire from the World, ought not to be solicitous or anxious about the things thereof: In short, he would not have the Monks to make use of any Medicines to help them in their Diseases, but to put their whole trust in Jesus Christ. In the 49th. he shews, that it is not enough to have abandoned the World, but we must also ardently seek after Eternal Happinels. In the 50th. and last, he observes, That God was the cause of all the Miracles which the Saints wrought, and from this remark he draws a Moral Reflection, that we cannot command the Devil but by the Assistance of God, and the Power of the Holy Spirit. He adds, That he that considers his Infirmary, his Weakness and Wounds, and does not withal consider the Aids of the Holy Spirit which strengthens him, is an Indiscreet Man: And on the contrary, He that so much thinks upon the Divine Aids as to forget his own Weakness, and so fancies that he can never fall, does miserably deceive himself. After this manner does this Author always reconcile these two Fundamental Doctrines of Grace and Free-Will, that we ought always so to labour, as if the whole depended upon our own Endeavours, and yet to acknowledge that we can do nothing without God. And if Men had always contented themselves with this simplicity without nice Philosophical Enquiries, How many Questions had been ended without Noise! How many Differences composed! What Disputes had been Abolished! What Arguments superseded! How many Books had been stilled! But to return to our Author; there are besides Seven Spiritual Treatises of his, which have been published in Greek and Latin by *Possinus*: The 1st. is concerning *Watching over our Heart*; The 2d. *Of Perfection of Mind*; the 3d. *Of Prayer*; The 4th. *Of Patience and Discretion*; The 5th. *Of the Elevation of the*

*Mind*; The 6th. *Of Charity*; The 7th. *Of the Freedom of the Spirit*; and *Apothegms of the Fathers*. 'Tis plain, that the Author of the 50 Homilies is the Author of these Treatises; for there is the same Genius in them both. He has the same Notions, and the same Stile. He discourses after the same manner of Grace and Free-will, and he maintains in these Seven Treatises, as well as the Author of the Homilies, That Angels and Souls are Bodies. But 'tis not so certain that these are the Works of *Macarius* the Disciple of St. *Anthony*; and I think 'tis more probable, that they were made by a later Monk. Whoever was the Author, his Stile is simple, and one may see that he was a Good Hermit, who speaks from his Heart without Affectation and Ornament, and oftentimes even without Order. He allegorizes all, and expresses a great many mystical Thoughts which are very hardly intelligible, and for the most part makes use of Comparisons which are not just and fit. In a Word, some things have escap'd which cannot altogether be reconciled to good Sense; so difficult a thing it is in Spiritual Matters not to wander sometimes!

The Rules which bear the Name of *Macarius*, are of another Author; Those that are found under the Name of *Macarius* only, in *Benedictus Anianensis's* Code, are attributed to *Macarius* of *Alexandria*, i. e. the Abbot of *Nitria*, Disciple of St. *Pachomius*, and Master of *Evagrius*. There is a certain passage in them which seems to be taken out of St. *Jerome's* Letter to *Rusticus*, which makes me think, either that this was added, or that St. *Jerome* imitated St. *Macarius*. However, this Rule is ancient, and is cited by the Author of the Life of St. *Philibert*, who says, that this Saint read the Rules of St. *Macarius*, St. *Benedict* and St. *Columbanus*. The other Rule which is found in the same Code, composed by the two *Macarii*, St. *Serapion*, and St. *Paphnutius*, is made in the Form of a Dialogue, and probably is nothing else, but some Conferences of theirs, which some Monks had gather'd together: as the two Rules which follow in the same Code, are a Collection of the Speeches of 34 Abbots. There is also found a Rule in the same Code which bears the Name of the Abbot *Isaiah*, which is proper for Hermits, and especially younger Regulars. 'Tis full of Moral Precepts, and therefore had the Title of, *The Precepts and Advices of the Abbot Isaiah*. This Abbot is probably he Whom *Ruffinus* and *Palladius* mention and calls the Abbot of *Syria*. There is also under the Name of the same *Isaiah*, some *Remarks upon a Religious Life*, published by *Possinus*. At the same Time there lived one *Mark*, a Hermit, who dwelt in the Desert of the *Cells*, and lived almost an Hundred Years, to whom some Books are attributed, which probably belong to another *Mark* who lived long after.

I shall say nothing at present of the Discourses, the Answers, and Admonitions of the other Hermits of this time, because they may be seen in *Ruffinus*, *Palladius*, and other Authors who have written their Lives.

## SERAPION Bishop of Thmuis.

*Serapion*  
Bishop of  
*Thmuis*.

WE must not confound this *Serapion*, whom we now write of, with the famous *Serapion* Abbot in the Territory of *Arfinoe*, though he was a Monk and Abbot as well as the other; but this *Serapion* was Ordain'd towards the Year 340. Bishop of *Thmuis* a City of *Egypt*, in the province of *Scete*, by St. *Athanasius*, as we find in his Epistle to *Dracontius*. St. *Jerome* says, That this Bishop deserved the Name of a Scholar because of his Eloquence; that he was St. *Anthony's* Friend, and had the honour to be a Confessor under *Constantius*, that is to say, to suffer for the Defence of the Faith of the Council of *Nice*, and the Innocence of St. *Athanasius*. 'Tis probable, that 'tis he, whose Name is read among the Sub-

scriptions of the Letter from the Council of *Sardica*. 'Tis he also who wrote to St. *Athanasius* about the Death of *Arius*, as we learn by the Answer of this Father, which is directed to him. St. *Jerome* says, that he Wrote a Book against the *Manichees*, a Treatise of the Titles of the *Psalms*, and many very useful Letters: we have no more extant, but his Treatise against the *Manichees*, published by *Cassianus*, wherein he proves, That Vice or Evil, is not a Substance, and that our Nature is not Evil of it self: Which he proves chiefly, because many very wicked Persons do afterwards become very Pious and Virtuous. This is the Subject of this little Treatise. The Arguments in it are very Solid, but the Stile is very Simple and without Art.

## EUSEBIUS EMISENEUS.

*Eusebius*  
*Emisenus*.

THIS *Eusebius*, was of *Edeffa*, a City of *Mesopotamia*, of a Considerable Family. He had Learned from his Infancy the Holy Scriptures according to the Custom of his Country, and then he studied the Greek and Human Learning, and came to *Palestine* to perfect himself in the knowledge of the Scripture; he was the Disciple of *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea*, and of *Patrophilus* of *Scythopolis*. The *Eusebians* would have chosen him Bishop of *Antioch*, after the Deposition of *Eustathius*; and afterwards would have placed him in the See of *Alexandria*, in the room of St. *Athanasius*, but he would not accept of these contested Bishopricks. He was afterwards Ordained Bishop of *Emesa*, near Mount *Libanus*, but the People made so great Resistance against him, that he was forced to retire to *Laodicea*, where he was well received by *George*, Bishop of that Church, who re-established him in *Emesa*. He was very dear to *Constantius*, who carried him with him, to the *Persian*

War. He died in the Year 359. when his Successor, *Paul* of *Emesa*, assisted at the Council of *Seleucia*, as we learn from St. *Epiphanius*. He is placed in some Martyrologies, among the number of Saints. St. *Jerome*, gives this account of the Writings of this Bishop: '*Eusebius*, Bishop of *Emesa*, who was well skilled in Rhetorick, and had the Air of an Orator, wrote an infinite number of Books; he applied himself chiefly, to give the Historical Sense of Scripture; And therefore those who would learn to Preach, read his Books with great Attention.' His principle Pieces were against the *Jews*, against the *Gentiles*, against the *Novatians*, Two Books of Commentaries upon the Epistle to the *Galatians*; and many short Homilies upon the Gospels. *Theodoret*, has preserv'd in his third Dialogue, Two Fragments, to prove that the Divinity of Jesus Christ did not suffer, which are taken out of some of those Books that we have already spoken of; and there are in the Greek *Catena's* upon the Scriptures,

*Eusebius*  
*Emisenus*.



Eusebius  
Emisenus.

Scriptures, several Fragments which are attributed to *Eusebius* of *Emesa*. The Homilies which we have at present under his Name, are none of his, though they are cited under his Name in the *Eleventh Century*, by *Guitmondus*, and in the *Twelfth*, by *Gratian*, but they were all written by some Latin Authors, much later than *Eusebius* of *Emesa* (a); some of them by *St. Eucherius*, others by *Faustus Rhedonensis*, and *Casarius* of *Arles*, and many other French-men.

(a) But they were all Written by some Latin Authors, much later than *Eusebius* of *Emesa*.] The Style is of a Latin Author that understood no Greek; and it appears by the Homilies of *St. Blandina*, *Epiphodius*, *Alexander* of *St. Genes*, that the Author was a Frenchman. There is a Sermon of *St. Maximus* the Second Abbot of *Lerins*, which mentions also *St. Honoratus* Abbot of *Lerins*, and afterwards Bishop of *Arles*, who

*Petrus Diaconus*, Library-Keeper of *Mount-Cassin*, attributes these Homilies upon the Gospels, and upon the Feasts of *Eusebius* the several Seasons, and of the Saints of the Year, to *Bruno*, Bishop of *Signi*; and this is confirmed by the Catalogues in the Manuscripts of the *Vatican*, and *Mount-Cassin*, where these Homilies are attributed to the same Author. They were published by *Gagnens*, and Printed apart, and also in the Fifth Volume of the *Bibliotheca Patrum* at *Cologne*.

lived after the Death of *Eusebius* of *Emesa*. There is also a Sermon of the Rogation-Days instituted by *St. Mamertus*. The Author calls himself the Disciple of *St. Maximus* Abbot of *Lerins*, which makes me believe that these Sermons belong to *St. Eucherius* of *Lyons*, under whose Name they have been printed. The Author of the Homilies about *Easter* opposes the Heretick *Pelagius*, and cites *St. Gregory the Great*.

## BASIL of Ancyra.

Basil of  
Ancyra.

**B**asil was ordained Bishop of *Ancyra*, in the year 336, by the Bishops of *Eusebius*'s Party, in the Room of *Marcellus*, whom they had already Deposed: He was Excommunicated, and his Ordination declared void in the Council of *Sardica*, but yet he continued still in the Possession of his See: He disputed against *Photinus* in the Council of *Sirmium*, in the year 351, and there confounded that Heretick. He was one of the greatest Enemies to the *Arians* or *Anomæans*, that is to say, to those that openly defended the Opinion of *Arius*, and maintained, that the Word was not at all like to the Father: But he was look'd upon, as the Head of that Party, which was afterwards called *Semi-Arians*, who refusing to acknowledge, That the Son was Consubstantial with the Father; affirmed, That he was like him in all things, and even in Substance. *Basil* maintained this Opinion stoutly, and caused it to be established by the Authority of a Council, which was held at *Ancyra*, in the year 358. He defended it at *Seleucia*

and *Constantinople*, against the Intrigues of the *Eudoxians* and *Acacians*, who Deposed him in the year 360, after they had charged him with many Crimes. *St. Jerome* informs us, That *Basil of Ancyra*, wrote a Book against *Marcellus* his Predecessor, a Treatise of Virginity, and some other little Pieces. We have nothing of his extant; but his Conduct and Actions, discover him to have been a Man of Wit, eloquent, and well skilled in Theology. Tho' he is said to be the Head of that Party, who were called *Semi-Arians*, yet 'tis not certain that he was a Heretick; on the contrary, *St. Basil* speaks of him as a Catholick Bishop, and *St. Athanasius*, confesses in his Book of Synods, That *Basil of Ancyra*, and those of his Party, did not differ from them that professed the Consubstantiality, but only in Words; and therefore *St. Hilary* and *Philastrus* call the Bishops of the Council of *Sirmium*, that was held against *Photinus*, whereof *Basil of Ancyra* was the Chief, Orthodox and Holy Bishops.

Basil of  
Ancyra.

## LIBERIUS.

Liberius.

**L**iberius succeeded Pope *Julius* in the See of *Rome*, in the year 352. He protests in one of his Letters, That 'twas much against his Will, that he was promoted to this Dignity. In the Fragments of *St. Hilary*, there is a Letter attributed to this Pope, which was written to the Bishops of the *East*, soon after his Elevation to the Pontificate, wherein he acquaints them, That he had sent to *St. Athanasius*, three Priests of the Church of *Rome*, *Luke*, *Paul*, and *Ælianus*, to cite him to *Rome*, that Judgment might be given about his Cause, according to the Discipline of the Church; that he had also directed another Letter to him, wherein he acquaints him, That in case he did not come to *Rome*, He would declare him Excommunicated from the *Roman* Church. He adds, That these Priests being returned, and having informed him that *St. Athanasius* refused to come, he had followed the Judgment that the *Eastern* Bishops gave against him; That he would communicate with them, and all the Bishops of the *Catholick* Church; That on the contrary, *Athanasius* was fallen from his Communion, as well as from that of the *Roman* Church, and from all Correspondence with it by Letters.

This is the Substance of this Letter attributed to *Liberius*, which would not be much for his Advantage, if it were really his: But I think, 'tis very probable, that he never wrote any such thing, and that this Epistle was forged by him that made the Collection of the Fragments of *St. Hilary*. For first, is it any ways credible, that *Liberius* should Excommunicate *St. Athanasius*, without any Cause, and without any Regard to the Judgment of his Predecessor, or to that of the Council of *Sardica*?

Secondly, the Author of this Letter says, That the *Eastern* Bishops had written to *Julius* against *St. Athanasius*, without mentioning the Judgment which this Pope gave in his Favour.

Thirdly, *St. Athanasius* never complains that *Liberius* had Excommunicated him before he was banished; but on the contrary, he supposes, That he was always for him, till he subscribed in the place of his Banishment.

Fourthly, the Words of *St. Hilary* which follow this Letter, have no Connexion with the Contents of it, and plainly shew, That he refers to a quite different Letter: The Words are these; (*Is not this a very Holy Letter? What does it contain in it that proceeds not from a Spirit full of the Fear of God? But Potamius and Epictetus, desiring to condemn the Bishop of Rome, as is said in the Synod of Ariminum, would not obey him; and though Fortunarianus sent this Letter to many Bishops, he lost his labour.*) Now is it credible that *St. Hilary* should so commend a Letter that contained the Condemnation of *St. Athanasius*? What he adds, does yet more clearly prove what we have said, and confirm our Opinion.

(They would rather prejudice their own Interests, and hazard all, than refuse Communion to *St. Athanasius*, or reflect upon the Authority of the Council of *Sardica*, which had absolved him. The Egyptians wrote to *Liberius*, that he should maintain Communion with *St. Athanasius*, as they had formerly written to *Julius*, to desire him, that he would restore him to it.) These Words plainly discover, that *Liberius* had not Excommunicated *St. Athanasius*, since the Egyptians do not desire him, as they had formerly done *Julius*, to restore him to Communion, but only to maintain Communion with him. *Qualis ad Julium pridem de reddenda exulanti Communionem, talis nunc, ut de subjectis intelligitur, datæ sunt de tunc.*

Liberius.

Fifthly, *Liberius* himself is a Witness, That he never Excommunicated *St. Athanasius*. For in his Letter to *Lucifer*, where he gives an Account of what happened about the Cause of this Saint, at the Beginning of his Pontificate, he says, that the Bishops of the *East* had written Letters against him, that he had not suppressed them, as he was accused, but had read them in Council, and yet gave no Credit to them: *Quæ fides & sententiam non commodavimus nostram: (Which we did neither believe nor approve)* because he at the same time received Letters from 75 Bishops of *Egypt*, in behalf of *St. Athanasius*. Does not this plainly shew, That the Letter which we now speak of, was none of *Liberius*'s, since it supposes, that he believed the Letter from those of the *East*, and Excommunicated *St. Athanasius*?

Sixthly, if *Liberius* had Excommunicated *St. Athanasius* at the beginning of his Pontificate, would not the Officers of *Constantine* have alledged this as a Reason to make him subscribe to his Condemnation? And how could he have maintained so stoutly as he did, That the Church of *Rome* had always held him innocent?

Seventhly, Tho' *Liberius* should have concealed or suppressed this Letter, while he was of *St. Athanasius*'s Party; yet would he not have produced it immediately after he had signed against him? For then he could have no Interest to conceal it, but on the contrary, was obliged to publish it: And yet even then he confesses, that he was always of *St. Athanasius*'s side. (*Because Julius my Predecessor of happy Memory, received St. Athanasius into his Communion, I was afraid, lest I should have passed for a Prevaricator, if I should have condemned him; but as soon as I understood that you had justly condemned him, I followed your Judgment.*) Does not this plainly shew, that *Liberius* did not condemn *St. Athanasius* at the beginning of his Pontificate, but that on the contrary, he did always protect him, upon the Authority of his Predecessor?

Lastly, There are some Expressions in this Letter, that were not used till after *Liberius*'s time.



Liberius.

From all which, I conclude it to be false, that *Liberius* did write this Letter, or Excommunicate *St. Athanasius*. On the contrary, immediately after he was exalted to the Pontificate, he wrote to him a Letter of Communion. The Bishops of the *East* wrote to him against this Saint, and those of *Egypt* for him. He read their Letters in a Synod, where 'twas decreed that Communion must be continued with *St. Athanasius*, as it had always been in the *West*. This happened towards the end of the year 352, or at the beginning of 353, before the Defeat of *Magnentius*. After the Death of this Tyrant, *Constantius* convened a Council at *Arles*. *Liberius* sent thither *Vincentius* of *Capua*, in his Name, together with *Marcellus* a Bishop in *Campania*, and gave them Order to entreat the Emperor, That he would call a Council at *Aquileia*. These Bishops were so far from being steadfast, that they suffered themselves to be imposed upon, and subscribed to the Condemnation of *St. Athanasius*, together with all the other Bishops of the Council, excepting only *Paulinus* Bishop of *Triers*: *Liberius* understanding this, sent *Lucifer Calaritanus*, with *Pancratius* a Priest, and *Hilary* a Deacon, to carry a Letter to the Emperor *Constantius*, wherein after he had given an Account of what we have already said concerning every thing that had been done since the beginning of his Pontificate, in the Cause of *St. Athanasius*, he prays him to order the Examination of this Affair in a free Council; upon Condition that they should begin with confirming the *Nicene Creed*. He gave to the same Deputies a Letter of Recommendation, addressed to *Eusebius Vercellensis*; and indeed, he wrote two other Letters to him, one of Recommendation, and another of Thanks. About the same time, he wrote also to *Hosius*, and other Bishops concerning the Lapse of *Vincentius* of *Capua*. Immediately after, the Council of *Milan*, held in the year 355, which was not more favourable to *St. Athanasius*, than that of *Arles* had been before. *Liberius* wrote an elegant Letter to *Eusebius Vercellensis*, *Denys* and *Lucifer* then in Banishment, wherein he praises them for their Constancy, and testifies to them, That he was ready to suffer the same Persecution for the same Cause. He says, he knew not whether he should be grieved for their Absence, or rejoyce for their Glory; which he observes to be greater than that of former Martyrs, because these suffered only the Torments of their Pagan Persecutors, but they endured the Injuries of their false Brethren. He prays them to assist him with their Prayers, That God would give him Grace to bear with Patience and Constancy, the Tryals that he was threatened with. And indeed, a little after, *Constantius* perceiving that there was none almost left but *Liberius*, who justified the Innocence of this Saint, and desiring to confirm his Condemnation by the Authority of the Bishop of *Rome*, sent an Eunuch thither, who urged him to subscribe to the Condemnation of *St. Athanasius* to no purpose; for all the Answer he could get from him, was, That he should call a free Council in some place, that was distant from the Court, where there should be neither Guards nor Officers; That this Council should begin with making a Profession of the Faith, as it had been explained in the Council of *Nice*; That it should

drive away all the *Arians*, and anathematize their Error, and then afterwards should examine the Cause of *St. Athanasius*. The Emperor having received this Answer, sent an Order to the Governor of *Rome*, to surprize *Liberius*, and send him to Court; which Order was executed. And when he was in the Emperor's presence, he spoke to him with no less Constancy, than he had done at *Rome* to his Eunuch. We have his Answers in *Theodoret*, in *B. II.* of his *Hist. Ch.* 16. wherein he discovers an unconceivable Firmness of Mind, in refusing to subscribe to the Condemnation of *St. Athanasius*. *Constantius* objected to him, That he had been condemned by all the World; and, says he, *You are the only Bishop in the World, that justifies an impious Disturber of the Peace*; to which he answered with great Constancy, *Tho' I were alone, yet the Cause of Faith is nevertheless good, for at another time there were found but three young Men that disobeyed the Orders of the King*. After this, he prayed him, that he would call a Synod; but withal desired, That before they should proceed to examine *St. Athanasius's* Cause, he would make all the Bishops subscribe the *Nicene Creed*. *Constantius* being enraged against *St. Athanasius*, as supposing him the Cause of that Eumity which his Brother *Constans* had against him; *Liberius*, as to this, answered him wisely, *You ought not, Sir, to make use of Bishops, to revenge your Quarrels; for the Hands of Ecclesiasticks, ought not to be employed, but only to bless and to sanctify*. At last, *Constantius* threatening him with Banishment; *I have already*, says he, *bid adieu to my Brethren at Rome, for the Ecclesiastical Laws are to be preferred before my Living there*. Three Days time were given him to consider of it, and because he did not change his Opinion in that time, he was banished two Days after to *Berea*, a City of *Thrace*. The Emperor, the Empress, and the Eunuch *Eusebius*, offered him Money to bear the Expence of his Journey, but he refused it, and went away cheerfully to the place of his Banishment. The Clergy of *Rome* having lost their Head, took an Oath to choose no body in the Room of *Liberius*, as long as he was alive: But *Constantius*, by the Management of *Epiphanius*, Bishop of *Centumcella* in *Italy*, procured one *Felix* a Deacon to be ordained Bishop, who was himself also one of them that had sworn not to chuse a Bishop in the Room of *Liberius*. *St. Jerome*, says, That *Acacius* had a hand in this Ordination. *St. Jerome* and *Socrates* accuse this *Felix* of *Arianism*; but *Theodoret* and *Ruffinus*, say, That he was not an *Arian* in Doctrine, but only communicated with that Party. However, all the Ancients agree, That this Ordination was not lawful (a); and some late Authors, are very much to be blamed for putting this Man in the Catalogue of Popes, and yet they have far less Reason to place him among the Holy Martyrs in very many Martyrologies (b).

But *Liberius*, who had given Proof of so great Constancy in time of Peace, could not long endure the Tedioufness of Banishment; for before he had been two years in it, he suffered himself to be over-perswaded by *Demophilus* Bishop of that City, to which he was banished, and did not only subscribe the Condemnation of *St. Athanasius*; but he also consented to an Heretical Confession of Faith (c); whether it was the

Liberius.

(a) However, all the Ancients agree, That this Ordination was not lawful. *St. Athanasius*, in his Epistle to those that lead a Monastick Life; says, that he was ordained in the Palace without the Consent of the People, or the Election of the Clergy, by *Epiphanius*, in the Presence of three Eunuchs, and three Bishops, who were rather Spies than Bishops; that the People would not permit him to enter into the Church, and withdrew themselves from his Communion. *St. Jerome* says that he was an Antipope. *Optatus* and *St. Austin* in the Catalogue of Popes, make no mention of *Felix*, but place *Damasus* immediately after *Liberius*. And certainly *Liberius* being a lawful Bishop, another could not be ordained in his Room. And whereas 'tis supposed, that after his Lapse he fell from his Bishoprick; This can never make the Ordination of *Felix* valid, which was null from the Beginning: Besides *Liberius* was not deposed after his Fall, but on the contrary was always acknowledged as a lawful Bishop, and continued in the Possession of his See with the Consent of all the Bishops of the Catholick Church.

(b) They have far less reason to place him among the Holy Martyrs in very many Martyrologies. His Festival is kept on August 4th. *Mombritius* was the first that published his Life, and after him *Balufius* put forth a more correct Edition of it. There was a Dispute about the Saintship of *Felix*, among the Correctors of the Roman Martyrology in the time of *Gregory*; and 'tis said, there was then found an old Inscription in the Church of *St. Cosmus* and *St. Damian*, expressed in these Words: *The Body of St. Felix Pope and Martyr, by whom Constantius was condemned*. But the Life of this *Felix*, and these Monuments are Apocryphal: For, first they suppose that *Constantius* put him to Death; But 'tis evident by the Testimony of *Marcellinus* the Presbyter, that *Felix* survived *Constantius*. 2. How could it possibly be, that neither *St. Athanasius*, nor *Hilary*, nor *Lucifer*, &c. nor any other of the Ancients should ever speak one Word, either of the Condemnation of *Constantius* by *Felix*, or the Martyrdom of this Pope? 3. The Acts of *Mombritius* relate, that *Constantius* was condemned for being twice baptized by *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*: But 'tis manifest from the Testimonies of *St. Hilary*, and *St. Lucifer*, that *Constantius* was a Catechumen, and was not baptized till about the latter end of his Life, by *Euzoius*, as *St. Athana-*

*sius* relates in the Book of Synods. The Authority of these Martyrologies is of little worth, as well as that of *Anastasius* the Library-Keeper. The Inscription found in the Church of *St. Cosmus*, and *St. Damian* is an Argument of little weight.

(c) Consented to an Heretical Confession of Faith. *Baronius* and many others maintain, that he subscribed only the first Creed of *Sirmium* which was not Heretical: But if this had been so, *St. Hilary* who approved this Creed, had never called that which was signed by *Liberius*, *The Perfidiousness of the Arians*, and anathematized *Liberius* so often upon the Account of his Subscription. *St. Jerome* says also, that *Liberius* was forced to sign Heresie, and all the Ancients speak of the Fall of *Liberius*, as the Approbation of the Heresie of the *Arians*, which made *Faber*, *Blondel* and *Petavius* think that *Liberius* subscribed the second Creed of *Sirmium*. But this Opinion has its Difficulties; for *St. Hilary* says, that the Creed signed by *Liberius* was composed by 22 Bishops, which were for the most part Eastern; and that the second Creed was made by *Potamius* and the Western Bishops. *Basil* is reckoned among those that approved the first, and condemned the second Creed of *Sirmium* as soon as it appeared. In short, *Liberius* returned not from his Exile, till after the Council of *Ancyra*; in which, the Eastern Bishops had already thrown out the second Creed of *Sirmium*. What Probability is there then, that they should offer it to him to sign? To answer these Difficulties and clear up this Matter, we must observe, that *Demophilus* caused *Liberius* to sign or approve a Creed while he was in Exile, different from that which he signed after his Return to *Sirmium*; that the Creed which *Demophilus* presented to him, was made at *Sirmium* by many Bishops, *qua*, says *Liberius* in his Letter, *Sirmium à pluribus Fratribus, et Coepiscopis nostris translata et suscepta est*: Words which can be understood of none, but the second Creed of *Sirmium*, which begins thus; *Cum nonnulla putaretur esse de fide discrepatio, diligenter omnia apud Sirmium tractata sunt et discussa, presentibus sanctissimis Episcopis*: And therefore we must say, that the Creed which *Liberius* approved in his Exile was the second of *Sirmium*: For *Demophilus* was an *Arian*, and of the Party of *Ursacius* and *Valens*, who maintained the second Creed of *Sirmium*. It was for this Reason that *Eudexius* and *Actius* spread a Report that *Liberius*

First



*Liberius.* First or Second Confession of *Sirmium*, is disputed among the Learned. Whichsoever 'twas, he did certainly write one Letter of Communion to the Bishops of the *East*, wherein having declared *St. Athanasius* to be cast out of his Communion, and acknowledged his Approbation of that Confession of Faith which *Demophilus* presented unto him, he desires them to use their Interest and Prayers with the Emperor, to obtain his Deliverance from Banishment, and Restoration to that Church which God had entrusted him with. He wrote also at the same time two Letters, which contained for the most part the same things, one to *Ursacius* and *Valens*, and the other to *Vincentius* of *Capua*; which are preserved amongst the Fragments of *St. Hilary*.

After these Letters, *Liberius* quickly obtain'd his Desires; for the Emperor being satisfied, sent immediately for him to come to *Sirmium*, where he found Deputies of Bishops from the East and from the West. There was held a kind of a Council, which made a Collection of all the Creeds that had been approv'd by the *Semi-Arians*, wherein the Son was declar'd like unto the Father in Substance. These Creeds *Liberius* was oblig'd to sign, and then was sent back to *Rome*, with a Letter from the Synod directed to *Felix*, importing that *Liberius* and he should govern the Church of *Rome* as Co-partners. But *Liberius* was no sooner return'd thither, but *Felix* was forc'd to depart, and when afterwards he endeavour'd to return by Force, he was driven away with disgrace.

Now *Liberius* seeing himself in peaceable Possession of his See, as he had Subscrib'd against his will to the Condemnation of *St. Athanasius*, and the Creeds of the *Arians*, so he quickly repented of what he had done, made Profession of the *Nicene* Creed, and reconcil'd himself to *St. Athanasius*. He wrote one Letter to all the Bishops of the World in the Year 362, wherein he would have all those Bishops pardon'd, who through surprize, had approv'd of the Error of the *Arians*; but he absolutely Anathematizes the Heads of their Party, and those that would not return from their Error. This Letter is set down in the Fragments of *St. Hilary*. At last the *Semi-Arians* seeing themselves overpowered by the *Anomeans*, who had more Interest in the Emperor *Valens*, had recourse to *Liberius*, and sent to him, in the Year 366, *Eustathius* of *Sebaste*, together with *Sylvanus* and *Theophilus* Bishops of *Cilicia*, who presented him with Letters from the Council of *Lampascus*. *Liberius* at first would not receive them, because, he said, they were of *Arius's* Faction; but they perswaded him that they would retract that Error, and profess that the Son is perfectly like his Father, and of the same Substance; yea, they made Profession of the *Nicene* Creed it self: approv'd the word *Consubstantial*, and condemn'd the Creeds of *Ariminum* and *Selencia*. *Liberius* having exacted of them these Declarations, wrote into the East in their favour; and he died within a little time after in the Year 366 (d). The History which we have now given of *Liberius*, informs us of the number of Letters that were written by this Pope, as well as the time, the occasion and subject of every one of them: And therefore it will be sufficient here to give a Catalogue of

them, and to mark out those that are falsely attributed to him; and in doing of it, we shall follow the Order that is observ'd in the 2d. Volume of the last Edition of the Councils.

The 1st. is that which was written to *Hofius* upon the Lapse of *Vincentius* of *Capua*, publish'd by *Baronius*, and taken from a Manuscript in the *Vatican*. This appears to me to be Genuine, and agrees with the History of that time.

The 2d. is a Letter to *Constantius*, at the End of *Lucifer's* Works, and in the Fragments of *St. Hilary*.

The three following to *Ensebius Vercellensis*, are taken out of the Acts of this Bishop, and appear to me to be Antient.

The 6th. to the Confessors in Exile, is in the Fragments of *St. Hilary*, and in the Acts of which we have spoken already.

The 7th. which was written to the Eastern Bishops after he had sign'd against *St. Athanasius*, is taken out of the Fragments of *St. Hilary*, and is very Genuine.

The 8th. is that which is suppos'd to have been written to those in the East, immediately after his Advancement to the Pontificate, wherein he declares *St. Athanasius* Excommunicated: But we have shewn that 'tis very doubtful, though it is in the Fragments of *St. Hilary*.

The 9th. written to *Ursacius*, to *Valens*, and *Germinius*, and the 10th. to *Vincentius* of *Capua*, from the place of his Banishment, after he had sign'd, are Genuine, and taken out of the Fragments of *St. Hilary*.

The 11th. written to the Bishops of *Italy* after the Council of *Ariminum*, is unquestionable, and is preserved in the same place.

The 12th. which is a Confession of Faith address'd to *St. Athanasius* is Supposititious, as we have already prov'd when we discours'd of the Works of that Father, among which it occurs.

The 13th. which is suppos'd to be that which *Eustathius* and the other Deputy-Bishops from the East, obtain'd of *Liberius*, and presented to the Synod of *Tyana*, agrees very well with the History of that time.

The 14th. and 15th. ought to be rank'd among those Letters that are forg'd by *Isidore*; and are rejected by all the Critics.

The three Decrees attributed to this Pope, have not any respect to the Discipline of his time, nor have they any Authority.

The Conference (e) which he had with *Constantius* and *Epictetus*, is preserved by *Theodoret*, B. II. of his *Hist. Ch.* 16. and was by him drawn out of the Antient Acts written in *Liberius's* time.

The Style of *Liberius* is Simple and without Ornament, but strong and clear. His Conduct unblameable, if he had not suffer'd himself to be overcome by the Love which he had for the City of *Rome*, and his Church: But he made amends for that Fault by the Constancy which he shew'd after his Return.

*rius* was of their Opinion, and *Liberius* himself wrote to *Ursacius* and *Valens*, that he was of their Judgment; but being afterwards called to *Sirmium*, where he found *Basil* of *Ancyra*, *Eleusius*, and the other *Semi-Arian* Bishops, who a little before had condemn'd the *Arians* in the Council of *Ancyra*, he and those other Bishops signed a Book, which contained the Creeds of *Antioch*, the first of *Sirmium*, and those other Creeds that asserted the Son to be like unto the Father, and were obliged to condemn those that said he was unlike to him. See *Sozomen* B. IV. ch. 15. of his *Hist.* Nevertheless it may be objected, That the second Creed of *Sirmium* was not made by *Basil* and the other Eastern Bishops; but that which was presented to *Liberius* by *Demophilus*, was made by these Bishops as we are assured by the Fragments of *Hilary*. To this I know of no other Answer but by saying, that the Names of these Bishops were added by the Author who made these Extracts out of *St. Hilary*, who has put in the Margin, *Inquirendum, i. e. we must enquire if these were the Bishops*: Which plainly discovers, that he was not certain of it, but might set down those Names at a venture. This is what I thought myself oblig'd to say of this Question, which is very difficult and

famous, though of no great use: [Though it is of no great Importance for us to know who precisely were the Bishops that drew up the second *Sirmian* Creed; yet it is of great Moment to know whether that or the Creed of the first Council of *Sirmium* were signed by Pope *Liberius*: Our Author who knew the thing was too gross to be quite omitted, shuffles it off at last as if it had been a Critical Question, only started at first to employ the Learned: But when the ablest Advocates of the Church of *Rome* have confessed, that an *Arian* Creed was deliberately signed by one of its Bishops, they must also own that this destroys Infallibility effectually: And *St. Hilary's* Carriage, who declaim'd against *Liberius's* Apostacy with all the Warmth that he usually employed upon such Occasions, shews how the Orthodox Bishops of that Age, thought a Bishop of *Rome* might be treated, when guilty of a Crime which they thought equal to that of denying the Faith in the times of Paganism.]

(d) He died in the Year 366.] *St. Jerome* and *Marcellinus* say so in their Chronicles.

(e) The Conference.] 'Twas rather an Examination which *Liberius* under-went in the Emperor's Council.

## ST. HILARY.

*St. Hilary.* *St. Hilary* was born in the City of *Poitiers* (a), where of he was afterwards Bishop. He was bred up in the Heathen Religion, and applied himself in his Youth to the Study of Profane Learning: He was Married, and had one Daughter nam'd *Apra* (b). The Re-

fections which he made upon the Falseness of the Gentile Doctrines, did by little and little conduct him to some Improving Knowledge of the Truth, which he completed by Reading the Holy Scriptures, as he himself tells us, at the Beginning of his Books concerning the Trinity. After he

(a) *W* As born in the City of *Poitiers*.] *St. Jerome* in his Preface to B. II. of his Commentaries upon the Epistle to the *Galatians*, says, that *St. Hilary* was a *Gaul* born at *Poitiers*: *Fortunatus* says also, that he was of that City. *Pistavis residens qua sanctus Hilarius olim Natus in Urbe Pater*. The Names of his Parents are not known; for we must not acquiesce in what *Bollandus* writes, that the Tomb of his Father and Mother were

found in a Village of *Poitou*, where his Father was nam'd *Francarius*: But there is some probability that he was of a good Family. We need not now distinguish this *Hilarius* from several others of that Name, of whom we shall speak afterwards.

(b) *Apra*.] The Author of the Life of this Saint which is attributed to *Fortunatus*, is the only antient Witness that we have of this Circumstance; who does also observe, that *St. Hilary*



was perfectly instructed in the Christian Religion. He was St. Hilary. Baptized, and probably his Wife and Daughter were converted with him. He liv'd several years after his Baptism, before he was made Bishop (c), but we know not any one particular Circumstance of his Life during all that time. He was Ordain'd Bishop of Poitiers some years before his Banishment; and immediately after he was promoted to that Dignity, he labour'd with all his might to Save the Flock which Jesus Christ had entrusted him with, by Preaching the Truths of the Gospel. Afterwards, when he saw that the *Arian* Heresie began to spread in France, he wrote Twelve Books of the Trinity against it (d), which he finish'd about the time that he was threatned with Banishment. He was sent by Order of the Emperor *Constantius* into Banishment, because he had defended St. *Athanasius* in the Council of *Beziere*, against *Saturninus* Bishop of *Arles*, and against *Ursacius* and *Valens*, who had been a little before Excommunicated by the Bishops of France; for being come to this Council, which was Assembled by the intriguing of *Saturninus*, he desir'd that Matters of Faith should be handled before all other things, and offer'd to convict *Saturninus*, *Ursacius* and *Valens*, of Heresie; But they were so far from accepting this Proposition, that they condemn'd St. *Hilary*, and wrote a Letter against him to the Emperor, who was then at *Milan*; whereupon he sent immediately an Order to Banish St. *Hilary* and *Rhodanus* Bishop of *Tholouse*. Nevertheless, there were no Bishops Ordain'd in their room; and so the Church of *Poitiers* enjoy'd Peace, and St. *Hilary* continued still to Govern it, and to Administer the Sacraments there by his Priests. The ordinary place of his Banishment was *Phrygia* (e); where he wrote his Treatise of Synods, which he dedicated to the Bishops of France, to inform them of the Opinions of the Eastern Bishops about the Trinity, and to instruct them how they should behave themselves in these two Synods, the expectation whereof held all the Church in Suspence. This Treatise was compos'd by St. *Hilary* after the Council of *Ancyra*, held in the Year 358, whose Canons he there explains, and before the Councils of *Ariminum* and *Seleucia*, that is to say, towards the Beginning of the Year 359. Sometime after he was sent to the Council of *Seleucia* by the Lieutenant of the *Præfectus Prætorio*, and by the Governor of *Phrygia*. Being arriv'd at that City, he was kindly receiv'd, and gain'd the good opinion and affection of every Body. First of all, he was requir'd to give an account of the Faith of the Bishops of France, because of the false Reports that the *Arians* had spread Abroad against them, which render'd them suspected of *Sabellianism*, and charg'd with believing that there was but one Person only in the God-head. But St. *Hilary* having declar'd his Faith which agreed with the *Nicene* Creed, gave an authentick Testimony of the Purity of the Faith of the Western Bishops: and so having remov'd the Jealousies they might have of his Doctrine, he was admitted to the Communion and Society of the other Bishops, and took his Place among those that were to vote in the Council. He assist'd there at the beginning; but seeing that the greater part of the Bishops were *Arians*, they would not suffer him to stay there any longer. Yet he continued still at *Seleucia* till the end of the Council, and followed the Deputies of the Council to the Emperor's Court, to receive the Orders that should be given him: But when he saw that the true Faith was in extream Danger, the Bishops of the West being over-reach'd, and those of the East over-powered, he desir'd Audience of the Emperor in three Petitions, (if we may believe *Sulpitius Severus*) which he publickly presented, That he might have leave to dispute for the Faith against his Adversaries. St. *Jerome*, mentions but one Petition, and indeed, of the three Papers which St. *Hilary*

having left his Daughter and Wife at *Poitiers* when he was banish'd, had a Revelation in the Place of his Banishment, that a rich and potent young Man courted his Daughter to marry her, but that he by his Prayers hindered her from taking any other Spouse but Jesus Christ, and that he wrote a Letter to her, which this Author recites. The same Author adds at the end of B. I. of the Life of St. *Hilary*, that returning from his Banishment, and finding that his Daughter desir'd to marry, he prayed God to take her out of the World; that his Prayer was heard, for his Daughter died, and her Mother surviv'd her but a very little time. This is reported by the Author of this Life, who liv'd soon after King *Clouis*, towards the Year 580, and who appears to be different from *Venantius Fortunatus*. St. *Gregory of Tours*, cites this Life without naming the Author of it; and so we must not wholly reject what he says, nor yet altogether build upon it.

(c) He liv'd several Years after his Baptism, before he was made Bishop.] In his Book of Synods, he says, that he was baptiz'd a long while before his Banishment, and but a little while before it he was made Bishop: *Regeneratus pridem, & in Episcopatu aliquantisper manens.*

(d) He wrote his Twelve Books of the Trinity against it.] Some have thought that they were written in his Banishment; but the Preface alone, which is the Beginning of the First Book, discovers that these Books were written before that time: For after he has there described his Conversion he observes that

lary presented to *Constantius*, there is none but the Third, wherein he desires Audience. This he presented towards the End of the Year 359, and the Second Paper also about the same Time. The *Arians* seeing themselves attacked by so powerful an Enemy, procur'd him to be sent back into France, yet without releasing him wholly from his Banishment. As he return'd, he pass'd through *Italy*, and entered France in the Year 360. It was in his Journey, or a little after his Return, that he address'd his Third Discourse to *Constantius*, which is commonly plac'd First. St. *Jerome*, says, That he Wrote it after the Death of this Emperor: But it appears by the Discourse it self, that it was compos'd Five Years after St. *Hilary* withdrew from the Communion of *Saturninus*; and after the Banishment of *Lucifer*, *Eusebius* and *Paulinus*, which discovers that it was in 360, and so before the Death of *Constantius*; and yet 'tis probable, that it was not published in the East, till after the Death of this Emperor, which made St. *Jerome* believe, that it was not written till that time. It was about the same time, that he compos'd his Treatise against *Ursacius* and *Valens*, which contained the History of the Council of *Ariminum* and of *Seleucia*; from whence part of these Fragments are taken which have been published by themselves. The whole Book consists of two Parts; The First is taken out of a Book of St. *Hilary*, which he wrote during the time of Persecution, and before the Death of *Constantius*, as the Preface sufficiently discovers. This First Part begins at P. 430. and ends at 466. of the *Paris* Edition in the Year 1652, and it contains the Transactions that happen'd to the end of the Councils of *Ariminum* and *Seleucia*. The Second part taken out of another Book, begins at P. 466, and contains what pass'd afterwards. When the Catholick Bishops afterwards recovered their Liberty under *Julian* the Apostate, St. *Hilary* assembled many Councils in France for the Re-establishment of the Antient Faith, and the Condemnation of the Synods of *Ariminum* and *Seleucia*. In them he procur'd the Condemnation of *Saturninus* Bishop of *Arles*, who oppos'd his Design, as well as *Paternus* Bishop of *Perigueux*. As to the other Bishops who acknowledged their Fault, they were pardoned; and all the World must own, says *Sulpitius Severus*, that our France was oblig'd to St. *Hilary* alone for its happy Deliverance from Heresie. He extended also his care as far as *Italy*, if we believe *Ruffinus*, and took a great deal of pains to re-establish the Faith there, by visiting the Churches, and causing them to reject the Errors of the Hereticks. *Eusebius* of *Vercelle* found that St. *Hilary* had prevented him in this Employment, and *Ruffinus* makes no scruple to say, that St. *Hilary* laboured with more Diligence and Success than he (because he was of a sweet and mild Disposition, and withal of great Learning, and every way qualified for persuading: Nisi quod Hilarius, vir natura lenis, placidus, simulq; eruditus, & ad persuadendum commodissimus, rem diligentius & aptius procurabat.) An excellent Remark, which may serve for an Instruction to those who are employed in the Conversion of Hereticks: The same Historian adds, (That St. *Hilary* compos'd Books concerning the Faith, which were nobly written, wherein he clearly discovers the Artifices and Tricks which the Hereticks us'd to deceive the too-Credulous and simple Catholicks.) Lastly, *Ruffinus* relates in his Book concerning the Corruption of *Origen's* Works, That St. *Hilary* having wrote a Book to chastise those that had signed the Creed of *Ariminum*, his Book was so corrupted by the Hereticks, though he knew nothing of it, that he was accus'd in a Synod of being an Heretick, and forced to depart from it as an excommunicated Person. But I do not think we ought to take this Relation for certain, because 'tis no ways probable that the Faith of St. *Hilary* about the Trinity,

soon after his Ordination the *Arian* Heresie was spread in France, and immediately he took Pen in hand to confute their Impious Doctrines. What he says in the tenth Book, does also prove that he was not banish'd, but only threatned with Banishment when he wrote it, *Sed licet, says he, nunc à multis coactantibus sibi secundum desideria sua Magistros sana doctrina exulet*, (which is plainly meant of the Banishment of *Paulinus* of *Triers*, *Eusebius* of *Vercelles*, and *Lucifer Calaritanus* banish'd after the Council of *Milan*) non tamen à Sanctis quibusq; Prædicationis Veritas exulabit. Loquemur enim exules per hos libros, & Sermo Dei qui vinciri non potest, liber excurret, &c. Where he speaks of his Banishment as a thing that was future and had not yet come to pass, but which was quickly to follow after the Banishment of *Paulinus* and others: From whence it appears that this tenth Book was written between the Council of *Milan* and that of *Beziere*.

(e) The ordinary Place of his Banishment was Phrygia.] St. *Jerome* in his Catalogue, and *Sulpitius Severus*, B. II. of his Hist. do testify this, as well as the Author of the Life of St. *Hilary*. *Theodoret* B. III. ch. 4. says, That *Hilary*, *Eusebius* and *Lucifer* were in *Thebais*, when *Julian* permitted the exil'd Bishops to return to their Sees. This is true of the two last, but not of the First, for he was then in France. St. *Hilary* himself says, in his Book of Synods, that he was in the Provinces of *Asia*.

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could be suspected by the Western Bishops. In the Year 364, an occasion offered it self (f) wherein St. Hilary shew'd his zeal for the Truth. The Emperor *Valentinian* being come to *Milan*, published an Edict, wherein he obliged all the Catholics to acknowledge *Auxentius* for their Bishop. St. Hilary being persuaded that this Bishop was in his Judgment an *Arian*, presented a Petition to the Emperor, wherein he declared, that *Auxentius* was a Blasphemer, whose opinions were contrary to those of the Prince and other Catholics. The Emperor being mov'd by so sharp an Accusation, appointed a conference, in the Presence of the Treasurer, and the great Mr. of the Palace, between St. Hilary accompanied with Ten Bishops; and *Auxentius* at this Conference, after he had endeavoured to elude the Dispute, was obliged, under pain of losing his See, to profess that Jesus Christ was truly God, and of the same Substance, and the same Divinity as the Father. The Emperor thinking this Profession sincere, embraced his Communion, and St. Hilary, because he still continued to proclaim *Auxentius* a Heretick, who mocked God and Men, was driven out of *Milan* as a Disturber of the Peace of the Church. Being thus disabled to speak any more *Viva voce* against *Auxentius*, he wrote a Tract against this Bishop the next Year. In the Year 366, he Collected the Commentaries of all the Transactions, that had happened after the Council of *Ariminum*, as may be seen in the Second Part of the Fragments which is taken out of this Work, where you will find the Letters Written in 366.

At last, After he had endured so much Labour and trouble for the Defence of the Faith, he finished his course in the Year 367 (g).

Besides the Works of St. Hilary which we have already mentioned, because they have a respect to the History of his Life, he has also written other Books, some whereof are come to our Hands.

He wrote a little Tract against *Dioscorus* the Physician, and *Sallustius* the Prefect, wherein he has particularly shewn, says St. Jerome, in his Epistle to *Magnus*, how far his Learning and Eloquence could reach. This Book is not extant, yet 'tis very probable that 'twas written in Defence of the Christian Religion against Paganism.

He wrote several Commentaries upon the Scriptures, which are almost wholly taken out of *Origen*, whose Commentaries he caused *Heliodorus* to explain to him, if we believe St. Jerome: But it must be confess'd, that he followed more the Sense than the Letter of *Origen's* Commentaries, and that he added many things of his own, as the same St. Jerome has also observed. We have his Commentaries upon St. Matthew, we have also more of his Commentaries upon the *Psalms* than St. Jerome had seen; for this Father mentions only the Commentaries upon the 1st. and 2d. *Psalms*, upon the 51st. and those that follow until the 62d. and upon the 118th. and those that follow unto the last; and we have besides these Commentaries, the Commentaries upon the 14th. and 15th. *Psalms*, and upon 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, *Psalms*, which bear the Name of St. Hilary, and are written in his Style. But we have none of his Commentaries upon *Job*, which are cited by St. Jerome, whereof St. Austin relates a passage in his 2d. Book against *Julian*, to prove Original Sin.

There was also attributed to him in St. Jerome's Time, a Commentary upon the Canticles, but this Father says, that he had never seen it.

St. Jerome mentions also a Collection of Hymns, composed by St. Hilary; a Book Entituled *Mysteries*; and many Letters.

I place not the Letter and Hymn to his Daughter *Apra*, in the Number of St. Hilary's Works, because I doubt not but these Pieces were the Work of him that Wrote his Life, which are not at all like this Father's way of Writing: Some have attributed to him the Hymn *Pange Lingua*, and that of St. John the Baptist, *Ut queant laxis*; but without any ground: The Books of the Unity of the Essence of the Father and the Son, were Rhapsodies taken out of the Genuine Works of St. Hilary. St. Jerome in his Apology to *Pammachius*, speaks of a Book of St. Hilary address'd to *Fortunatus*, which was concerning the Number Seven. Some have confounded this Treatise with St. Cyprian's Books of Exhortation to Martyrdom, being address'd to a Person of the same Name. But that which St. Jerome attributes to St. Hilary, must be different from those of St. Cyprian; and therefore if there be no Mistake in this place of St. Jerome, we must say, that St. Hilary wrote a Treatise address'd to his Friend *Fortunatus*, concerning the myste-

rious Significations of the Number Seven. And this Work may very well be one of those Treatises of *Mysteries*, which St. Jerome mentions in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers.

The Twelve Books of the Trinity, composed by St. Hilary in Imitation of *Quintilian's* Books, as St. Jerome has observed, are an excellent Work, which contains the Explication and the Proofs of this Mystery. He has there established the Faith of the Church in a demonstrative Manner; he has clearly detected the Errors of the Hereticks, refuted them solidly and answered all their Objections: So that this is the largest and most methodical Work of any, that we have in all Antiquity upon this Subject.

The First Book is a Preface to the Whole, wherein he describes very pleasantly after what manner a Man arrives at Happiness, and the Knowledge of the Truth; and then gives an account of the Subject of the Eleven following Books. He begins with observing, that Happiness does not consist in Abundance, nor in Repose as common People imagine, nor yet in the bare Knowledge of the First Principles of Good and Evil, as many wise Men among the Pagans thought, but in the Knowledge of the true God. He adds, that Man having an ardent Desire after this Knowledge, meets with some Persons that give him low and mean Ideas, unworthy of the Divinity. Some would persuade him that there are many Gods of different Sexes: Others take the Representations of Men, of Beasts, and Birds, for Divinities: Others acknowledge no God at all; and some, in short, confess, That there is a God, but deny that he has any Knowledge, or takes any care of things here below. But the Reason of a Man discovers these Notions to be false, and so by the Light of Nature, he comes to know, That there can be but one God Almighty, Eternal and Infinite, who is in all places, who Knows all things, and Orders all things; and afterwards by reading the Books of *Moses* and the Prophets, where he found these Truths explained, he was fully convinced of them, and studied with the greatest application of Mind to know this Sovereign Being, who is the Fountain of all kind of Beauty and Perfection. Neither did he stop here, but upon further Enquiry, he came to understand, that 'twas unworthy of God to suppose, that Man to whom he had given so much Knowledge, should be annihilated for ever; for if this were true, to what purpose would his Knowledge serve, since Death would one Day deprive him of all Understanding? But then as on the one side, Reason discovers it to be fit, that Man should be Immortal; so on the other side the Sense of his present Weakness, and the Apprehension of Death, which he sees is unavoidable, fill him with anxious Fears. In this State he has recourse to the Gospel, which perfects all the Knowledge he had before, and resolves all the Doubts that yet remain with him. There he learns, That there is an Eternal Word, the Son of God, who was made Man, and came into the World to communicate to it the Fulness of Grace and Truth. This gives him hopes infinitely above all that he could have before, for now he presently perceives the Excellency and Greatness of these Gifts, by understanding, That since the Son of God was made Man nothing can hinder, but Men may become the Sons of God; and so when a Man joyfully receives this Doctrine, he perfects the Knowledge he had of the Divinity, by the Knowledge of the Humanity of Jesus Christ. He renews his Spirit by Faith, He acknowledges the Providence of one God over him, and begins to be fully persuaded, that he who created him, will not annihilate him. In short, he understands, That Faith is the only infallible means of coming to the Knowledge of the Truth; That it rejects unprofitable Questions, and resolves the captious Difficulties of Human Philosophy; That it judges not of the Conduct of God according to the Thoughts of Men, nor of that of Jesus Christ, according to the Maxims of this World; That 'twas by this Faith, (whereof the Law was only a shadow and Type) that Jesus Christ having raised our Minds to that which is most Sublime and Divine, prescribed to us, instead of the Circumcision of the Flesh, the Circumcision of the Spirit, which consists in the Reformation of our Lives, and the Renovation of our Hearts: That as we die to Sin in Baptism, that we may live a Spiritual and Immortal Life, so Jesus Christ died for us, that we might rise again together with him; and so the Death of him who is Immortal, procured Immortality to us Mortals. Now when once the Soul is fully possessed with these thoughts, she rests satisfied with this hope, without fearing Death, or being wearied of Life: For she considers Death as the beginning of Eternal Life, and

(f) In the Year 364, an occasion offered it self.] Baronius places this Conference in 369, which is a gross mistake, since according to the Testimony of all the Ancients, St. Hilary was dead before. Besides the Letter of *Auxentius*, which was written after this Conference, bears not the Name of *Gratian*, who was declared Emperor in 367, but only the Names of *Valens* and *Valentinian*. It appears by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, B. XXVI. that *Valentinian* came to *Milan* about the end of the Year 364, and went away soon after: And therefore this Conference must have been held in this Year.

(g) He finished his Course in the Year 367.] St. Jerome places his Death in this Year. *Sulpitius Severus* says, that he died Six Years after his Return into *Gaul*, and *Gregory of Tours* B. I. of his Hist. ch. 3. says, that his Death happened in the Fourth Year of *Valentinian*. These Two Dates fall out just in the same Year; for the one reckons six Years after the end of the Year 360, which reaches to the Beginning of 367, and the 4th. Year of *Valentinian's* Reign begun in the Month of February the same Year.



St. Hilary. looks upon this present Life, as the means of obtaining a happy Immortality.

These are the Steps by which St. Hilary guides the minds of Men to the Knowledge of Happiness and Truth, after he himself had arrived at it by the same Methods: For he does not deliver these things as curious and profound Discourses which he had meditated in his Study, but as the History of his own Thoughts, which by degrees carried him on to a perfect Conversion. Then he declares, that afterwards being ordained Bishop, as his Office obliged him to take Care of the Salvation of others, he preached the Truths of the Gospel; and at last, that the Heresie of the *Arians*, who would judge of the Almighty Power of God, by the weak Light of their own Reason, had obliged him to undertake the Defence of the Truth, and the Refutation of their Errors. After he has in a few Words explained the Faith of the Church, he admonishes the Reader, above all things, when he thinks of God, to divest his mind of the meanness of Human Opinions, and to judge of God according to the light of Faith, and agreeable to the Testimony of God himself. 'For, says he, the chief Qualification requir'd in a Reader, is, That he be willing to take the Sense of an Author from what he reads, and not give that Sense wherewith he himself is prepossess'd. He must take the meaning of the Author and not give him one of his own: He ought not to endeavour to find in the Passages which he reads, that which he presumed, ought to be found there before he read them; wherefore in Discoursing of God, he ought at least to be persuaded, that he knew himself, and so to embrace with Reverence, that Doctrine which he teaches us. He only can give an Account worthy of himself, because he is not known but from himself, and by himself. But if it happens says St. Hilary, that some Comparison, from Human Affairs be used in Discoursing of these Mysteries, we must not believe that they are just, or have a perfect Resemblance to them.' After this Excellent Advertisement, St. Hilary gives an account of the Subject of his Eleven Books of the Trinity, and finishes this First Book, with an Invocation of the Divine Assistance.

In the Second Book, he explains the Catholick Doctrine concerning the Three Divine Persons. He says, He should have permitted Christians to keep themselves to the Words of the Gospel, without diving further in the Mystery of the Trinity, if the Hereticks had not obliged them to explain it more clearly. 'The Errors and Blasphemies of the Hereticks,' says he, oblige us to do those things which are forbidden us, to search into those Mysteries which are Incomprehensible, to speak those things that are Ineffable, and to explain that which we are not permitted to examine: And instead of performing with a sincere Faith (which were otherwise sufficient) that which is commanded us, i. e. Worshipping the Father and the Son, and being filled with the Holy Spirit, we are obliged to employ our weak Reasonings to explain those things which are Incomprehensible; being constrained, if a Man may so say, by the fault of others, to commit this one our selves, lest we fall into the Error of those who have dared to give an Heretical Sense to the Words of Scripture; for that which makes the Heresie, says he, is not the Scripture, but the manner of Expounding it; 'tis the Interpretation that makes the Crime, and not the Words.' After this, he gives an Account of the Errors of the *Sabellians*, the *Ebionites* and *Arians*, to which he opposes the Faith of the Church. He says, that the Father who is the first Person of the Trinity, is the Fountain and First Principle of all Things, being Eternal and Infinite; and that the Word, who is the Second Person of the Trinity, is the Son begotten from all Eternity of the Father. He confesses, That this Generation is incomprehensible, and reproves those that endeavour to explain it. He asks them, if they can comprehend how they came into this World; how they received their Feeling, Life, Perception, Taste, Sight, Understanding, and the other Senses; How they can communicate them to others. (*Tell me, says he, O Man, if thou canst comprehend how all this is done; and if thou canst not comprehend it, with what Face dost thou demand an Explication of the Generation of the Son of God? Thou art so ignorant of what passes in thy self, Wilt thou be so insolent as to complain for not knowing what passes in God?*) And so, without insisting on the Explication of the Eternal Generation of the Word by Human Reason, he proves it by Holy Scripture, and confirms the Catholick Faith of the Divinity of the Word against all Heresies. He speaks occasionally of the Temporal Generation of the Son of God, that is to say, of the Mystery of the Incarnation. At last, he treats of the Holy Spirit, who is the Third Person of the Trinity, and maintains, That he is a Divine Person, distinct from the Father and the Son; he observes, That tho' the Name of Spirit be given sometimes in Scripture to the Father and the Son, yet in most places, it signifies a Person distinct from them both. He Discourses of the Effects and Gifts of the Holy Spirit; and says, that he Intercedes for us; That he Enlightens our understandings, and warms our Hearts; That he is the Author of all Grace, and of all Heavenly Gifts; That he will be with us until the end of the World; that he is our Comforter here while we

live in Expectation of a future Life, the Earnest of our future Hopes, the Light of our Minds, and the Warmth of our Souls. From whence he concludes, That we must beg this Holy Spirit, to enable us to do Good, and to persevere in the Faith, and keeping the Commands of God.

In the third Book, he proves the Divinity of the Son of God, by the Words of the Gospel of St. John, *I am in my Father, and my Father is in me*. He observes also, 'That the Generation of the Word is incomprehensible, as well as the most part of the Miracles of Jesus Christ; That human Reason cannot give an Account of it; and, That Jesus Christ was made Man, to preach this eternal Power to Men, and to make known his Father unto them; That in this sense, we must understand his Desire to be glorified, that he might glorify his Father, viz. That the Glory which the Humanity of Jesus Christ received and made appear unto Men, discovered the Dignity and Power of his Father.' He observes also, that the Birth of Jesus Christ, his Resurrection, his entering into the Room where the Disciples were, unseen, thro' the Doors, and the other Miracles of Jesus Christ, are no less above Reason, than his Eternal Generation. From whence he concludes, 'That the Nature and Operations of God, are above the Reason, Perception, and Understanding of Men; That we must acknowledge in these things, the Folly of Worldly Wisdom, and the Vanity of human Knowledge, and embrace that Heavenly Prudence, and Divine Wisdom, that seems to be Folly to the World.'

In the fourth Book, he describes the Errors of the Hereticks concerning the Consubstantiality of the Word; He opposes to them the Faith of the Church; answers the Passages which they alledge, and endeavours to prove the Divinity of the Word, by many Passages taken out of the Old Testament.

He continues the same Subject in the fifth Book, where he thinks, That 'twas the Word which appeared to Abraham, to Jacob, to Moses and the other Patriarchs, who is called an Angel, because of his Ministry, and not because of his Nature.

In the sixth Book, he proves, That Jesus Christ is the Son of God, by the Testimony of his Father; by his own Declaration; by the Preaching of the Apostles; by the Confession of the Faithful; by the Acknowledgment of the Devils and Jews, and by the Belief of the Gentiles. We must observe here, That in citing a Passage of the Epistle to the Romans, he appeals to the Greek Text, as to the Original.

In the seventh, He shews that the Son of God, is truly God. There he observes, That the Hereticks use very great Address and Subtily to maintain their corrupt Opinions which they falsely pretend to have from Religion; That they deceive the simple by their Expressions, which are Catholick in appearance; that they accommodate themselves to the Wisdom of this World; That they corrupt the true Sense of Scripture Expressions, by the Explications which they add, as it were to give an Account of what they say. He adds, That 'tis this which renders the Matter of the Trinity, a difficult Subject to treat on: (*For if on the one side, says he, I declare that there is but one God, Sabellius will think, that I espouse his Opinion: If I say, That the Son is God, the modern Hereticks will accuse me of admitting two Gods: If I affirm, That the Son is born of the Virgin, Ebion and Photinus will make use of this Truth, to establish their Impiety. But, says he, the Doctrine of the Church confounds all these Errors. The Power of Truth is so great, that even its Enemies explain it; that the more 'tis opposed, the more force it gains; and certainly, the Church was never more triumphant, than when it was most vigorously attack'd: It was never more famous, than when it was reproach'd: It was never more powerful, than when it seemed to be abandoned. She wishes, That all Men would continue in her Bosom, and she is never more troubled, than when she is obliged to throw any one out; and deliver him up to the Devil. But when the Hereticks go out from her, or when she casts them out, as she does on one side the occasion of giving them Salvation, so she gains this Advantage on the other, of discovering the Happiness of those who continue invariably fixed in her Communion. And a few lines after, he adds, All Heresies attack the Church, and while they attack the Church, they overcome one another. But the Victory is gained to the Church and not to them; for they all quarrel about those Errors, which are all equally rejected by the Church. Sabellius, for Instance, does unanswerably confute the Error of Arius; Arius confounds the Error of Photinus, and so of the rest: But in vain do they mutually conquer one another, for they are always overcome in some one Article or other, and the Church alone remains victorious over all Errors, by professing that Jesus Christ is the true God, Son of the true God, born before all Ages, and afterwards begotten of Mary.) Lastly, he proves that he is God, because the Name of God is given him in the New Testament, and from what is there said of his Birth, his Nature, his Power and his Actions.'*

In the eighth Book he shews the essential Unity of the Father and the Son, and refutes the Interpretations of the Hereticks, by explaining the Passages which they alledged, to prove that the Unity of the Father and the Son is an Unity of Will and Judgment, and not of Essence and

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St. Hilary. Nature. At the beginning of this Book he observes, 'That 'tis not sufficient for a Bishop to live a good Life, but he must also teach sound Doctrine; that as his Life must be innocent, so his Preaching must be learned: For if he be pious without being learned, he will not be serviceable to others; and if he be learned without being holy, his Doctrine will want Authority: From whence he concludes, That the Holiness of a Bishop should shine more brightly by his Learning, and his Doctrine should be recommended by the Holiness of his Life, *Ut et vita ejus ornetur docendo, et Doctrina vivendo.*' There is in this Book an excellent Passage for the real Presence of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist, where he says, *That by this Sacrament, we truly receive the Flesh and Blood of Jesus Christ, who remains corporally in us.*

In the ninth Book he answers the great Objections of the Arians founded upon five Passages of Scripture, whereof he explains the true Sense. And first of all, he shews, That they abuse the Passages which they alledge by perverting them from their natural Sense; That they do not explain them by their Connexion with what follows, and what goes before; That they attribute to the Divinity of Jesus Christ, that which should only be attributed to his Humanity. Upon this occasion he discourses of the Union of the two Natures in Jesus Christ, and explains how by Virtue of this Union, those things are attributed to God which agree only to the human Nature, and those to Man which belong to the Divinity. Afterwards he explains the Passages which the Arians continually object to the Catholics, one by one: The first, which is taken out of the tenth Chapter of St. Mark, is the Answer which Jesus Christ made to the rich young Man, who called him Good Master, *Why callest thou me Good,* says he, *there is none Good but God;* from whence the Arians concluded, That Jesus Christ was not truly God. St. Hilary answers, that he does not particularly reprove the young Man, for calling him Good, but because he gives him this Title, as if it agreed to him in the Capacity of a Doctor of the Law. *The young Man, (says he) not knowing that he was the Messiah, who came to save the lost Sheep of the House of Israel, asked him as a Doctor of the Law, and gave him the Title which the Doctors take to themselves. Jesus Christ reproves this Notion, and to explain to him in what sense he should be called Good, he tells him, none is Good but God; shewing by this, That he was so far from rejecting the Title of Good as it agreed to God, that he accepted of it in that sense. And therefore his Answer is one Proof of his Divinity, which ought to be understood in this sense, Why call you me Good, if ye believe not that I am God? There is none Good but God; which supposes that he himself was God.* St. Hilary confirms this Answer by many places of Scripture, where Jesus Christ gives himself the Title of Good, and of Master; from whence it appears that the Title was not here refused upon its own Account. Upon this occasion he answers the Objection of the Arians, who say, That Jesus Christ called his Father the only God; and shews that the Father is the only God, because the Divinity of the Father is the same with that of the Son, which Truth he proves by many Passages of Scripture.

The second Passage objected by the Arians is taken out of the Gospel of St. John, Chap. 17. *This is Life eternal to know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent;* from whence the Arians concluded, That Jesus Christ was not the true God, but one sent from the true God. St. Hilary answers, 'That this Passage does not exclude the essential Unity of the Father and the Son, since in this and other places, Jesus Christ affirms, That he came forth from God; That he is with God; That he had overcome the World; That he should be honoured as the Father; That he had received the Power of giving eternal Life; That all things which are the Father's are his.' He adds, That in the same place Jesus Christ prays the Father to glorify him, with the Glory that he had with him from all Eternity; which evidently proves the Unity of the Essence of the Father and the Son: Moreover the Words alledged in the Objection, prove nothing contrary to the Faith of the Church, which acknowledges that the Father is the only true God, tho' Jesus Christ is also God, because the Father and the Son are not two Gods, but one God only.

The third Objection is taken from Ch. 5th. of the same Gospel of St. John, *The Son can do nothing of himself, he doeth only what he seeth his Father do.* St. Hilary sheweth that this Passage establishes the Divinity of Jesus Christ, and is very far from destroying it, because it proves the Unity and Equality of the Father and the Son.

The fourth Passage is the grand Objection of the Arians founded upon those Words of Jesus Christ in St. John, Ch. 14. *My Father is greater than I.* St. Hilary says, That the Father is greater than the Son, considered as Man and as Mediator. The last Objection is taken from those Words of Jesus Christ in St. Mark, Ch. 13. *No Man knoweth the Day of Judgment, nor the Angels, nor the Son, but the Father only:* From whence the Arians concluded, That the Knowledge of the Father being more extensive than that of the Son, his Nature must be more excellent. St. Hilary having in answer to this Objection, proved by many Reasons, that Jesus Christ could not be ignorant of the Day of Judgment,

and having demonstrated this Truth, he adds, That what Christ says in this place, That the Son knew not the Day of Judgment, ought not to be understood literally, as if he were really ignorant of it; but in this sense, That he did not know it, not so as to tell it unto Men. Wherefore being asked about the same Matter after his Resurrection, he does not say, That he was ignorant of it; but he reproves his Apostles with that Heat, which testified his Knowledge of it, by saying unto them, *'Tis not for you to know the times and the seasons which my Father has reserved in his own Power.* He adds also, That it may be said in another sense, That the Son of Man was ignorant of the Day of Judgment, because he knew it not as he was Man, but as he was God: For, says he, as we may say, That the Son of God was subject to Fear, to Sadness, and to Sleep; because the Humanity of Jesus Christ was subject to these Infirmities; So we may say, That he was ignorant of the Day of Judgment, because he knew it not as he was Man, but upon the account of his Divinity.

In the Tenth Book he Answers the Objections which the Arians draw from these Passages of Scripture which prove that Jesus Christ was subject to Fear, to Sorrow and Pain. And here he maintains, That Jesus Christ had not truly any Fear or Pain, but only the Representation of those Passions within him: In which, if his Judgment is not different from that of the Church, yet it must be confess'd, that the manner of expressing it is very harsh. He had answer'd the Arians better, if he had said, That the Fear, the Sorrow and Pain of Jesus Christ did belong to his Human Nature, and not to his Divinity. He acknowledges in this Book, that all Men are conceiv'd in Sin, and that none but Jesus Christ ought to be excepted from this General Law. He says, That the Soul is not communicated to Children by the Parents. He observes, That what is said in the Gospel of St. Luke concerning the Bloody Sweat of Jesus Christ, and of the Angel that appear'd unto him, is not to be found in many Greek and Latin Copies of this Gospel.

In the Eleventh Book, he Answers some Passages of the Gospels, and of St. Paul concerning Jesus Christ's being risen from the Dead, and becoming Glorious, which are alledg'd by the Arians to prove that the Son is not equal to the Father: But St. Hilary shews, That those Passages do much rather prove the Divinity of Jesus Christ, than destroy it.

In the last Book, St. Hilary explains that Passage of the Proverbs, *God created me in the Beginning of his Ways, &c.* He demonstrates that the Word of God was not properly created, but begotten of God from all Eternity; which he proves by many Passages of Scripture. He expounds this Passage of the Proverbs of the Incarnation of Jesus Christ. He adds some Proofs of the Divinity of the Holy Spirit, and Ends with a Prayer to God, wherein he begs Grace to preserve in his Heart that Faith whereof he made Profession at his Baptism, that he may always worship the Father and the Son, and receive the Holy Spirit which proceeds from the Father by the Son.

His Book of Synods is Address'd to the Bishops of France and Britain. He commends them for the Constancy which they had shewn in refusing Communion to Saturninus, and for the Zeal wherewith they maintain'd the Faith of the Church, by condemning the Impieties of the Arians so sharply: After this, he sets himself to explain the Creeds made by the Eastern Bishops after the Council of Nice. He declares, That if there were any Error in some of those Creeds, it ought not to be attributed to him, since he only relates what others had said; and if they were found agreeable to the Doctrine of the Apostles, the Praise of it ought not to be given to him but to the Original Authors: He leaves it to the Judgment of the Bishops, to whom his Book is written, whether they be Heretical or Catholick. Then he intimates to them, what Obligation lay upon him to instruct them in the Opinions of the Eastern Bishops, that they might join with the right Side in those Councils which were shortly to be held at Ariminum and Seleucia. But before he comes to speak of those Creeds which are suspected, he relates and explains that of the Council of Ancyra, which was made in opposition to the Second Creed of Sirmium, afterwards he relates the Creeds made by the Eastern Bishops after the Council of Nice, at Antioch, Sardica, and the first Creed at Sirmium. He shews, That those Creeds are Catholick, and endeavours to excuse the Multitude and Obstancy of the Arians that were in the East. He says, That in those Provinces to which he was Banish'd, there was only Eusebius, and a small number of Bishops with him, that acknowledg'd the Divinity of the Word. He Congratulates the Western Bishops for maintaining the Apostolical Faith, engrav'd by the Holy Spirit in their Hearts, who were ignorant of the Creeds written by the hands of Men. After this, he explains in a lively and clear manner his own Doctrine and that of the Western Bishops concerning the Mystery of the Trinity, and secures it against the false Explications of the Hereticks. He gives the true sense of the word *Consubstantial*, which he justifies against those that directly oppose it, or that think fit it should be suppress'd. He Exhorts the Western Bishops with much Eloquence to



St. Hilary. use this term, and to receive the Confession of Faith made by the Council of Nice. He concludes with conjuring his Brethren in much Humility, to Pardon the Freedom he had taken to inform them of these things, and advise them what they ought to do. He Exhorts them to preserve with inviolable Fidelity, the Doctrines of Piety and Religion which were written upon their Hearts, and Requests them to remember his Banishment in their Prayers.

The third Discourse address'd to the Emperor *Constantius*, which should be the First as we have observ'd already, is a Petition presented to this Emperor, wherein he remonstrates, that he was a Catholick Bishop of France, banish'd by the Intrigues of his Enemies, who had falsly accus'd him to his Majesty. He prays the Emperor that he would grant him Audience in the Presence of *Saturninus*, who was the chief Cause of his Sufferings, that he might have Opportunity to justify himself from those Accusations that were form'd against him: and he makes no scruple to declare, that if his Adversary could shew that he had done any one thing unworthy, either of the Holiness of a Bishop, or the Piety of a Christian, he would not only quit all Claim to his Favour for continuing to him his Bishoprick, but on the contrary, he would be willing to spend his Old Age in a State of Penance among the Laity. But so far as this Petition concern'd only his own Person, he went further and protested, that he would never speak more of it unless the Emperor commanded him; yet still he desir'd with great Boldness and Earnestness, an Audience about the Cause of the Faith, which was common to him with all other Catholicks. And to this purpose, he represents to the Emperor the Confusion of so many Creeds. 'When once they begun, says he, to make new Confessions of Faith, the Faith became the Creed of the Times rather than of the Gospel: *Facta est Fides temporum potius quam Evangeliorum*. Every Year new Creeds were made, and Men did not keep to that Simplicity of Faith which they profess'd at their Baptism: And O what Miseries ensued! For presently, there were as many Creeds as might please each Particular Party; and nothing else has been minded since the Council of Nice, but this making of Creeds. New Creeds have been made every Year and every Month, they have been chang'd, they have been anathematiz'd, and then re-establish'd; and so by enquiring too much into the Faith, there is none left; it has always continued uncertain, and there was never any Certainty of the Truth.' After he has described this Confusion very smartly, he remonstrates to the Emperor, that the only way to save himself from this Shipwreck, was to acquiesce in the Faith of the Gospel; whereof he made Profession at his Baptism. Then he prays the Emperor, that he would give him Audience in the Presence of the Council, which was to meet at *Constantinople*; and promises that for explaining and proving the Faith of the Church, he would only make use of the Words of Jesus Christ. He confesses, that all the Hereticks boast of preaching the Gospel, but, says he, they do not understand it; *For they alledge Scripture without knowing the meaning of it, and make use of Orthodox Terms without having the True Faith*. He presses the Emperor to grant him this Audience for the good of the whole Church; and promises him, that being to speak publicly to him of a Question so famous in the Presence of a Council divided upon this Subject, he would say nothing but what should tend to the Honour of the Emperor, the Preservation of the Faith, and the peaceable Union of the East and the West. And to assure him of this Promise, he gives him this Sign of it, by confining himself wholly to the Terms of the Gospel, in declaring his Doctrine at present. With this Declaration he concludes this Paper, which some have thought Imperfect, but without any Ground.

The Second Book of St. Hilary to *Constantius*, is also a kind of Petition, wherein he prays him, to put an End to the Persecutions and Vexations wherewith the *Arians* exercis'd the Church; To forbid the Secular Judges to meddle in Affairs of Religion; To leave his Subjects to their Liberty, whether they will be *Arians*, or no; To permit them to continue united to the Catholick Bishops, and separated from the *Arian* Bishops; and in short, to suffer all the banish'd Bishops to return to their Sees. After this, He compares the Persecution of the *Arians* against the Catholicks, with that of the Pagans against the Christians: He shews how Cruel it was, and how far distant from the Spirit of the Church and of Jesus Christ. *The Bishops*, says he, *are put in Prison; The People are oblig'd to serve as their Guard; The holy Bodies of the Virgins of Jesus Christ, are expos'd to the View of all the World, to abuse them; Men are compell'd, I do not say to be Christians, but to become Arians; the Name and Authority of the Emperor is abus'd; He is impos'd upon by Surprise; Judges are desir'd of him for approving these Injustices; and in short, the People are forc'd to consent unto them*. After this, He describes particularly, the Violence that was us'd to *Paulinus* of Triers, to *Dionysius* of Milan, to *Ensebius* of Vercellæ, and many others. This Book is imperfect.

These Discourses of St. Hilary, are written with great Moderation, as to what concerns the Emperor, whose Con-

duct he excuses; but he has not us'd the same Moderation in the last, which is commonly plac'd before the other Two. There he speaks with so fervent a Zeal, that he might deserve to be accus'd of too violent a Passion, if it were not otherwise certain that he was act'd only from a principal of Love to the Truth\*.

He begins with these Words which are all Sparks of Fire: *'Tis time to Speak, since the time to be Silent is past; we must wait upon Jesus Christ, since Anti-Christ Governs: Let the True Pastors cry aloud, since the Hirelings are fled: Let us die for the Sheep, since the Thieves are entered, and the Lion full of Rage, goes about the Sheep-fold*. After he has exhorted the Pastors in these Words, and many others of the same Nature, to Defend the Truths of the Gospel with Courage and Boldness, He gives an Account of the Conduct which he had observ'd since his Banishment. He says, That he kept Silence in Modesty, hoping that things would change for the better, but there being now no further place for hope, he found himself oblig'd to speak: He declares, That he wishes he had rather been in the time of *Decius* or *Nero*, than in that wherein he liv'd; That neither Tortures, nor the Fire, nor the Cross, could have made him afraid; but he would boldly have maintain'd the Combat against his declared Enemies, and suffer'd with Constancy in this publick Persecution. But now, adds he, *we oppose a*

*Persecutor that deceives us with false appearances, an Enemy that puts on a Friendly Countenance to us; Constantius, the Anti-Christ, who Persecutes the Church under a mask of designing its advancement*. He professes, says he, to be a Christian, that he may deny Jesus Christ; He procures Union, to hinder Peace; He stifles Heresies, to ruin Christianity; He honours the Bishops, that he may make them lose the Title of the Ministers of Jesus Christ; He builds up Churches, that he may destroy the Faith. Let him not imagine, adds he, that I charge him falsly; That I reproach him; The Ministers of Jesus Christ, ought to speak the Truth: If what I have propos'd be a Calumny, I am willing to pass for an infamous Person; but if it be true and publicly known, I use the freedom of an Apostle, in reprov'g it after a long Silence. After this, He justifies his calling *Constantius*, Anti-Christ, by giving a horrible Representation of the Persecution that he rais'd. He adds, That it was neither through Indiscretion, nor Rashness, nor Anger, that he spoke so of him, but that his Reason, his Constancy, and his Faith oblig'd him to say these things. Yes, says he, addressing himself to *Constantius*, I tell you what I should have told *Nero*, what *Dioclesian* and *Maximian* should have heard from my Mouth: You fight against God; You use Cruelties to the Church; You Persecute the Saints; You hate those that Preach Jesus Christ; You utterly abolish Religion: In a word, You are a Tyrant; I speak not with reference to the things of this World, but with reference to the things of God. This is what is common to you with the Pagan Emperors. Let us now come to that which is peculiar to your self. You feign your self to be a Christian, and you are the Enemy of Jesus Christ; You are become Anti-Christ, and have begun his Work: You intrude into the Office of procuring New Creeds to be made, and you live like a Pagan; You teach things Profane, and are ignorant of Piety and Religion; You give Bishopricks to those of your own Faction, and take them away from the good Bishops, that you may bestow them upon the Bad. You put the Bishops in Prison; You keep your Armies in the Field to terrify the Church; You assemble Councils to establish Impiety in them, and you compel the Western Bishops to renounce the Faith, that they may embrace Error. You shut them up in a City to weaken them by Famine, to kill them with the Rigor of the Winter, and to corrupt them by your Dissimulation: You foment the Dissentions of the East by your Artifices. He adds also many other Accusations of the same Nature; and to compleat all, he says, *That the Church never suffer'd so much, under Nero, under Decius, and Maximianus, as it has done under Constantius, who is more cruel than all those Tyrants, because the former gave Martyrs to the Church, who overcame Devils, whereas Constantius makes an Infinite number of Prevaricators, who cannot so much as comfort themselves by saying, that they were overcome by the violence of their Torments*. I should never have done, if I should relate all that St. Hilary says in this place of the Persecution of *Constantius*. He charges him particularly, with the Banishment of *Paulinus* and *Liberius*, and the Troubles wherewith he exercis'd the Church of *Tholouse*; and concludes with saying, That all those things that he had accus'd him of, were publick and certain; and therefore he had just Cause to call him Anti-Christ. He shews afterwards the Impiety of those Bishops that Assisted at the Council of *Selencia*, who maintain'd, that the Father was not like in Substance to the Son, and condemn'd the Words, *Consubstantial*, and like in Substance. He answers, what *Constantius* alledges

St. Hilary.



St. Hilary. alleges as the Reason of condemning these Terms, That we must not make use of any but Scripture Expressions: He answers, I say, That these Terms agree with the Doctrine of the Gospel; That *Constantius*, and those of his Party, are also forc'd to make use of such Terms as are not to be found in Scripture; and in short, That the Scripture makes use of Terms more Emphatical, since it establishes the Equality and Unity of the Father and the Son. He blames *Constantius* for the variety and contrariety of those Creeds that were made after that of the Council of *Nice*. He explains the Faith of the Church concerning the Majesty of God, and proves by many Examples, That we are not to wonder, if the Eternal Generation of the Son is Incomprehensible. This Book is also imperfect.

The Book of Fragments, is a Collection of many Pieces taken out of two Books of *St. Hilary*, and likewise of some Passages out of his other Works. 'Tis not known who is the Author of this Abridgment, nor when he liv'd. The Passages that are cited in it, are certainly *St. Hilary's*, and for the most part, the Pieces that are collected in it are antient; but he does not observe any Order in this Collection.

He begins with a Fragment of *St. Hilary's* Preface, wherein after he had spoken of the Excellency of Faith, Hope and Charity, he declares, 'That he had undertaken to publish a Work of great Importance and vast Extent, but very intricate, because of the Diabolical Cheats of the Hereticks, and wherein he must use great Cunning, because of their Knaveries; against which also, there were many Prejudices, by reason of the Dissimulation and fear of many: That this Book would seem strange, even to those of the Country where he was, tho' there the things themselves were done which he treated of: That what he was to deliver, had come to pass some years ago, but the Silence which he had hitherto kept, made all these things still seem New; That the Peace had almost made him forget the Memory of them, but that not long before these things had been renew'd again by the impious Malice of some notable Seducers.' After this, He describes the State of the Affairs of the Church under *Constantius*; He complains, That he had banish'd those Bishops that would not condemn *St. Athanasius*, and that he interpos'd his Authority in Ecclesiastical Decisions. At last, he says, That he had treated in his Work, of Faith in God, of the Hope of Eternity, and the Defence of the Truth; and he exhorts all Christians to inform themselves of those things which he there recites, that so every one may be satisfied in his own Judgment, without following the Opinions of others blindly.

After his Preface, follow the Letters of the Council of *Sardica*, to all the Churches, and in particular to *Julius* Bishop of *Rome*, together with the Subscriptions of some Bishops, and the Names of the Hereticks that were condemned.

The Author of these Fragments, has join'd to these two Letters, a Fragment of *St. Hilary* for *St. Athanasius*; at the End, the Recantation of *Ursacius* and *Valens*, is mention'd: Their Letters to *Julius* and *St. Athanasius*, are at the bottom of this Fragment. The Passage which immediately follows, has reference to the Condemnation of *Photinus*; and that of *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*, which he consented to; but the End of that Passage concerns the Council of *Nice*, whose Creed he recites and explains.

The first Letter of *Liberius*, here produc'd is Supposititious, as the Passage which follows, plainly discovers, and as we have already shewn when we treated of the Works of this Pope: The Second, is Genuine, which is directed to the Bishops of *Italy*, concerning the Restitution of the Bishops, who had approv'd the *Arian* Creeds. The Letter of the Bishops of *Illyricum*, concerning the Condemnation of the Creed of *Ariminum*, is one of the most Excellent Monuments of that time. The Letters of *Ursacius* and *Valens*, to *Germinius*, and his Answer, are put here out of their

proper place, being written in the Year 366. We have already spoken of Pope *Liberius's* Letters that are set down: After which, there follows a Letter of the Eastern Bishops, to the Council of *Ariminum*, with some Reflections of *St. Hilary*, which are very much corrupted. After this Fragment, the Author of this Collection has added this Note: Here endeth the Book taken out of the Historical Work of *St. Hilary*: And yet he adds afterwards many Pieces which are probably taken out of the same Book.

The 1st. is a Letter from a Council of the Bishops of *France*, held at *Paris*, against the Creed made at *Ariminum*.

The 2d. is a Letter of *Eusebius* of *Vercelle*, written to *Gregory*, a Bishop in *Spain*, wherein he commends him for opposing *Hofius*, and preserving the Faith.

The 3d. is a Letter, or rather a Confession of Faith by *Germinius* the *Arian* Bishop, against those of his own Party, who had Sign'd the Creed of *Ariminum*.

The 4th. is a Letter written by the Eastern Bishops in the Name of the Council of *Sardica*, against the Bishops of the West: This Letter should have been plac'd before those others which we have already spoken of.

The 5th. is a Letter of the Bishops of the Council of *Ariminum* to the Emperor *Constantius*, before they had Sign'd the Creed which was presented to them by the *Arians*. There follows after it a short Reflection concerning the Style of *St. Hilary*.

The 6th. is the Approbation which the Legates of the Council of *Ariminum*, gave to the Creed made by the *Arians* at *Nice*, a City of *Thracia*.

The 7th. is a Letter written to the Emperor *Constantius*, by the Bishops of *Ariminum*; after they had approv'd the Confession of Faith made at *Nice*, which was presented to them by the *Arians*.

The 8th. is a large Letter of *Liberius* to *Constantius*, in Favour of *St. Athanasius*. This is mis-plac'd as well in respect of time, as of the Matter it self.

The 9th. is a Letter of *Constantius*, to the Council of *Ariminum*.

The 10th. is the Decree of this Council before they had surrendred up themselves to the Emperor's Pleasure.

The 11th. is the Condemnation of *Ursacius* and *Valens*, in this Council: Here end the Monuments taken out of the Works of *St. Hilary*, to which there is subjoin'd in some Copies, the Creed of the *Nicene* Council, the Creeds of *Ariminum*, and that which is attributed to *St. Athanasius*. These are the Pieces contain'd in the Fragments of *St. Hilary*, which might be read with more Pleasure and Profit, if they were dispos'd according to the Order of time which I have set down in the Notes (b).

The Book against *Auxentius*, Bishop of *Milan*, is a Manifesto against this Bishop, and against those that maintain him. Who, because they cover'd themselves chiefly under the Cloak of procuring Peace and Unity, *St. Hilary* says, That we can have no other true Peace, but that of Jesus Christ and the Gospel; and that this Peace cannot take place in a time when the Ministers of the Church are become Anti-Christ, by opposing the Doctrine of Jesus Christ and the Gospel, while they pretend to preach it. He complains, That they make use of Temporal Power, to maintain a False Doctrine. He endeavours to prove, that *Auxentius*, fosters Heretical Opinions; he recites the Conference that he had with him, and exhorts the Catholics to take heed of Anti-Christ, and to separate themselves from *Auxentius*. After this Book, follows a Letter of *Auxentius* to the Emperor, wherein he endeavours to purge himself from the Heresie of *Arius*, yet without approving the Term *Consubstantial*, or rejecting the Creed of *Ariminum*.

The Commentaries of *St. Hilary* upon *St. Matthew*, are very excellent; for there he had made many very useful Historical and Moral Observations. The Chief of them are these following.

(b) According to the Order of Time which I have set down in the Notes.] These pieces are:

| Pages of the Paris-Edition 1652.   | The Year of Christ. |
|--|---------------------|
| 447. The <i>Nicene</i> Creed in the Year   | 325                 |
| 433 The Letter of the Council of <i>Sardica</i> to all the Bishops.  |                     |
| A Letter of the same Council to <i>Julius</i> .  | 347                 |
| 465 The Letter of the Bishops of the <i>East</i> written from <i>Philippopolis</i> upon their Departure from <i>Sardica</i> .                |                     |
| 443 The Letters of <i>Ursacius</i> and <i>Valens</i> to <i>Liberius</i> and <i>St. Athanasius</i> .  | 349                 |
| 484 The Letter of <i>Liberius</i> to <i>Constantius</i> about the Cause of <i>St. Athanasius</i> .   |                     |
| 450 The Supposititious Letter of <i>Liberius</i> to the Bishops of the <i>East</i> .   | 352                 |
| A Letter of <i>Liberius</i> before his Banishment.   |                     |
| 456 To <i>Eusebius</i> , <i>Dionysius</i> and <i>Lucifer</i> .   | 354                 |
| 457 To <i>Vincentius</i> of <i>Capua</i> .   |                     |
| 463 A Letter of <i>Eusebius</i> of <i>Vercelle</i> , to <i>Gregory</i> a Bishop of <i>Spain</i> upon occasion of the fall of <i>Hofius</i> . | 357                 |
| The Letters of <i>Liberius</i> , written in his Banishment after his Subscription.   | 358                 |
| 457 To the Bishops of the <i>East</i> .  |                     |

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| 458 To <i>Ursacius</i> and <i>Valens</i> .  |     |
| 459 To <i>Vincentius</i> of <i>Capua</i> .  |     |
| 459 Letters which concern the Council of <i>Ariminum</i> .  | 358 |
| 587 A Letter of the Emperor to the Council.   |     |
| 488 The Catholick Determination.  |     |
| <i>Ibid.</i> The Condemnation of <i>Ursacius</i> , of <i>Valens</i> and <i>Germinius</i> .                      |     |
| 481 The Answer of the Council to the Emperor before he had subscrib'd.  | 359 |
| 459 The profession of Faith, of the Bishops of the <i>East</i> that was given in to the Legates of the Council. |     |
| 482 The Acts of the Subscription of the Legates.  |     |
| 483 A Letter to the Emperor after their Subscription.   |     |
| 465 A Letter of <i>Germinius</i> after the Council of <i>Ariminum</i> .   | 360 |
| 462 A Letter of the Council of <i>Paris</i> .   |     |
| 451 A Letter of <i>Liberius</i> to the Bishops of <i>Italy</i> .  | 362 |
| 452 A Letter of the Bishops of <i>Italy</i> to the Bishops of <i>Illyricum</i> .                                |     |
| <i>Ibid.</i> A Letter of <i>Ursacius</i> and <i>Valens</i> to <i>Germinius</i> .                                | 366 |
| 353 The Answer of <i>Germinius</i> to their Letter.   |     |



In the 1st. Canon, he endeavours to reconcile the two Genealogies of Jesus Christ, by saying, That St. *Matthew* describes the Royal Race of Jesus Christ, by *Salomon*; and St. *Luke*, the Sacerdotal Race, by *Nathan*. He maintains, That the Virgin was of the same Tribe, and the same Family with *Joseph*; and that she continued a Virgin after her Child-bearing, and that the Persons who are call'd in Scripture, the Brethren of Jesus Christ, were indeed, the Children of *Joseph*, that he had by a former Wife. He says, That the Wife-men acknowledg'd the Royal Power of Jesus Christ, by presenting him with Gold, his Divinity by offering him Incense, and his Humanity by giving him Myrrh. He observes, that *Rachel* who mourn'd for her Children, is a Figure of the Church, which having been a long time barren, became afterwards fruitful. He says, That the Innocents were made partakers of Eternal Life by the Martyrdom which they suffer'd.

In the 2d. Canon, he says, That Jesus Christ did not cause St. *John* to Baptize him for the Purification of his Sins, since he was without Sin, but that Water might Sanctify us by Jesus Christ. Then he speaks of the Effects of Baptism. After Baptism, says he, the Holy Spirit descends upon the baptiz'd, he fills them with a Celestial Unction, and makes them the adopted Children of God.

In the 3d. Canon, he explains the Temptations of Jesus Christ, and speaks of his Fast for Forty Days. He says, that the Devil was ignorant of the Incarnation.

In the 4th. he explains the Beatitudes: He says, that none but the perfect Man who is wholly purified from his Sins, shall enjoy the Vision of God. He observes, that Adultery is the only cause for which married Persons can be Divorced. He condemns Oaths, Revenge and Vanity.

In the 5th. he sends the Reader to a Book of St. *Cyprian*, for the Explication of the Lord's Prayer: He also mentions *Tetullian*; but he says of this last Author, that his following Errors deprived his First Books of that Authority, which he could otherwise have allowed them. He occasionally says, That the Soul is Corporeal.

In the 6th. Canon, he particularly recommends Good Works, without which all other Things are unprofitable to Salvation.

In the 7th. he explains allegorically the cure of the Leper, and of St. *Peter's* Mother-in-Law; understanding those places of the curing of Sinners. He compares the Church to a Ship tost with a Tempest; and towards the latter end, he observes, that we ought not to mention the Names of Dead Infidels, in the Commemoration of the Saints.

In the 8th. he discourses particularly of the Fall of Human Nature by the Sin of the first Man, and of the Reparation of Mankind by Jesus Christ.

In the 10th. he Advises Catholicks not to enter into the Churches of *Hereticks*. He observes, that nothing in the Ecclesiastical Ministry ought to be sold for Money, and that the Ecclesiastical State ought not to be ambitious of obtaining Temporal Authority. He says, that at the End of the World, the Jews that shall be then alive, shall believe in Jesus Christ, and be saved. He assures us, that Man was created Free, but that the Sin of *Adam* enslaved him to Sin and Vice; and that in Baptism we are delivered by the Word from Sins, contracted by our Birth.

Towards the latter end of the 11th. he explains wherein the easiness of Christ's Yoke consists excellently, and in a few Words. *What is more Easy, says he, than the Yoke of Christ, and what is more Light than his Burthen? It is only to be obliging to all the World; To abstain from committing Sin; To desire that which is Good, not to desire that which is Evil; To love our Neighbours; To hate no Body; To lay up for Eternity; Not to addit our selves to things present; Not to do to another, what we would not they should do unto us.*

In the 12th. he explains after the same manner as St. *Athanasius*, the Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, by saying, that it is the denying of Jesus Christ to be God.

In the 13th. he observes, that those who are out of the Church, cannot understand the Word of God.

In the 14th. speaking of St. *Joseph*, he says, that he was a *Lock-Smith*, and not a *Carpenter*, as is commonly believed.

In the 15th. he observes that those who are to be Baptized, make profession of their Faith in Jesus Christ, and of being firmly persuaded of his Death and Resurrection; and that their Actions may be agreeable to their Words; they pass all the Time of the Passion of Christ, in Fasting, that so in some measure they may suffer with Jesus Christ.

He speaks in the 16th. of the Prerogative that St. *Peter* received, when Jesus Christ gave him the Keys of his Church, after this manner: *O happy Foundation of the Church, says he, in the change of your Name! O Rock, Worthy of the Building of Jesus Christ, since it was to abrogate the Laws of Hell, to break its Gates, and to open all the Prisons of Death! O happy Porter of Heaven, to whom are entrusted the Keys of admission into it, and whose Judgment on Earth, is a fore-judging of what is done in Heaven, since whatsoever he binds or looses upon Earth, shall be bound or loosed in Heaven.*

In the 18th. Canon he concludes with these Words of Jesus Christ: *The Angels of these Children see the Face of my Father.* From whence, says he, it may be concluded, That the Angels rejoyce at the sight of God, and that they

preside over the Prayers of the Faithful, which they offer continually to God. He says, *those who are bound on Earth by the Ministers of Jesus Christ, (that is, says he, those whom the Ministers of Jesus Christ leave bound in their Sins,) and that those who are loosed by receiving them unto the Grace of Salvation, upon the Declaration which they make, having obtained Pardon of their Sins, shall be bound and loosed in Heaven according to the Apostolical Judgment.*

In the 19th. after he has spoken of those that voluntarily make themselves Eunuchs to preserve their Chastity, he speaks of Riches, and the use we should make of them. He says, that 'tis no crime to enjoy them, but that we should observe Moderation, and employ them innocently: That 'tis dangerous to desire to enrich our selves, and that an innocent Man finds himself overcharged, when he is taken up in purchasing, in preserving, and increasing his Riches. From whence he concludes, That tho' 'tis not absolutely impossible for a rich Man to be saved, yet very few of them shall be saved, because it is so difficult a thing to make use of the Goods of this World, as we ought.

In the 20th. he affirms, That *Moses* and *Elias* shall come with Jesus Christ at the last Judgment, and that they shall be put to Death by Anti-Christ; he rejects the opinion of those who thought that *Enoch* or *Jeremy* should come before Jesus Christ.

In the 23d. he says, That Spiritual Persons ought not to entangle themselves in the affairs of this World; but that they ought to render unto God that which is due, that is to say, their Heart, their Soul, their Will. He shews the Necessity of Loving God in order to Salvation.

In the 25th. he observes, that *Nicholas*, one of the Seven Deacons was a false Prophet and a Heretick, and that the last Judgment shall be given in the place where Christ suffered.

In the 26th. he speaks of the uncertainty of the time of the last Judgment, and observes, That 'tis useful to keep all Men upon their Guard.

In the 27th. he observes, that tho' all Christians are obliged to Watchfulness, yet the Princes of People, and the Bishops are more particularly oblig'd to Watch over themselves and their Flocks.

In the 30th. he asserts, that *Judas* was not present, when Jesus Christ distributed the Sacrament, because he was unworthy of those Eternal Sacraments. He says, that when St. *Peter* said so boldly that he would not be offended because of Christ, he did not consider the weakness of the Flesh.

In the 31st. he thinks that Jesus Christ had no fear of Death at all. He says, he was Consecrated in the Sacrament of that Blood which he was to shed for the Remission of Sins. [This Opinion seems not easily reconciled with the Account which the Evangelists give of the Agonies of our Saviour in the Garden, and upon the Cross.]

In the 32d. he observes, that St. *Peter's* Denials were still more and more Criminal. At First, says he, he only answered, *That he knew not what she meant; then he denyed that he was of the Number of Christ's Disciples; and at last, he said, he knew him not: but presently he wept, after that Fault, which he could not avoid, though he was fore-warned of it.*

In the 33d. he says, that the Words of Jesus Christ upon the Cross, *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?* Belonged to his Body, which complained of its Separation from the Divine Word. He compares the Crime of those who abuse the Gifts given to the Church, with that of the Scribes and Pharisees, who gave Money to *Judas* to betray Jesus Christ, and with the Soldiers who guarded his Sepulchre, that they might say, *He was not risen.* Lastly, he observes upon the Words of Jesus Christ, *Go and teach all Nations, baptizing them, &c.* He observes, I say, That Instruction ought to precede Baptism, because the Body ought not to receive the Sacrament of Baptism, unless the Soul has received the Truth of Faith.

There is a Preface prefix'd to the Commentaries of St. *Hilary* upon the Psalms, wherein he treats of some Critical Questions. He says, that some Jews have divided the Psalms into Five Books, and that others have entituled them, *The Psalms*; but for his part, he gives them the Title of, *The Book of Psalms*. He maintains, that they were written by the Persons whose Names they bear at the beginning, and is of Opinion, that those that carry no Name, are written by the same Author with the last foregoing Psalm, where the Name of some Author is to be found. He says, There are some that are falsely attributed to *Jeremy*, *Haggai*, and *Zachary*, since those Names are not found in those Copies of the Version of the *Septuagint*, which he thinks to be authentick. He objects to himself, that there is a Psalm which bears the Name of *Moses*, wherein *Samuel* is mentioned, who lived many Ages after. He contents himself with answering this difficulty by saying, that *Moses* named *Samuel* by the Spirit of Prophecy. He attributes to *Ezrah* that Collection of the Psalms which we have at present. He maintains, that all the Psalms ought to be Expounded, with a reference to Jesus Christ and the Gospel. He observes that the Hebrews call the Psalms *Nabla*, and he thinks that they never distinguished the Psalms at all. He makes the LXX. Interpreters Authors of their Distinction, and observes, that they have not always followed the Order of Time. From this Distribution, he passes on to the num-



number of Canonical Books. He reckons 22 of them according to the Hebrews, and says, that some have added *Tobit* and *Judith*. He observes, that the Lord's Day is a Day of Prayer and of Rest for Christians; and that they are forbidden to Prostrate themselves, or Fast on that Day.

\* [This Distinction of the Titles of the Psalms, is according to the LXX; in that Translation some Psalms are called *ψαλμοι*, Psalms: Others *ὕμνοι*, Songs: Others *ψαλμοὶ ᾠδῆς*, Psalms of a Song: Others *ὠδαὶ ψαλμοῦ*, Songs of a Psalm: Others again, *ἐψαλμοὶ* & *ἐὺ ὕμνοις*, in Psalms or Hymns.]

He explains afterwards the Titles of the Psalms in general. He says, that those which are called *Songs*, were made to be sung without any Instrument of Musick; That those which are entituled *Psalms*, were made to be play'd upon Instruments of Musick without singing. That those which are called, *Songs of a Psalm*, were such as the Chorister Sung after the Instrument; but those which are called *Psalms*, of a Song, are such as the Chorister Sung before the Instrument of Musick. Lastly, that those which are called, in *Psalms*, are such wherein there is a change both of the Person and the Voice. He gives also some Moral Interpretations of those Titles, which are too usefess to be repeated. After all, he says, that the Key for Understanding the Psalms is to enquire, what Person it is to whom they agree; for some of them agree to *David*, and others to Jesus Christ, and others to some Prophet, and so of the rest.

In his Commentary upon the First Psalm, he says, that there are three or four degrees of Happiness mark'd in those words, *Blessed is the Man who hath not stood in the Counsel of the ungodly, and who hath not walked in the way of Sinners, and who hath not sat in the Chair of Infection*. (According to the LXX, *ἐκ καὶ δὲ πρὸς αὐτοῦ*). The first degree is, Not to be of the Number of the Impious, and the Hereticks: The Second, is not to be of the number of the Wicked, as the Covetous, the Drunkards, the Incontinent, the Proud, the Detractors, the Robbers, &c. who observe not the Discipline of the Church. The Third, is not to sit in the Chair of Infection. By this Chair, he understands the Cares and affairs of the World, which corrupt Men by an Infection, that is almost unavoidable. For though, says he, some Persons that enter upon Secular Office, and engage in the Affairs of the World, have a Holy and Religious Will, yet they are often corrupted by those affairs in which they are obliged to employ themselves, and the Rules of this World do not permit them to live according to the Maxims of Christianity. He adds that those Three Degrees ought to be crowned with a Fourth, which is continual Meditation in the Law of God: That this Meditation, as well as Prayer, does not only consist in reading, or reciting the Holy Books, but in the Practice of those things which are prescribed and taught in them; and that 'tis not sufficient to do it out of Fear, but our Practice must proceed from Love and Good-will. He applies the rest of the Psalm to Jesus Christ, and observes, That he restores unto Man, that Immortality which the first Man had lost by his Sin; That the Impious shall be as it were annihilated by the Fire of Hell. He confesses, that they shall rise again at the Day of Judgment, but he maintains that they shall not there be judged at all, because they are already condemned; and that the Judgment shall be only for those, who having had Faith, did not live up to the Laws of Christianity. This Opinion is very singular, and we may believe that he took it from *Origen*. His next Observation is much more reasonable, which is this, That when it is said in Scripture, That God learns any thing; we must not understand it as if he were ignorant of it before; but only that he then gave to Men the Signs of his Knowledge: As when he says to *Adam*, *Where art thou?* This does not imply that he was ignorant of it before, but only that he had a Mind to put him to shame; And so again, when he says to *Abraham*, *Now I know your Faith*; this does not signifie that he knew it not before, but only that he had now proved it.

He begins his Commentary upon the second Psalm with this Observation, That this Psalm is called the first by *St. Paul* (*Act. 13.*) because in the Hebrew it is one continued Psalm with the first, tho' it has been since distinguished from it in the Version of the *Septuagint*. [In the common Editions of the New Testament, this is quoted as the second Psalm by *St. Paul*; and in the common Editions of the Hebrew Bible, the second Psalm is always distinguished from the first.] He says, that this Version was made in the time of *Ptolemy*, and that its Authors were the Successors of the Seventy appointed by *Moses*, who entrusted to them secret Mysteries, which he would not commit to Writing in his Books: That their Successors, instructed by this Tradition, have translated the Psalms according to those Notices which they had, and fixed the sense of many Hebrew Words which before were undetermined: That therefore the Version of the *Septuagint*, ought to be of great Authority, and is to be preferred before all other Versions, which have been made by such Persons as were ignorant of the Tradition which *Moses* left to the Synagogue. After he has made these Remarks (whether they be just or no, this is not a place to examine) he applies all that is said in this Psalm to Jesus Christ

and his Church. He thinks that the first Words are spoken in the Person of God the Father, and that the following Words beginning at these, *Let us break their Cords asunder*, agree to the Apostles, understanding by these Cords, the Cords of Sin. He observes in this Psalm, That God has no need of any of his Creatures; so that God did not create them for himself, but for themselves: That when he requires Men to love and to fear him, this is not for any Profit that he can draw from their Service, but only that this Love and Fear may be serviceable to their own Salvation. He establishes Free-Will, and says, that Justice is the Consequence of our Good Will, and Happiness is the Reward of our Merits, and that Hell is the Punishment of Sins freely committed: That God does not put himself in a Passion to punish us, being no ways subject to Change, but that his Justice produces those Effects of Vengeance which Men attribute to Anger. So that he appears not to be angry, but when he would bring us to Repentance. He says upon these Words, *Hearken O ye Kings of the Earth*, that the true Royalty of a Man consists in conquering his Passions, and that the Kings of the Earth who are estranged from the Commandments of God are unhappy Kings. He observes, that the Motives of Fear and Joy are intermixed in this Psalm; that Fear may retain Men in Reverence and Devotion, and that Joy may temper this Fear. At last, he assures us, that after Death, the Impious are reserved in a place of torment unto the Day of Judgment; and that the Just are conducted by the Angels to the Mansions of the blessed in *Abraham's* Bosom.

In the Fragment of a Commentary upon the thirteenth Psalm, he discourses of the Necessity that Mankind lay under of having a Saviour and a Physician.

In his Commentary upon the fifteenth Psalm, he says, that this Psalm is nothing else but *David's* Prayer which he made to God, to beg of him the Knowledge of what a Man ought to do in order to the obtaining of eternal Blessedness. By the Tabernacles which he desires, we must understand, (says *St. Hilary*) the Multitude of these Churches that have been established since the Coming of Jesus Christ, who is this Mountain that *David* seeks after. He says, that good Works avail nothing without Faith in Jesus Christ. He seems to approve a Lye as necessary upon some Occasions; but he absolutely condemns Usury, and chiefly that which tends to the Ruin of the Poor: *If ye be Christians*, says he, *wherefore do ye draw a temporal Profit from your Silver? Wherefore do ye not rather lay up for your selves a treasure in Heaven? If ye be Christians, wherefore do ye expect from Men a recompence of your Liberality? I do not say that you should give them your Goods; but at least you should be content to demand back again what you had lent, without robbing him of more. And remember ye, that he from whom ye exact this Usury is a poor Christian, for whom Christ was willing to be poor; Therefore when ye do good or evil to this poor Man, it is to Jesus Christ that ye do it, &c.* He discourses against Pride and false Confidence. He says, that we must reprove with all possible Sweetness, if we would amend our Brother by it, and we must not use bloody Accusations, which only provoke him: That we must despise the Wicked with Freedom, and honour the Good with Humility, and resist the Powers with an holy Boldness, when they would oblige us to do Evil. He praises this Psalm, which, says he, should be written in the Hearts of Christians, and engraven upon their Memory: They ought to be intent upon it Night and Day, and to make it the subject of their Meditations. In effect, it contains the principal Rules of an holy Life.

He applies to Jesus Christ the 52d. Psalm, and exhorts the Rich not to put their Confidence in their Riches, and to make good use of them. He says, that the Just are at rest till the Day of Judgment, and that the Wicked are in Pain; that there is no Repentance after Death, because there is no more Freedom of Choice.

Upon these Words in the 53d. Psalm, *The Fool hath said in his Heart, There is no God*; he observes, that the Wicked commonly dare not speak out the Blasphemies that they have in their Hearts; that there is no Man but is convinced that there is a God, but the Pleasure that the Wicked take in committing Sin, makes them say, that there is no God. In the rest of this Commentary, he discourses of the Goodness of God, and the Corruption of Men. He excuses the Sin of *St. Peter*, and blames the Avarice of some Pastors, who eat up the People of God, as it is said in the Psalm. *They make, says he, their Belly their God, as the Apostle speaks, they make a Trade of their Ministry, and enrich themselves with the Offerings and Gifts of their People; They make sumptuous Feasts under Pretence of Religion; They fill their Purses with the Beneficence of Christians, tho' the use of these Offerings was intended by the Apostles, only for their daily Food, who renounce the World, or are in want.* He condemns those that flatter the Powers, because we must fear God more than Man.

He applies the 54th. Psalm to Jesus Christ. There you may find a pretty Moral Reflection upon the Disorders of the Tongue, to which the far greater part of Men are subject, either when they are angry, or when they complain; when they reproach, or when they flatter; or lastly, when they



they reprove others. He maintains in the Commentary upon *St. Hilary*. this Psalm, as well as in his Books of the Trinity, that Jesus Christ did not really suffer.

He interprets also the 55th. Psalm, of Jesus Christ. In his Commentary upon it, you may find a good passage about Prayer. *God despises (says he) the Prayers which are accompanied with Lightness and Diffidence, which are disordered with the Cares of this Life, which are mixed with Desires of worldly Good Things, and which do not bring forth the Fruit of good Works.*

There is nothing considerable in the Commentaries upon the following Psalms: You may find in that upon the 57th. his singular Opinion concerning the last Judgment, which we have already observed: In that upon the 64th. he approves the Vows that are made to perform certain Actions of Piety, such as the Contempt of ones Body, the preservation of our Chastity and Fasting. He assures us, that Men are Predestinated according to their Merits; he discourages of the wonderful Effects of Baptism.

His Commentary upon Psalm 119th. is very large and full of Moral Thoughts: He there distinguishes the Words which are often repeated in this Psalm, the Law, the Commandments, the Testimonies, the Judgments, &c. and gives them such senses as are not very natural. He teaches, that Grace is necessary to the Observation of the Commandments of God; that the Beginning comes from our selves, but the Grace of God comes in to our help, and that afterwards it depends upon us, whether we will retain or reject this Grace: That all Men are subject to Sin; that their faults shall be expiated by the Fire of the last Judgment; *He seems also to think that the Virgin Mary shall not be exempted from passing through this Fire*; He observes, that a Minister of Jesus Christ who preaches his Word, should be without Blame; that he should pray in the Night time; that a Christian should shun the pleasures and the pride of the Men of this World; that to make our Actions perfect, they must be done from a principle of Love to God; that Celibacy is more perfect than a state of Marriage; and that those who are out of the Church, which is the Body of Jesus Christ, are delivered up to the Devil. There are also in this Commentary, divers pretty Remarks about Almsgiving, Humility, the forbearing of those things which are to others an occasion of Scandal and Falling, about Fasting, about Charity, about Prayer, about the Attention we should have in time of Prayer, and about many other Subjects.

In the Commentary upon Psalm 121. he says, that God does not forsake us, but when we offend him by our Sins: He maintains, that the Just are in Abraham's Bosom till the Day of Judgment; he declaims against those who live in Excess. He says, that in Baptism a Man is purged from his Sins, and exchanges his Vices for Virtues.

In Psalm 123. he discourages against Pride; and admirably describes the Slavery into which the Passions of the Vicious precipitate them, in his Comment upon Psalm 125; These are his Words: *Consider, says he, a covetous Man, who deprives himself of all kind of Satisfaction, lest he should want Money; you may see him busie, sad, anxious, restless; his Mind is always full of fear, lest he should lose what he has: He forgets Honesty, neglects his Friends, and has no Civility: He has neither Religion, nor Sincerity. The same may be said of other Passions: Into what an Abyss of Infamy does a Man precipitate himself who is mastered by the Passion of Love? Who can be more miserable than he who is a Slave to Drunkenness? Can you see any thing more shameful than the Motions of a Man transported with Anger? &c.*

In the Commentary upon Psalm 127. he treats largely of the Fear of God. He says, That it is never spoken of in Scripture, but there are join'd with it many Conditions: That it consists not in Terror; that 'tis not a Passion which proceeds from Nature, but a rational Motion excited by the Knowledge and Love of Goodness and Truth. *Wherefore, says he, the Fear of God consists entirely in Love. Perfect Charity perfects Fear. The Effects of this Love of God, are, to obey his Commandments, to follow his Precepts, to believe his Word, and to hope in his Promises.*

In the Commentary upon Psalm 129. he tells us, that 'tis in respect of the Soul that a Man is said to be like God; that the Soul is spiritual, and the Angels are active Spirits, whom God makes use of to assist the Weakness of Men.

In his Commentary upon Psalm 132. he observes, that the Woman which anointed the Head of Jesus Christ was different from her that anointed his Feet. He takes notice that some have said, that it was upon Mount Hermon the Angels descended to have Commerce with Women; but he rejects this Imagination, because we cannot trust those things; but to that which is written in the Book of the Law.

In Psalm 135. he reproves those that are not attentive to what is read in the Church.

In the Comment on Psalm 137. he observes, that true Repentance consists in refraining from all those Sins which we know our selves to have formerly committed, and in doing them no more.

In the Comment upon the following Psalm, he blames the Ministers of Jesus Christ, who addict themselves whol-

ly to the Affairs of this World, that they may purchase temporal Riches. He says, that we are permitted to hate the Enemies of God; that is to say, as far as they are the Enemies of God, according to that excellent Saying, *That we should hate the Vices and love the Persons.*

Upon Psalm 140. he distinguishes four sorts of Prayer, Deprecation, Oration, Petition, and Thanksgiving: And he says, that it belongs to our Humility to pray, to the Majesty of God to be prayed unto; it belongs to our Faith to petition, and to our Gratitude to thank God for his Benefits. He describes the easiness and Danger of offending God by the Sins of the Tongue. He observes that the Book of Wisdom, which the Latins attribute to Salomon, passes among the Greeks and Hebrews for Jesus the Son of Syrach's.

An infinite number of other Remarks might yet be drawn from these Commentaries, but these are sufficient for our Design: For if we should give an Account of all the Commentaries of Authors upon the Scripture, and all that they contain, we should never have done. Wherefore we pray the Reader, that he would be content with these Extracts which we have made from the Commentaries of *St. Hilary*, which cannot but be too long already. 'Tis plain, that these Commentaries are almost wholly taken out of *Origen*. They contain many Allegories and many Moral Thoughts. There is much Wit and Learning observable in them. He advertises the Reader often, that the Latin does not fully express the sense of the Greek word, which also discovers that this Work was taken from a Greek Commentary; and that he followed the Emphasis of the Greek Words, the sense whereof the Latin Translator was obliged to express. *St. Jerome* calls *St. Hilary* the *Rhospne* of Latin Eloquence, *Latine Eloquentie Rhodanum*; alluding not only to the Country where he was born, but also to the Genius of his Style, which is violent and rapid like the Course of the *Rhospne*; for as this River by the Violence of its Waters carries all before it that hinders its Course; so *St. Hilary* ravishes the Mind and Judgment, and extorts a Consent by the Vehemence of his Expressions. His manner of expressing things finites, astonishes, overthrows, and persuades. His Periods are commonly long and intricate, which renders him every-where obscure, and almost unintelligible in some places. He often uses barbarous terms, and there are some places in his Works, where there is no Syntax. He is full of Figures and Antitheses; his Reasons, tho' solid, yet are much improved by the lively and smart turn that he gives them. He does not spare his Adversaries, but he speaks to Powers and of Powers with an unparalell'd Freedom. He is partial to none, but is a rigid Censor of Manners, and a severe Defender of the Faith. Tho' *St. Jerome* says in his seventh Epistle to *Leta*, that one may read *St. Hilary's* Works without meeting any thing that is offensive to Piety and Religion, *inoffenso decurrat pede*; yet it must be confessed, that there are some Errors and some Expressions which are not agreeable to the Doctrine of the Church. One of the principal, is his Opinion concerning the Passion of Jesus Christ. He thinks that he had no sense of Pain, tho' he received upon his Body the Wounds and Blows which cause Pain. The Schoolmen have endeavoured to give a good sense to this Expression. Some have said with the Master of the Sentences, that he does not deny, but Jesus Christ felt Pain; but he denies that the Pain he had was the Effect of Sin, as it is in other Men. Others have said, That he does not exclude his Sufferings, but the Necessity of suffering. Some have affirmed, that he speaks in this place of the Divinity of Christ and not of his Humanity. But all these solutions appear to me to be groundless; and if one would excuse *St. Hilary*, it might be better done by saying That the Words, Pain, Suffering, Fear, Sorrow, are not to be understood precisely of the perception that is in the Senses, but of the trouble that results from thence in the Soul and Spirit, of the uneasiness of Pain, or the sensible Commotions of Fear or Sorrow: And in this sense it may be said, that Jesus Christ had no Pain, nor Fear; because his Soul continued in a perfect Tranquility. *St. Hilary* had not very clear Notions concerning spiritual Beings; for in the fifth Canon of his Commentary upon *St. Matthew*, he says, That all Creatures are corporeal, and that the Souls which are in Bodies are corporeal Substances. He held also an intolerable Error concerning the last Judgment. I do not insist upon some smaller Errors, as when in Canons 31. and 32. upon *St. Matthew*, he excuses the Sin of *St. Peter*, when he says in Canon 16th. That the Words of Jesus Christ, *Get thee behind me, Satan*, were not addressed to this Apostle; when he affirms in Canon 33d. that the Divinity of Jesus Christ was separated from his Humanity at the time of his Death; upon Psalm 119. That the Virgin shall be purged by the Fire of the Day of Judgment; In Canon 14th. and upon Psalm 129th. That God created the Soul of the first Man before his Body; In Canon 17th. That the World shall not continue above 6000 Years; In Canon 20th. That *Moses* did not die, and that he shall come again at the Day of Judgment. But if this Father had some Errors of this nature, yet it must also be acknowledged, that he held a very Orthodox Doctrine about the chief Mysteries of Faith. He speaks of the Attributes of God in a sublime and noble Manner; He explains



**St. Hilary.** explains the Mystery of the Trinity with wonderful Clearness and Exactness. Every time that he speaks of the Mystery of the Incarnation, he uses the most proper Terms to express the Hypostatical Union of the two Natures in Jesus Christ. He explains the different Orders of the Angels and their Ministry. He makes Happiness to consist in the Vision of God, and says expressly, That the Good and Evil are happy or miserable before the Day of Judgment. He thinks, that on this Day there will be a Purgatorial Fire to expiate the Sins of the Just: He acknowledges the Fall of Mankind in Adam, Original Sin, and the Necessity of a Mediator. He attributes much to Free-Will and the Merit of Good-Works; and yet he admits the Necessity of the Grace of Jesus Christ, which he seems to subject to Free-Will. He alleges often the Authority of the Church, and is clearly of Opinion, that there is no Salvation out of her Communion. He ascribes wonderful Effects to Baptism, when it is received with good Dispositions. He says expressly in the eighth Book of the Trinity, That in the Eucharist we eat and drink the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ. He approves of Vows and Invocation of Saints; He praises Penance, Fasting and Celibacy: He condemns Simony, Usury and Luxury: In a word, his Writings are full of most pure Morality, and a most holy Discipline.

The Works of **St. Hilary** were printed at *Paris* in the year 1500 by *Badus Ascensius*: Afterwards *Erasmus* having corrected them, caused them to be printed at *Basle* in 1535. They were also printed in the same City in 1550, revised by *Justus Lipsius*. In 1572, *Gillot* published a new Edition of *St. Hilary's* Works, together with a Preface, which contains the Life of this Father, and some Notes: It was printed the same year at *Paris*. In 1605, this very Edition was reprinted more correctly, because some able Men, as *Nicolaus Faber* and *Bongarsius*, gave themselves the trouble to compare this Impression with many Manuscripts. There is added in this Edition, the Fragments of *St. Hilary*, which were published by the *Pithoei*, and printed at *Paris* in the year 1598, with an excellent Preface of *Nicolaus Faber* about these Fragments, and the Commentaries of *St. Hilary* upon the Psalms 13, 14, 149, and 150, which had not been published before. The same Edition has been printed anew at *Paris* in 1631, and 1652. *Leunclavius* has published under the Name of *St. Hilary*, a Confession of the Faith of the Trinity, Greek and Latin, printed at *Basle* in 1578. The Book of the Unity of the Father and the Son, was printed at the same place in 1528. There is a new Edition expected soon from the *Benedictines*.

## LUCIFER CALARITANUS.

**Lucifer Calaritanus.** **L**ucifer, Bishop of Calaris, the Metropolitan City of the Isle of Sardinia, was deputed with *Hilary* and *Pancratius*, by Pope *Liberius*, to the Emperor *Constantius*, after the Fall of *Vincentius* of Capua. He came to the Council of *Milan*, held in the year 354, where he defended *Athanasius* and his Cause, with great Courage. The Emperor being provoked by his Firmness, sent him into Banishment, where he was detained till the Reign of *Julian*; but they forced him many times to change his Habitation: For, at first, he was banished to *Germanicia*, a City of Syria, whereof *Eudoxius* was Bishop, afterwards to *Eusebiopolis* in *Palestine*, where he was extremely tormented by *Eutychus*, Bishop of that City. At the Death of *Constantius*, he was found banished in *Thebais*, and he suffered also a fourth Banishment, the place whereof is not known: 'Twas at the time when he was in *Palestine*, towards the year 356, that he wrote his Books. They are all against *Constantius*, in behalf of *St. Athanasius* and his Defenders. The two first, have no other Title, but, *The Books in behalf of St. Athanasius against Constantius*. The third, is entitled, *Of Apostate Kings*. The fourth, bears this Title, *That we must not assemble with Hereticks*. And the fifth, *That we must not pardon those that offend against God*.

All these Books are written with so much Heat and Boldness, that *Lucifer* must needs have a Soul fully prepared to suffer Martyrdom, when he wrote them, as is observed by *St. Jerome*. But that which is most surprizing is, that he was not contented with publishing of them, but also sent a Copy of them to *Constantius*, and caused them to be presented to him in his own Name. The Emperor being astonished at this Boldness, gave this Copy to *Florentius*, Grand-Master of his Palace, to send it to *Lucifer*, that he might declare, whether the Book was his or no. *Lucifer* confessed it openly, and acknowledged that it was by his Order, that it was presented to the Emperor. He had charged one named *Bonofus*, to report this at Court, and now made Answer to *Florentius*, who had written to him, that he was ready to suffer Death with Joy. It was probably upon this occasion, and at this time, that he added his last Book, entitled, *That we should die for the Son of God*. *St. Athanasius* understanding that *Lucifer* had undertaken his Defence with so much Courage, sent a Deacon to him named *Eutychus*, to carry a Letter in his Name, wherein, after he had testified the Obligation that he had laid upon the Church, he prays him to send him a Copy of his Works; which having received, he sent him a very obliging Letter of Thanks and translated them into Greek. We have now those Letters of *St. Athanasius*, the Letter of *Florentius*, and the Answer of *Lucifer* at the End of the Works of this Bishop of Calaris; and what we have said of the rest of his Life is taken out of *St. Jerome*, and a Petition presented to the Emperors *Theodosius* and *Valentinian*, by *Marcellinus* and *Faustinus*, two *Luciferian* Priests.

After the Death of *Constantius*, *Lucifer* obtained his Liberty, as well as the other Bishops that were banished for the Faith. He came to *Antioch*, and found the Church of that City in division. For after that *Eustathius* had been forced to leave it, many Catholics did alway separate from those Bishops; that some would have set over them. They were not willing to acknowledge *Meletius*, who was then Bishop of *Antioch*, though they had nothing to reprehend in his Faith. These Catholics were then governed only by Priests, and they were called *Eustathians*. *Lucifer*, a severe Man, and a rigorous Defender of Discipline, being come

to *Antioch*, was persuaded, That *Meletius* was ordained by *Arian* Bishops, or such as were suspected of *Arianism*, and had communicated with them, and therefore could not be a lawful Bishop; whereupon he joined himself to the *Eustathians*, and Ordained *Paulinus* a Priest to be their Bishop. This Ordination, which still heightened the Division of the Church of *Antioch*, was disapproved by *Eusebius* of *Vercelle*, who was sent to *Antioch*, in the Name of the Synod of *Alexandria*. He condemned the Conduct of *Lucifer*, and retired into the West, having no more hope of restoring Peace to the Church of *Antioch*; *Lucifer*, on the contrary, to maintain what he had done, resolved to have no more Conversation or Correspondence with any of the Bishops who had received into their Communion, those that had formerly signed the *Arian* Creeds. He withdraws therefore into his own Island, and separates from the Communion of almost all the Bishops of the World. He died in this Resolution, and left some Followers called *Luciferians*, who spread themselves over all the World.

The Works of *Lucifer* are written without Art and Eloquence, with much Heat and Passion; the Style is harsh and barbarous; there is no Reasoning, nor Principles in any thing that he says. He only proposes Maxims, which he proves by the Testimonies and Examples of Scripture, whether they be pertinent to his Subject or no; from whence it comes to pass, that his Writings are nothing but a Collection of passages of Scripture mixed with *Apostrophe's* Applications and Reflections.

In the two Books against *Constantius*, he designs to prove, That this Emperor was very much to blame for endeavouring to compel the Bishops to condemn *St. Athanasius*, who was absent and Innocent. To prove this Truth, he produces abundance of Histories and Passages out of Scripture, which shew, first, That God condemns no Man without hearing him; And, secondly, That 'tis forbidden in Scripture to condemn any Man without hearing his Defence; thirdly, that those who shed the Blood of the Innocent, shall be most severely punished; fourthly, That *Constantius* has no right to command Bishops, because he is a prophane Person, a Heretick, and a Persecutor.

The Design of the Treatise *Of Apostate Kings*, is to prove by the Examples of many impious Kings, That the Success of *Constantius*, does not demonstrate, that he has any right to persecute the Orthodox Bishops, nor that his Doctrine is true.

The other Books shew their Arguments by their Titles. The first, is to shew, That we must neither assemble nor pray with the *Arians*, who are declared Hereticks: The second, is to justify the severe Conduct of the Catholics against the *Arians*, and the Liberty that they take to reprove them with boldness and vehemence, without sparing even the Powers themselves; that is to say, this Book is peculiarly designed to justify *Lucifer*, *St. Hilary*, and some other Catholics, in their way of speaking to the Emperor *Constantius*. The last Book contains many Proofs of this Truth, That we must die for the Son of God: He blames the Emperor, *Constantius*, for his Impiety and Cruelty, and at the same time, he praises the Constancy of the Catholics, who suffer Martyrdom with Joy, for the Defence of the Orthodox Faith. [*Lucifer's* Works, with the Letters of *St. Athanasius* and *Florentius*, were printed at *Paris*, in 8vo. by *Johannes Tillius*, Bishop of *Meaux*, in 1568. and afterwards inserted into the *Bibliotheca Patrum*.]



## VICTORINUS of Africk.

**V**ictorinus of Africk. *Abius] Marius Victorinus*, born in *Africk*; after he had professed Rhetorick for the space of many years in the City of *Rome*, with so much Reputation, that a Statue was erected for him in one of the publick places of the City, did at last in his old Age, embrace the Christian Religion. The studying of *Plato's* Books, which he had translated, gave him some relish for the Holy Scripture; for when he read it, he admired it, and so became a Christian in his heart. He discovered this Inclination to his Friend *Simplicianus*, who exhorted him to enter into the Church of Christ, since he was persuaded of the Truth of his Religion. *Victorinus* thinking it was sufficient to know the Truth, answered him, as it were jesting upon his Simplicity, *And do the Walls then make Christians?* But at last, being confirmed in the Faith, by reading and meditating upon the Holy Scripture, and considering that Jesus Christ would not own him at the Day of Judgment, if he should be ashamed to confess him publicly here; he says to his Friend *Simplicianus*, *Let us go to Church*; and after he had been some time a Catechumen, he was baptized in the presence of all the People. *St. Austin*, reports this History, *B. VIII. of his Confessions, Ch. 2.* which he says, he learned from *St. Ambrose*. *St. Jerome*, places this *Victorinus* among the number of Ecclesiastical Writers, and observes, that he wrote Books against *Arius*, composed in a Logical Method, *Dialectico More*, which are very obscure, and cannot be understood but by learned Men. He adds, that he had also written Commentaries upon the Apostle *St. Paul*, but he says in another place, that these Commentaries were almost useless, because this Author having been wholly addicted to the Study of human Learning, did not understand the true sense of the Holy Scripture.

We have at present those four Books of *Victorinus* against *Arius*, which are printed in the *Orthodoxographia*, and in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*; but besides this Book which *St. Jerome* mentions, there are some other Tracts which bear the Name of the same Author. These are in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, viz. one in Defence of the Word *Consubstantial*, three Hymns of the Trinity, and one Poem of the *Maccabees*: *Sirmondus* has also publish'd by it self, in the Year 1630, a little Treatise against the *Manichees*, and another about the beginning of Day. All these Books are written in the same Style, and by the same Author.

In the four Books against *Arius*, dedicated to *Candidus*, he refutes the Errors of this Heretick, and those of his Followers; he proves there the Divinity of the Word, and defends the *Consubstantiality*: But he does it in so Scholastick and Intricate a way, that 'tis very difficult to comprehend his Arguments. One may find several Expressions about the Mystery of the Trinity, that are scarce Sense, and quite different from that way of speaking which is us'd in the Holy Scripture, and by the Church of God. The Book in Defence of the Term *Consubstantial*, is a kind of Summary of those Four Books.

The Treatise to *Justinus*, who was a *Manichee*, is written against the Error of those Hereticks, who admitted two

Principles of the World, and believ'd that the Flesh was created by an Evil Principle. *Victorinus* refutes these two Errors in few words, and exhorts *Justinus* to acknowledge one God only. 'Suffer not any more, says he, my Friend *Justinus*, suffer not your self, you who are of the City of *Rome*, to be abus'd by the Impieties of the *Persians*, or *Armenians*. In vain do you macerate your self with extraordinary Mortifications, for after you have made your self lean by those Austerities, your Flesh is of no other kind, than that which shall return to the Devil in darkness, who according to you, created it. I advise and require you to acknowledge, That God Almighty is he that created you, that so you may be truly the Temple of God, according to the Words of the Apostle, *You are truly the Temple of God, and his Spirit dwelleth in you.* If you have not the Honour to be the Temple of God, and to receive the Holy Spirit into you, Jesus Christ is not come to save, but to destroy you; for if we are his, our Body and Soul must belong to him, and then it may be truly said, *That God is all in all*; That he is the One, and only Almighty and Eternal Principle of the whole Universe, and perfectly Infinite, to whom be Honour and Glory.' This is the Conclusion of this Treatise which is pleasanter and more intelligible than those which are written against the *Arians*.

In the little Tract about the beginning of Day, he endeavours to shew, That the Days of the Creation which are mention'd in *Genesis*, do not begin at Night, but at the Morning, and end at the Morning of the Day following.

The First and Third of his Hymns, are in commendation of the Mystery of the most Holy Trinity, which he explains in many Words.

The Second, is a Prayer to God, and is rather in Prose, like the Creed attributed to *St. Athanasius*, than in Verse.

The Poem of the *Maccabees*, is a Description in *Hexameter Verse*, of the Martyrdom of those Seven Brethren. There is nothing extraordinary in this Poem; there is nothing Poetical in it, but some mean Imitations of *Virgil*; and for the most part, the Verses are low and despicable.

The Commentaries of *Victorinus* upon *St. Paul*, have not yet been publish'd. *Sirmondus* found some Fragments of them in a Manuscript, from which he took those two little Treatises of which we have already spoken. But probably, he judg'd them not worth publishing, though he says in his Advertisement, that the Style of those Commentaries is more clear and clean, than that of his Dogmatical Works.

There are many Philosophical Books attributed to the same *Victorinus*, as his Commentaries upon *Tully's* Rhetorick, cited by *Cassiodorus* in his *Bibliotheca*, and by Pope *Sylvester* the II. in his Epistle 130, which have been Printed several times. There is also attributed to him the Version of *Porphyrus's* *Isagoge*, which is amongst *Boetius's* Works, a Book about Poetry, and some Books of Grammar. But those sort of Books ought not to come into our *Bibliotheca*, which should contain none but Ecclesiastical Monuments.

## St. PACIANUS.

**S**t. *Pacianus*, Bishop of *Barcelona*, no less Famous, says *St. Jerome*, for the Holiness of his Life, than the Eloquence of his Discourse, wrote many Books, among which there is one entituled, *Cervus* or *The Hart*, and some other Treatises against the *Novatians*. He died under the Reign of *Theodosius*, towards the Year 350. We have three Letters of his against the *Novatians* address'd to *Sempronianus*, who was of this Sect. An Exhortation to Repentance, and a Treatise or Sermon of Baptism, address'd to the Catechumens. All these Pieces are written with much Wit and Eloquence.

The First Letter to *Sempronianus*, has two Parts. In the First, he makes use of the way of Prescription from the Name and Authority of the Catholick Church, to shew, that the Sect of the *Novatians*, cannot be the Church of Jesus Christ. In the Second, he refutes their Doctrine about Repentance. He observes at the beginning of the first Part, that since the coming of Jesus Christ, there have appear'd an infinite Number of Sects, who have all been denominated from the Names of their Authors; that the Name of Catholick is continued only in the true Church; That the *Novatians* make one of those Sects which are separated from the Catholick Church; that they have forsaken the Tradition of the Church under pretence of Reformation. He opposes to them the Authority of the Antient Fathers of the Church, who were Successors to the Apostles. 'Why should not we, says he, have a Respect to the Authority of those Apostolical Men? Shall we pay no Deference to the Testimony of *St. Cyprian*? Would we teach this

Doctor? Are we wiser than he? But what shall we say of so many Bishops dispers'd over all the World, who are united with these Saints? What shall we say of so many Venerable Old Men, of so many Martyrs, and so many Confessors? Is it for us to Reform them? Shall our times corrupted by Vice, efface the Venerable Antiquity of our Ancestors?' *My Name*, says he, addressing himself to *Sempronianus*, is *Christian*, and my Sir-Name, is *Catholick*. *Christianus mihi nomen est, Catholicus cognomen.* He explains afterwards, the Name of Catholick, and tells us, that the most Learned say, that it signifies *Obedient*; and that according to others it means, *one thro' all*, and shews, that these two Significations agree to the Catholick Church, which alone is obedient to the Voice of Jesus Christ, and which only is the same in all the World. After he has thus spoken of the Church, he proceeds to Penance, and so he enters into the Merits of the Question: 'May it please God, says he, that none of the Faithful may ever stand in need of it; that no Man after Baptism may ever fall into the precipice of Sin; That so the Ministers of Jesus Christ may never be oblig'd to Preach and Apply long and tedious Remedies, for fear of Patronizing the Liberty of sinning by flattering Sinners with their Remedies. Nevertheless, we allow this Mercy from our God, not to those who are so happy as to preserve their Innocence, but to those who have been so unhappy as to lose it by their Sins. It is not to the Sound, but to the Sick, that we Preach these Remedies. If the Evil Spirits have no more Power over the baptiz'd; If the Fraud of the



St. Pacianus. the Serpent which destroy'd the first Man, and gave so great occasion of Damnation to his Posterity, has ceas'd; If, I say, the Devil is gone out of the World; If we may sport our selves in Peace; If Man does not fall into many Sins of Thought, Word and Deed: Then let us not acknowledge this Gift of God; Let us reject this Aid; Let us have no more Confessions; Let us no longer hearken to Sighs and Tears; Let Justice and Innocence proudly despise these Remedies. But if Man be subject to these Miseries, Let us no more accuse the Mercy of God, who has proposed these Remedies to our Diseases, and Rewards to those that preserve their Health; Let us no more efface the Titles of God's Clemency by an unsupportable Rigour, nor hinder Sinners by an inflexible hardness from rejoycing in those Gifts which he has freely bestow'd upon them. 'Tis not we who give this Grace of our own Authority, but God himself who says, *Be converted to me, &c.* After he has set down many Passages of Scripture, which prove, That God Pardons penitent Sinners, he proposes this Objection of the Novatians: *God only, will you say, can grant Pardon of Sin; That's true, answers he, but what he does by his Ministers, he does by his own Power; For he says to his Apostles, Whatsoever ye shall bind on Earth, shall be bound in Heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on Earth, shall be loos'd in Heaven. But, perhaps, he did not give this Power to any but the Apostles? If this were true, then we must say, That they only had also Power to Baptize, to give the Holy Spirit, and to Purifie the Gentiles from their Sins: For in the same place, where he gives them Power to Administer the Sacrament of Baptism; he also gives them Power to loose Sinners. Either then these two Powers were peculiarly reserv'd to the Apostles, or they are both continued to their Successors, and therefore since it is certain that the Power of giving Baptism and Unction, is continued in the Bishops; that same must consequently be granted of the Power of binding and loosing. He adds, That whatever Power the Bishop has, he receiv'd it from the Apostles; That the right of administering Unction and Baptism, of Forgiving Sins, of Consecrating the Body of Jesus Christ, was devolv'd upon him, because he is Successor to the Apostles. He concludes this Letter with saying, *I know very well, my dear Brother, that the Pardon of sins is not to be granted indifferently to all Sinners, and that they are not to be loos'd, before there be some Signs of the Will of God, that it should be done; That Absolution is not to be given, but with much precaution and discretion, after Sinners have sigh'd and wept long; and when the whole Church has pray'd for them, that so no Man may prevent the Judgment of Jesus Christ. If you would write your Thoughts more clearly to me, my dear Brother, I would instruct you more fully.* Sempronianus, having answered this Letter, St. Pacianus, confirmed the two Parts of his Letter, by two other Answers.*

In the First, he proves what he had said concerning the Name of the Catholick Church; and as to what Sempronianus had objected, that the People of St. Cyprian had been treated as Apostates, as Sectaries, &c. He shews, that they did not commonly carry these Names, but on the contrary, were always call'd Catholicks, whereas Sempronianus cannot deny, but the Sect whereof he was, did bear the Name of Novatian. He answers afterwards to the Accusation of Sempronianus, founded upon his making use of a Verse of Virgil in his Letter, and shews, that a Bishop is allowed to know human Learning, and to make a profitable use of it. He answers also another Accusation against the Catholicks, concerning the Persecution which he pretends the Novatians had suffer'd from them. He says, That the Novatians must not attribute to the Catholicks the severity of some Princes who would not tolerate them; that this was not done upon the Complaint, and at the desire of Catholicks, but by the proper Motion of Christian Princes who espous'd the Interests of the Church; that the Powers had reason to Protect the Innocent, and to make use of their Authority for the publick Good. The rest of this Letter, respects some particular Debates between them, concerning the Persons of Novatian, St. Cyprian and Cornelius. St. Pacianus, defends and praises these two last, and accuses the first of Pride and Schism. In the last Letter to Sempronianus, he treats of Penance against Novatian. He says, that all the Doctrine of the Novatians, explain'd by Sempronianus, is contain'd in this Proposition, *That Penance is not allowed after Baptism, because the Church cannot forgive Mortal Sin; and in short, That she destroys her self by receiving Sinners.* Who is it, says he, that proposes this Doctrine? Is it Moses? Is it St. Paul? Is it Jesus Christ? No, it is Novatian. And who is this Novatian? Is he a Man pure and blameless, who has never forsaken the Church, who was lawfully Ordain'd Bishop, and by the common Methods, succeeded in the room of a Bishop deceased? What do you mean, you will tell me? It suffices that he has taught this Doctrine. But still, when was it taught? Was it immediately after the Passion of Jesus Christ? Not at all, it was after the Reign of Decius, 300 Years after Christ. But did this Man follow the Prophets? Was he a Prophet? Did he raise the Dead? Did he work Miracles?

Did he speak all sorts of Languages? For at least he ought to have these signs for establishing a new Gospel; St. Pacianus. and though he had, yet the Apostle assures us, that though an Angel should descend from Heaven to teach us a new Gospel, he should be accurs'd. Was there never any Person, since the coming of Christ till Novatian, that understood the Doctrine of Jesus Christ? and since the Reign of Decius, Is there none but Novatian in the way of Salvation? But you will tell me, We do not acquiesce in Authority; we make use of Reason. But as to me, who hitherto have been settled in my Religion upon the Authority and Tradition of the Church, and am satisfied with the Communion of this Antient Society, I will not now dissent from it, I will not seek after Disputes; and you who have separated from this Body and divided from your Mother, search in Books for every thing that is most secret; that you may disturb those that are at rest. 'Tis not we, but you, that have rais'd this Dispute. But still let us hear what you say, let us examine your Reasons. You say, that the Church is a Body of Men regenerate by Water and the Holy Spirit, who have not denied the Name of Christ, which is the Temple and House of God, the Pillar and Ground of Truth: we say the same also. But who has taken away from us this Living Water? Have we it not, we who draw from its Fountain? But you who are separated from it, how can you be regenerate by Baptism? How can the Holy Spirit, who has not deserted the Church, come upon you who are fall'n off from it? How can your People receive the Holy Spirit, since they are not Confirmed by Bishops, who have receiv'd the Sacerdotal Unction? Have not we had some Confessors and Martyrs? Yes, you will say, you have had; but they are now lost by receiving of Apostates. I will not tell you, that Novatian, while he was yet in the Church, wrote a Book to prove that we ought to receive them; but how do you prove that the whole Church is perish'd by receiving Penitent Sinners? If some Churches have shewn too great Indulgence, must others, who have not approved them, but have followed the old way, and preserved Peace, lose upon that account the Name of Christians? He proves afterwards by many Reasons, that the Church by receiving Penitent Sinners, did not cease to be the Church, and that the Schism of Novatian made his Disciples lose the Title of the Sons of the Church. He strongly urges the Testimony of Novatian, who approved before his Separation, the Conduct of those that received the lapsed that were Penitent. He describes afterwards the Origin of the Sect of Novatians; and says, that Novatus an African Priest, being convicted in his own Country of many Crimes, came to Rome to avoid the Condemnation which he had deserved; and that being arriv'd there, he persuaded Novatian who was vexed that Cornelius was Ordained Bishop of Rome; he persuaded him, I say, to procure himself to be Ordained Bishop, and advis'd him for gaining his design, to object against Cornelius, the ill Conduct he observed in receiving Penitent Sinners. St. Pacianus enters upon this Matter, and justifies against the Novatians the Conduct of Cornelius, by shewing that we ought to receive Sinners to Penance; and that God has given his Church the Power of forgiving Sins. But at the same time, he takes Notice, that there is not the same reason of Penance as of Baptism, for the former ought to be accompanied with much Labour, with Tears and Sighs. He confutes the Objections of the Novatians, and shews, that the passage of St. Matthew, *Whatsoever ye shall loose on Earth, shall be loos'd in Heaven,* cannot be understood of Baptism. He proves all the Answers of Sempronianus to the Passages alledg'd in his first Letter to him, to be false. He objects to the Novatians their Hardheartedness, with reference to Penitents. He shews, That those of this Sect are not so pure, nor so Innocent as they boast themselves to be, and that there have been many Persons among them guilty of enormous Crimes. He opposes to them the Authority of St. Cyprian and Tertullian before his Fall. He ends with an Exhortation to Sempronianus to return into the Church.

He begins his exhortation to Repentance with an Introduction, wherein he observes, that oftentimes it were better not to mention some Sins than to reprove them; because the Sin is rather learned than restrained. He says, that the Book that he had written against the Play called *Cervulus*, or the *Little Hart*, had the misfortune to render that Immorality the more common. Concerning which, we may learn by the bye, That the Book of St. Pacianus, entitled, *Cervus* or *Cervulus*, the *Little Hart*, mentioned by St. Jerome, which is not extant, was composed against some Profane and Lascivious Play or Ceremony, wherein probably there were us'd indecent Postures. He adds, that this Treatise was written against the Heathens, who mocked at it, and that he was not to expect better success from this Exhortation to Repentance, which was addressed to the Christians of his own Diocess. He says, that we cannot but imagine that this Book was designed only for Penitents, since Penance, is as it were the Bond of all Ecclesiastical Discipline: For, says he, we must take care of Catechumens, that



they fall not into Sin; of the Faithful, that they relapse not after St. Pacianus. they have been purified; and of Penitents, that they may receive quickly the Fruit of their Humiliation. After this, he divides his Discourse into three Parts: He treats in the First of the different sorts of Sin, lest any should imagine that all Sins deserve the same Punishment. In the Second, he discourages of some Persons that are ashamed to make use of the Remedy of Penance, and so receive the Sacrament with an heart and mind polluted with Sin: They are fearful, says he, before Men, but impudent before God, they defile by their impure Hands, and by their corrupt Mouth, they defile, I say, that Altar which makes the Angels themselves to tremble. The last part is of the Pains that they shall suffer who do no Penance; and of the Reward of those that purify themselves by a true and sincere Confession of their Sins. In the First Part he distinguishes Sins from Crimes. He avers, that we must not imagine that Men are obliged to do Penance for an infinite number of small Sins, from which no Person is exempt; That according to the Dispensation under the Old Testament, lesser Faults were rigorously punished, but Jesus Christ is come to deliver us from this Yoke of the Law. Thus after Pardon (if a Man may so speak) of an Infinite number of Sins, which need no Powerful Remedies to cure them, there remains a small number which may be easily avoided, that deserve a severe Punishment. Amongst these he reckons Idolatry, Murder and Adultery: As for other Sins, says he, they may be cured by the Practice of good Works, Inhumanity by Civility, Injuries by Satisfaction, Sadness by Mirth, Harshness by Sweetness, Lightness by Gravity; and so of other Vices which are punished by the contrary Virtues. But what shall be the Punishment of Idolatry? What shall the Murderer do to expiate his Crime? What shall be the remedy of an Adulterer or Fornicator? These are, my Brethren, Capital Sins, these are Mortal Sins. After he has terrified those who have committed these Crimes, with the dreadful words of Fire and Brimstone, and almost made them despair of Pardon, he adds, However you may be healed, if you begin to be sensible of the greatness of your Crime, and the state to which you are reduced; if you have a fear that approaches near to Despair. I address my self first of all to you, who having committed those Crimes refuse to do Penance; you who are so timorous, after you have been so impudent; you who are ashamed to do Penance after you have sinned without blushing; you who are not ashamed to commit those Crimes, but are ashamed to confess them; you who approach the Holy of Holies, with a Conscience polluted by these Crimes, without trembling, when ye present your selves before the Altar; you who receive the Mysteries from the Hands of the Priests in the presence of the Angels, as if ye were innocent; you who trample upon the Patience and Mercy of God, and present at his Altar a defiled Soul, and an unclean Body. After he has thus spoken a word to Impenitent Sinners, he represents to them the Punishments that God has threatened to those that Approach unworthily to Holy things. He proposes to them the terrible words of St. Paul, and exhorts them by most powerful Motives, and most convincing reasons to discover the Wounds of their Conscience. The Sick that are Prudent, says he, do not hide their Wounds from their Physicians, even those that are in the most secret Parts. They suffer them to apply the Iron, the Fire, and Causticks to cure them; And shall a Sinner be afraid to purchase Eternal Life for a Little shame? shall he dread to discover his Sins to God, which are but ill hid from him? He that dares offend against God, why does he blush at any thing? would he rather Perish without shame, than be ashamed to Perish? But though you should be ashamed to discover your Misery to others, yet fear not to discover it to your Brethren, who bear a part in your unhappiness. It does not become one Part of the Body to rejoice in the evil that befalls another Member of the same Body, they suffer all the same Pain, and contribute to the Remedy. The Church consists of the Faithful, and Jesus Christ is in his Church, and so he that discovers his Sins to his Brethren, is assisted by the Tears of the Church, and Absolved by the Prayers of Jesus Christ.

After this, he speaks a word to those, who under pretence of being willing to do Penance, lay open indeed their Wounds by Confession, but know not what it is to do Penance, nor what the Remedies which must cure them; who are exactly like those who discover their Wounds and Diseases to Physicians, but neglect to bind up their Wounds, and to apply necessary Remedies; nay, encrease their Disease by taking contrary Remedies and pernicious Potions, and add new Crimes to their old Sins. What can I do for these, I who am a Bishop. Says he, 'Tis very late to give them a Remedy, but yet if any of you be willing to suffer the Iron and the Fire, I can apply them: Behold the Razor which the Prophet presents me. Turn ye, says he, to the Lord your God, with fasting, weeping and mourning, and sighing, and break your Hearts: fear not this Incision, for David was very willing to endure it. He relates

also many other examples of Penance, and reproves the Softness, the Pride, and Looseness of the greatest part of Christians and Penitents. He blames them for not observing so much as the daily Exercises of Penance, which are made in the Presence of the Bishop; As to weep in the Sight of all the Church, to discover by the uncleanness of their Garments the regret they ought to have for losing their Innocence, to Sigh, to Pray, to throw themselves at the Feet of the Faithful, to deprive themselves of Pleasures, to prostrate themselves before the Priests, to hold the Hands of the Poor, to supplicate the Widows, to beseech the whole Church, and implore its Prayers; and in short, to try all ways possible to save their Souls. After this, he quickens the Penitents by the Fear of Eternal Punishments, which he represents to them in a most Pathetical manner, and invites them to Penance by the consideration of the Mercy and Goodness of God, who desires nothing but the Conversion of Sinners.

The Subject of the Treatise of Baptism addressed to the Faithful and the Catechumens, is set down by St. Pacian. in the beginning of his Discourse, I will shew you, says he, in what condition we are Born, and how we are renewed by Baptism. To make you understand this, I shall discover to you what the Gentiles are; what is the Fruit of Faith, and what are the Effects of Baptism. In order to the Explication of these Three Things, he observes, That by the Sin of Adam all Men were enslaved to Death and Sin; That the Law of Moses discovered this misery very plainly but afforded no remedy at all; That so Sin reigned from Adam till Christ, who delivered Mankind from the Tyranny of Sin, because as the Sin of the first Man was imputed to all his Posterity, so the Righteousness of Jesus Christ was communicated to all Men by Baptism, and by the Aid of the Holy Spirit, provided that Faith precede. He adds, That this Regeneration cannot be perfected but by the Sacrament of Baptism, and Unction, and by the Ministry of the Priest. [For, says he, Baptism Purifies from Sins, and Unction brings down the Holy Spirit, and both the one and the other are applied by the Hand and the Mouth of the Bishop; the whole Man is Born again and renewed in Jesus Christ, that we may lead a new Life, which shall never end; because though this Body shall die, yet we shall always live in Jesus Christ, in a Heavenly and eternal Life. He observes, that being delivered in Baptism from the bands of Sin, we renounce the Devil and the World; and if afterwards, by forgetting the Grace which we have received, we relapse into a Crime, our Relapse is almost irrecoverable; because that Jesus Christ suffered but once, and we cannot be washed and purified above once. He concludes with an Exhortation to those that are newly Baptized, to preserve the Grace which they have received, to Sin no more, to keep the Purity and Innocence of Baptism till the Day of Judgment, and to endeavour to obtain eternal Treasures by their Prayers and Spiritual Labours.

These Extracts which we have drawn from the Writings of St. Pacianus, sufficiently discover his Judgment, his Style and Learning. There is hardly any of the Ancients that speaks more clearly of the Efficacy of the Sacraments of Baptism, Confirmation and Penance: He attributes to Chrysm the effect of Confirmation, which is an Opinion very rare among the Latins, who attribute it to Imposition of Hands. Though he speaks advantageously of the Efficacy of the Sacraments, yet he requires very great Dispositions in order to their producing such Effects as they ought to have. He particularly recommends Publick Penance for the Sins of Idolatry, Murder, and Fornication; under which Three Sins must be comprehended all the Consequents of them, which extend very far. He thinks that those Sins cannot be pardoned but by Publick Penance. As to all other Sins, he does not believe it necessary to submit to that Penance which the Canons of the Church enjoined for them. He explains the Fall of all Mankind, that 'twas caused by the Sin of the First Man, very clearly, and the unprofitableness of the Law, the necessity and Effects of the Incarnation of Jesus Christ. He equally condemns the Rigour of the Novatians, and the Impenitence of some Sinners, as well as the heedlessness and softness wherewith others perform their Penance. His Exhortations are lively and persuasive, his Thoughts well-weighed, his Proofs solid, his way of Writing pleasant, his Style elegant, and the Periods short. In a word, These little Tracts may pass for Master-pieces in their kind, and these two Treatises may be looked upon as a perfect Model of Preaching, or exhortation to the People.

The Works of this Father were Published by Tilius, and Printed at Paris, with some other Books in 4to. in the Year 1538, by Guillardus; in 1655, in 8vo. by Melchior Gopnerus; and together with Hermas at Rome in 1564, in Folio; and in the Bibliotheca Patrum.

GREGORY



## GREGORY of Bætica.

**G**regory, Bishop of Elvira, a City of the Province of Bætica in Spain, wrote divers Treatises in a low Stile, and an elegant Book concerning the Faith; which were extant in the latter end of St. Jerome's time. We have in the Fragments of St. Hilary, a Letter of Eusebius of Vercellæ to this Bishop, where he commends him for the Constancy wherewith he defended the Faith of the Church, and resisted Hosius. Marcellus and Faustinus the Luciferians, tell us, in their Letter to Valentinian, the Emperor, that Hosius being ready to condemn him, was miraculously thrown upon the Ground; and lost the use of his Speech. But there is no probability that this Relation should be true as we have already shewn, when we Discoursed of Hosius. St. Jerome, in his Chronicle, joyns this Bishop with Lucifer Calaritanus, and observes, that they would never have any Correspondence with those that were suspected of Arianism. This joyned with the Honourable

mention that Marcellinus and Faustinus make of this Bishop, may induce us to believe, that he was of the Judgment and Party of Lucifer. He flourished from the Year 357, till the latter end of that Century. The Ancients speak of him as a simple, plain, sincere Man, but a zealous Defender of the Faith. His Stile was no ways Sublime, if we believe St. Jerome. There have been printed under his Name at Rome, in the Year 1575, and in the Two first Editions of the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, seven little Treatises against the Arians, which are thought to be the same with the Book concerning the Faith cited by St. Jerome. But it has since been discovered, that they were written by Faustinus a Luciferian Deacon, to whom the Abbot Trithemius attributes them. They are addressed to the Empress Galla Placidia, Sister to the Emperor Honorius, which discovers that they rather belong to Faustinus than Gregory of Bætica, who was dead when Placidia had the Title of Empress.

## PHÆBADIUS.

**P**habadius (a) Bishop of Agen, having seen the Second Creed of Sirmium, composed by Potamius and subscribed by Hosius, wrote immediately a Treatise against this Creed. He assisted afterwards at the Council of Ariminum, held in 359, wherein he defended until the End of the Council, the Nicene Creed, and refused to Sign that which was there proposed. Neither Fear nor Threatnings could change his Resolution; but the Governor Taurus, seeing that his constancy was not to be overcome by these means, used Entreaties, and beseeched him with Tears to take more moderate Courses, that so he might release a great Number of Bishops, who had been shut up for the space of seven Months in one City, where they were distressed by the Rigour of the Winter, and the want of all things. He remonstrated to him, that if all the Bishops did not sign the Creed that was brought from the East, there would be no hopes that they should ever have permission to return from thence: In short, that he must fix his Resolution, and that he ought to follow the Example and Authority of many that had already signed. Phæbadius answered, that he was ready to go into Banishment, and suffer all sorts of Punishment, rather than do that which was desired of him, and that he would never receive a Creed made by the Arians. Some days passed in these Debates; but at last, seeing that there was no hopes left of obtaining Peace, he departed from his Resolution, after that Ursacius and Valens had declared, That the Profession of Faith, which they proposed, was Catholick, and that those to whom it appeared not sufficient, might add to it what they thought fit. This Proposition was favourably received by all the Western Bishops: Phæbadius and Servatius Turgrensis drew up Declarations, wherein they Condemned Arius and his impious Doctrine, acknowledging that the Son of God was without Beginning, and that he was not a Creature. But Ursacius and Valens, added maliciously, that he was not a Creature as others are; and so deceived the Bishops who signed with those Declarations, the Creed composed at Nice by the Bishops of the East. Phæbadius, being upon his return into his own Country, was one of those Bishops who were most troubled for their Fault, and who atoned for it, by Declarations and Protestations against what they had done by Surprise: He assisted at the Council of Valentia in 374. We have a Letter of St. Ambrose, addressed to him and Delphinus, Bishop of Bordeaux. St. Jerome assures us in his Book of *Illustrious Men*, that Phæbadius lived in his time, and that he was then extremely old: He adds, That he also wrote some other Books, besides that which we have already mentioned. The Memory of this Saint, is particularly honoured at Agen, where he is commonly called St. Fiacri.

We have still extant in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, a Treatise of this Bishop, against the Second Creed of Sirmium, which was first published by Pitheus, in a Collection of Antient French Ecclesiastical Authors, printed by Nivelle, in the Year 1589. This Treatise is a refutation of the Second Creed of Sirmium, composed by Potamius, Bishop of Lisbon, and Signed by Hosius Bishop of Corduba. In the *Exordium*, he says, that if the greater part of Christians had not been circumvented by the Artifices of the Devil, who makes them take Heresie for Faith, and condemn the Faith for Heresie; he had not undertaken to say any thing of this Writing, which was sent a little while ago into France: That he could be content to continue Firm in his own Faith, without meddling with the Examination of other Men's: But since, says he, we are reduced to this Condition, that

we must necessarily embrace Heresie, that we may be called Catholicks, or cease to be Catholicks by not rejecting Heresie; we find our selves obliged to discover the Poison of Heresie hid under the appearance of Religion, and to lay open that Error, which is Wrapt up in such Terms, as appear at first sight to be Innocent, that so Falshood being discovered, the oppressed Truth may at last take Breath. We must destroy the Opinions of Strangers, that ours may be believed, and so in refuting Error, I shall prove at the same time, The Truth of my Creed, and demonstrate my self to be a Catholick to those that are not over-awed by fear, nor bribed by Ambition. After this, he examines the Second Creed of Sirmium, discovers the Malignity of it, and refutes by Testimonies of Scripture, the Errors that it contains about the Trinity. He speaks also occasionally of the Mystery of the Incarnation, while he refutes a Letter of Potamius; who had affirmed, that by the Incarnation of the Word, God was rendered passible, and that the Son of God, and the Flesh of Man, were become as it were, a Third Person, who was neither God nor Man. He Disputes against this Opinion, shewing by Scripture, That the Two Substances, or the Two Natures, continued without mixture in the Person of Jesus Christ; That the Word did still preserve the properties of the Divine Nature, and the Humanity of the Human Nature. He is very Angry afterwards, that they suppressed the Word Substance, which was ordered by the Creed, that he examines. The Bishops, says he, make an Edict, whereby they decree, That no Person shall speak of One Substance. Alas, what have you done, O ye Holy Bishops, Assembled at Nice from all parts of the World? you have to no purpose Composed with admirable Circumspection, a Creed which should be the Infallible Rule of Truth? To what End was your Labour designed? What is the Fruit of your Care? 'Tis now forbidden to teach in the Church, the only Thing which you commanded to be taught there for the Confounding of Error. That is now condemned, which you approved; and that is now approved, which you condemned; Falshood is maintained, and the Truth is opposed. But in vain do they strive to do it, for Truth shall never be destroyed, it shall remain eternally without Change, and shall punish those that set themselves against it. Let no Man, say they, make use of the Word Substance. Ha, what Evil, what Crime is it, to make use of this Word? Wherein does it wound the Faith? Is it the Sound? Is it the Sense? Afterwards he makes it appear, That this Word is used in Scripture; That the Sense of it is most Catholick, and that 'tis most proper to expound the Faith of the Church in such a manner, as it may not be capable of any further Explication. At the End of this Treatise, he refutes those that say, The Word of God suffered Pain. At last, he concludes with saying, That there is but One only God in Three Persons. This is what we believe, this is what we defend, what the Prophets have taught us, what the Gospel Preaches to us, what the Apostles left us by Tradition, what the Martyrs confessed in their Sufferings. This is the Faith which is engraven on the Hearts and Minds of the Faithful; and when an Angel shall descend from Heaven and teach the contrary, he shall be accursed. He adds afterwards, as a kind of an appendix, when he speaks of Hosius, Bishop of Corduba: I know very well, says he, that the Name of Hosius, that Antient Bishop, may be objected to me, whose Faith was always so Firm, and I doubt not, but they will make use of his Authority, as a Buckler to cover the Opinion that is contrary to ours. But I answer in a word

(a) Phabadius.] Sulpitius Severus, calls him Fegadius; in St. Jerome, and the Greek Translator of his Book, he is called Sabadius, which is a Fault in the Latin, and ought to be read

Phabadius, as it is in the Manuscripts. There is also by mistake in St. Ambrose Evgadius.



Phabadius to those who will make use of these Arms, that his Authority cannot be alledged as an unanswerable Argument, because either he is at present in an Error, or else he always was so. The World knows what he believed till this present time, with what Assurance he approved the *Sardican* and *Nicene* Doctrine which I defend, and with what Rigor he condemned the *Arians*. But if he be at present of another opinion, if he maintains now what he always condemned heretofore, if he condemns now what he always maintained, How can his Authority be objected to me? If he was in an Error for 82 years together, How comes it to pass, that I must believe, that at this Age he found out the Truth? But suppose I could believe it, What Judgment can be given of those who died in the Faith of the same Doctrine which he maintained before he altered his Opinion? what Judgment would he have given of himself, if he had died before that Council wherein he changed? And so the Prejudice drawn from the Authority of *Hosius*, is of no consideration, because it opposes it self: Besides that, we read in the Scripture, that the Righteousness of a Judge, shall not save him, when he shall depart from it.

I was very willing to set down this passage entire, because it may be of great use to weak Persons, who suffer themselves to be drawn into Errors, by the Authority of those whom they highly esteem and value. It serves also to discover, that the greatest Men are subject to great Infirmities, and that therefore we must not follow their Example blindly, especially when Religion is the Matter in question; and that the only infallible Rule to which we should adhere, is the Authority of the Church, to which we ought to pay a blind Obedience, and without reserve.

To conclude, this Tract is written very politely, the Style is clear and clean, the Subject is handled very plainly; and there are sometimes Sallies of Wit, which discover that the Author wrote with much Vigor and Easiness.

## St. OPTATUS.

**S**T. Optatus (a), Bishop of Milevi (b), -a City of Numidia, wrote under the Reign of Valens and Valentinian, about the year 370, his Books of the Schism of the Donatists, against *Parmenianus*, a Bishop of that Sect. There is nothing in particular, known of the Life of this Author. He died, according to the Testimony of St. Jerome, under the Reign of Valentinian (c). St. Austin and St. Fulgentius, cite him with great Commendation, and he has been numbered among the Saints, because of the service he did the Church, by this excellent Book which he composed in its Defence. It was divided into six Books, in St. Jerome's time: There is a seventh now extant, but 'tis very probable, that 'tis supposititious. First of all, because Optatus himself in his first Book, divides his Treatise into six Books, without mentioning a seventh. Secondly, because St. Jerome says, that Optatus wrote but six Books against the Schism of the Donatists. Thirdly, because the Style of the last Book (d), comes not near the Elegance and Sublimeness that is in the others. And lastly, because it contains Opinions contrary to those that are in the other Books (e). This Book therefore was written by some African, who lived soon after St. Optatus (for it cannot be doubted but that the Book is antient) who thought he ought to make this Addition, which was afterwards attributed to this Father.

St. Optatus begins his first Book with words very full of Charity. He complains, that the Peace which Jesus Christ left to his Church is disturbed by the Schism and by the Actions of the Donatists: Yet he gives them the Name and Title of Brethren. 'Tho' they renounce us, says he, tho' all the World knows that they hate us, that they detest us; tho' they would not have us call them our Brethren, yet we will follow the Command of the Prophet *Isaiah*, in saying unto them, Ye are nevertheless our Brethren, tho' ye be Evil: We have the same spiritual Birth, but our Actions are different.' Afterwards, he gives an Account of his undertaking to write to *Parmenianus*, whom he calls his Brother: He says, that he was the only Donatist with whom he could have a Conference in Writing, and he shews the Usefulness of it: He observes, that this Bishop in Writing against the Catholick Church, had written for it; so that it had not been necessary to have answered his Treatise, if he had not affirmed many things whereof he was not well-informed, as when he charges the Catholicks with desiring Soldiers that they might persecute the Donatists. He owns, that this is the only place in all the Books of *Parmenianus* which is against the Church; and that all others are either for the Catholicks only, as when he proves that there is but one Church only; or for the Catholicks and the Donatists, as when he shews that Hereticks have not the Sacraments of the Church; or lastly, against the Donatists only, as when he speaks of the Enormity of their Crime, who delivered up the Holy Books and made a Schism. He adds, That the Comparison which *Parmenianus* has made of Baptism with Circumcision, and the Flood, is honourable to the Church, which maintains, that there is but one only Baptism, as there was but one Circumcision and one Flood.

(a) ST. Optatus.] The Name of Optatus is very common among the Africans. St. Austin speaks of many other Persons of this Name, who are easily distinguished from this Bishop.

(b) Milevi.] Some Authors have thought that he was Bishop of Malta, but this is a gross Mistake: Milevi is a City of Numidia in Africk, often mentioned in the African Councils.

(c) He died under the reign of Valentinian.] In B. II. he places in his Catalogue of Popes, Pope Siricius; who was not Bishop of Rome till after the Death of Valentinian; which would cause a doubt of what St. Jerome says, if it were not easy for a Transcriber to add the Name of Siricius, when he copied out this Book after the Death of Optatus.

(d) The Style of the last Book.] The Style of it is flat, mean and weak, whereas the Style of Optatus is sublime, masculine,

Optatus having made this general Remark upon the Book of *Parmenianus*, gives an account of the Method he has observed in his Work; and then lays down a Scheme of his Refutation, and proposes the subject of his Books. 'I shall begin, says he, first of all, with giving an History of the Traditors and Schismatics, with an account of their Abode, their Persons, and their Names; that so it may be known who these are that are guilty of the Crimes that *Parmenianus* has condemned. Secondly, I must shew what is the Church, and where it is, because there is but one only, and there cannot possibly be two Churches. Thirdly, I am to prove, that we did not desire the Soldiers, and that we are not guilty of the Crimes which are said to be done by those, who would have procured a Re-Union. Fourthly, 'Twill be necessary to shew who is the Sinner, whose Sacrifice God refuses, and whose Union we must flee from. In the fifth Book, I shall treat of Baptism. In the 6th. I shall lay open your Errors and Designs.' This is the Argument of those six Books of Optatus. In the first Book before we come to the History of the Donatists, which is the Subject of it, we must observe a Mistake of *Parmenianus*, who says, That the sinful Flesh being drowned in the Waters of Jordan, was purified from all its Stains. He reproves this passage of *Parmenianus*, because from hence it would follow, either that the Flesh of all Men was purified by the Baptism of Jesus Christ; or that the Flesh of Jesus Christ was sinful. But because he foresaw very well, that *Parmenianus* might explain his Meaning, by saying, that nothing else was intended by those words, but that the Flesh of Men was purified in the Flesh of Jesus Christ, therefore he shews that this Expression is improper; for we never say, that a Christian was baptized in the Flesh of Jesus Christ; but in the Name of Jesus Christ. He adds, that the Flesh of Jesus Christ could not be baptized for the Remission of Sins, since he had not committed any. At last, that he might not pardon *Parmenianus* in any thing, he blames him even for the term *drown'd*, which he uses, and tells us, That he could only say of *Pharaoh*, that he continued at the bottom of the Waters, and not of Jesus Christ, who descended into Jordan that he might come out of it, and who sanctified the Waters of this River by his Descent. He says, that he cannot pass over the Imprudence of *Parmenianus*, Who having given a Description of the Flood and Circumcision, and spoken in the praise of Baptism, should go about (if I may say so) to raise from the dead the antient Hereticks, who were buried together with their Heresies in Oblivion, and whose Names and Heresies were unknown long ago in Africa, such as *Praxeas*, *Sabellius*, *Valentinus* and others, who had been confuted in their time, by *Victorinus* of Passaw, by *Zepherinus* of Rome, by *Tertullian* of Carthage, and other Defenders of the Catholick Church.

Wherefore, says he, do ye make such a War with the Dead, as does not concern the Affairs of our time? Is it because ye have no proof that the Catholicks are Schismatics, therefore you would swell your Book with a Catalogue of the Names and Errors of the antient Here-

and enriched with many Figures; there are also many terms, which appear not to be Optatus's. The Author of this Book treats of what Optatus had already handled in B. I. and III. and the beginning of the IV. which Repetition does also shew, that it is none of his.

(e) Opinions contrary to those that are in the other Books.] This Author extenuates the Enormity of their Crime, who delivered up the Holy Books to be burnt; he denies that it was a Capital Crime, and endeavours to prove that it was light and pardonable. On the contrary, St. Optatus declares, B. I. that it was a great Sin, equal to that of Schism, and that those who committed it, should purchase some years of this Life, with the loss of Eternal Life, which supposes, that this Crime was mortal, and deserved Damnation; but the Author of the seventh Book, teaches the contrary.




ticks? Why do ye speak of those who had no Sacraments which are common to us? Those that are in Health have no need of Remedies. Virtue and Innocence, seek no help nor support but in themselves. Truth wants no far-fetched Proofs. None but the sick seek after Remedies; only the weak and sluggish trust to external Succours, and 'tis a sign of a Lye when Men take much pains to find out a Justification: *Parmenianus* had not mentioned these Hereticks, but to tell us, that they had not the signs of a true Church; that their Churches were Strumpets who had no right to the Sacraments, and could not be the Spouses of Jesus Christ. *Optatus* was so far from refusing this Proposition, that he approved it; but he wondred that *Parmenianus* had joined the Schismatics with them, since he himself was one of this Number.

I see very well, says he to *Parmenianus*, that you know not who were the Authors of the Schism at *Carthage*. Look back to the Rise of this Affair, and you will see that you have condemned your selves, by joyning the Schismatics to the Hereticks; for *Cecilian* did not separate from *Majorinus* your Predecessor, but *Majorinus* separated from *Cecilian*. 'Twas not *Cecilian* that deserted the Chair of St. Peter, or St. Cyprian, but *Majorinus*, in whose Chair you sit, a Chair that is of no older Original than *Majorinus* himself. This being so, he wonders that *Parmenianus* should joyn the Schismatick with the Heretick, and should say of the former as well as the latter after this manner: *How can a Man that is defiled, cleanse another by a false Baptism? How can an impure Man purifie? How can one that makes others fall, lift up those that are fallen down? How can one that is guilty, grant Pardon? or one that is condemned, absolve?* *Optatus* confesses, that all this may be truly said of Hereticks who have corrupted the Creed, and have no share in the Sacraments of the Church; but he denies that this can be said of those that are only Schismatics; who, as he thinks, may lawfully administer the Sacraments. To prove this, he shews the difference between Hereticks and Schismatics.


Two things, says he, are necessary to render the Church Catholick; The Confession of the true Faith, and the Unity of Hearts. Schism which breaks the Bond of Peace is begotten by Discord, nourished by Envy, and confirmed by Disputes; thus impious Children forsake the Catholick Church their Mother, withdraw and separate themselves, as you have done, being cut off from the Church, and become Rebels and Enemies: But they innovate nothing in Doctrine, still retaining what they had learned from their Mother. The Hereticks on the contrary are Enemies to the Truth, Deserters of the true Creed, tho' they are begotten in the bosom of the Church, and being corrupted by their impious Errors, they call themselves Authors of their Sect. *Optatus* concludes from these Definitions, That Hereticks can have no Baptism nor valid Sacraments, but that there is not the same Reason for Schismatics, because they have preserved the true Sacraments of the Church, tho' they are separated from its Body. After this Digression, he returns to his Subject, and undertakes to prove historically, that the Authors of the *Donatists* are guilty of delivering up the Holy Books and making a Schism. 'Tis now, says he, 60 years and more since *Africk* was harra's'd with a violent Persecution, at which time you might have seen many Martyrs and Confessors; but there were also some Christians who yielded in this Day of Tryal, and others who hid themselves: To say nothing of the Laity, Ministers, Deacons or Priests, there were even Bishops, those that were the Heads and Chief of the Clergy, who delivered up the Books of the Divine Law, with an astonishing Impiety; and to preserve for some years this Mortal Life, exposed themselves to the Loss of Eternal Life. *Donatus* of *Mascula*, *Victor* of *Ruscaccia*, *Marinus* of *Aqua Tibilitana*, *Donatus* of *Calama*, and *Purpurius* the Homicide of *Limata*, were of the number of those Bishops, together with *Menalius*, who fearing to be accused of sacrificing, would not be present at the Assembly of his Brethren. These Bishops and some others, whom we shall shew to have been your Authors, assembled together after the Persecution, on the 12th. of May in the City of *Cirtha*, in the House of *Urbanus Carisius*; because the Churches were not yet re-built. *Secundus* of *Tigisis* having asked them, they confessed to him that they had delivered up the Holy Books; and when *Purpurius* objected the same thing to *Secundus*, they all began to murmur; so that *Secundus* being afraid of himself, followed the Advice of his Nephew *Secundus*, who counselled him to leave this Cause to the Judgment of God. The other Bishops, *Victor Garbientis*, *Felix* of *Rotarium*, and *Nabor* of *Centurio*, were of the same opinion, and therefore, *Secundus* declared that all the Bishops should sit in the Council. Sometime after the same Bishops, Traditors and Murderers, ordained *Majorinus* Bishop of *Carthage*, in whose Chair *Parmenianus* now sits. *Optatus* having thus shewn that the Ring-leaders of the *Donatists* were Traditors, convicts them also of being the Authors of a Schism. In treating of this Separation, 'tis certain, says he, that there was but one Church in *Africk*, as there is in all other Parts of the World; before it was divided by the Bishops who ordained *Majo-*

*rinus*. It is only to be enquired, who those were that remained united to the body of the Church, with all the World, and who they were that departed from it, who it was that fate in a Chair wherein he had no Predecessor, who those were that set up Altar against Altar, who he was that Ordained a Bishop in the room of another Bishop yet alive. All the World knows that, this was done at *Carthage* after the Ordination of *Cecilian*, and that it was done at the Instigation of *Lucilla*, a great Lady: This Woman had been reprov'd by the Arch-Deacon *Cecilian*, even before the Persecution begun, because before receiving the spiritual Food and Drink, she had kissed the Bones of a dead Man, who was not publicly acknowledged for a Martyr, preferring thus the Carcass of a dead Man before the Cup of Salvation. She retired in great Anger, and very much enraged at this Reprimand. The Persecution came on, which hindered the Bishop from reducing her within the bounds of her Duty. In the meantime, a certain Deacon, named *Felix*, being cited to appear before the Tyrant, and accused of writing a defamatory Libel against him, hid himself in the House of *Mensurinus* the Bishop: who being interrogated about this Fact, denyed it publicly, and upon his Denial, there came an Order from Court, importing, that if *Mensurinus* did not bring forth the Deacon *Felix*, he should be sent to Court. When he had received this Order, he was very much concerned: He had then in the Church a great number of Ornaments of Gold and Silver, which he durst neither hide under Ground, nor carry away with him; he trusted them with the most antient Men of his Church, believing them faithful, and made an Inventory of them, which he is said to have delivered to an old Woman, with this Charge, That if he did not return again, she should deliver it to him that should be chosen Bishop in his room. When he came to Court, he defended himself, and being permitted to return to *Carthage*, he died by the way. Liberty being restored to the Church of *Africk*, by an Edict of *Maxentius*, *Botrus* and *Celestinus* who were ambitious to be ordained Bishops of *Carthage*, called together the neighbouring Bishops about this City, without summoning those of *Numidia* to come to them: Yet *Cecilian* was chosen by the unanimous Suffrages of the People, and Ordained by *Felix* of *Aptungis*, and so *Botrus* and *Celestinus* fail'd of their hopes. The Inventory of the Gold and Silver belonging to the Church, was delivered to *Cecilian*; who sends for the old Men that were entrusted with this Charge: who had already made it their own Property. When they saw themselves obliged to restore it, they alienated the People from the Communion of *Cecilian*. Those who had intrigued for the See, did the same thing; and in short, *Lucilla*, an imperious and powerful Woman, who could not bear a Reproof, would not hold Communion with him, and hindered those that belong'd to her from doing it. So the Schism was begun by the Passion of a furious Woman, nourished by the Ambition of *Botrus* and *Celestinus*, and confirmed by the Avarice of the Old Men. These three sorts of Persons invented Accusations against *Cecilian*, and endeavoured to get his Ordination condemned. They fetched *Secundus* Bishop of *Tigisis* to *Carthage*: thither they came with the Bishops Traditors whom we have mentioned, and were received by the Covetous, Ambitious and Furious, that we named before, but not at all by the Catholicks, who had chosen *Cecilian*. Not one of them durst enter into the Church where he was with all the People. *Cecilian* took care to acquaint them, That if his Accusers had any thing to say or prove against him, they had nothing to do but appear. His Enemies could find nothing to blame in his Conduct. But they accus'd him that Ordained *Cecilian*, of being a Traditor, making this Infamy rebound upon him. *Cecilian* also told them, that if *Felix* had no Power to conferr Orders, as they pretended, they might Ordain him anew, as if he had been but a Deacon still: *Purpurius* then answer'd with his ordinary Malice: Very well, let him come; Let us make as if we would lay hands upon him to Ordain him Bishop, and instead of doing that, let us put him under Penance. This Design being discovered, the Catholicks detained *Cecilian*, and hindered him from exposing himself to the fury of his Enemies. They must then either force him away as a Criminal, or communicate with him as an Innocent Man: The whole Church was full of People, the Episcopal Chair was filled, the Altar was in its place, that Altar on which the Pacifick Bishops had offered, as St. Cyprian, *Lucianus* and others. Nevertheless, they set up an Altar against this Altar, and make an Ordination against all the Laws. *Majorinus* a Domestick of *Lucilla*, who had been Reader when *Cecilian* was Deacon, was Ordained by the Bishops of *Numidia*, who had themselves confessed their Crimes, and Pardoned themselves. 'Tis plain then that *Majorinus* withdrew from the Church, and that those were the Ring-leaders of the *Donatists*, who separated themselves, and delivered up the Holy Books. After *Optatus* has thus proved that the *Donatists* were the Authors of the Schism which divided *Africk*, he shews by the Example of *Corak*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, that there is no Crime greater, or which de-



 serves a more severe Punishment than Schism: But not contenting himself with convicting the *Donatists*, he undertakes also to justify *Cæcilian*; and proves that he was Innocent by the Judgment of the Council of *Rome*, which Condemned *Donatus*, and declared *Cæcilian* Innocent. He observes that the Ring-leaders of the *Donatists* had themselves desired Judges of *Constantine*, and that the Emperor had answered them in great Passion, *Do ye desire Judges of me, of me who am waiting for the Judgment of Heaven?* He shews, that nevertheless, he gave them for Judges, *Maternus* Bishop of *Cologne*, *Rheticus* Bishop of *Autun*, and *Marinus* Bishop of *Arles*; which Judges came to *Rome*, and there held a Council with *Miltiades*, and Fifteen *Italian* Bishops: That *Donatus* was there condemned upon the Confession that he made of having re-baptized and re-ordained the Bishops which yielded in the time of Persecution; that the Witnesses which he had produced against *Cæcilian* having declared they had nothing to say against him, he was sent back acquitted by the Sentence of all the Bishops, and of *Miltiades* who concluded this Judgment: That the *Donatists* having appealed to the Emperor, he cried out aloud, *O strange Fury! They appeal from us, as if we had given a Pagan Sentence.* That the Emperor detained *Cæcilian* at *Brescia* by the Solicitation of *Filuminus* a Partisan of *Donatus*. That there were sent into *Africk* two Bishops, *Eunomius* and *Olympus*, to declare where the Catholick Church was; That being come to *Carthage*, they were hindered from doing it by the Seditious Party of *Donatus*; That these two Bishops made Oath in favour of *Cæcilian*; That *Donatus* came first to *Carthage* and *Cæcilian* followed him, after he had been declared Innocent by many Judgments. There remained now nothing more for *Optatus* to do, but to Vindicate *Felix* of *Aptungis*, who ordain'd *Cæcilian*, from the Calumny of being a Traditor, which he proves by the Information that *Elianus* the Proconsul had given about this Matter, who after a most strict Enquiry made into it, had declar'd him Innocent of this Crime.

The second Book of *Optatus* is concerning the Church. There he supposes as an uncontested Principle, that there is but one only Church, which Jesus Christ calls his Spouse and his Dove. This Principle being suppos'd, he proves that the Party of the *Donatists* were not the Catholick Church; because from thence it would follow, that the Church had perished in all other Parts of the World, and was enclosed in a little Corner of *Africk*; which was contrary to the Signification of the Catholick Church, that signifies a Society spread over all the Earth. He adds for Confirmation of this Truth, that those who shut up the Church within such narrow bounds defeated the Promise of Jesus Christ; that they straitned the Extent of God's Mercy, and gave the Lye to the Holy Spirit who has spoken by the Prophets. After he has made use of this general Reason against the *Donatists*, he proves that the Signs of the True Church do not in the least agree to them. The first of those Signs is the Chair, that is, the Succession of Bishops. He says to *Parmenianus*, that he cannot be ignorant of this Sign of the true Church; 'For you cannot deny, says he, but *St. Peter*, the Chief of the Apostles, established an Episcopal Chair at *Rome*; this Chair was one, that all others might preserve Unity by the Union they had with it; So that whosoever set up a Chair against it, was a Schismatick and an Offender.' 'Twas then in this one Chair, which is the first Sign of the Church, that *St. Peter* first sat; to *St. Peter* succeeded *St. Linus*, and after him others till *Damasus*, who is now our Colleague: by whose means, all the Churches of the World are United with us in the same Communion, keeping Correspondence by Circular Letters. As to your Party, which would willingly be thought to be the Church, enquire after the Original of your Chair. You tell us, that you are a Part of the Roman Church, but this is a branch of your Error, which proceeds from the Root of Falshood, and not from the Stock of Truth. If *Macrobius* be ask'd in what Chair he Sits, can he say, that it is in the Chair of *St. Peter*, which perhaps he never saw; for certainly he never went to the Sepulchre of the Apostles. He is disobedient to the Command of the Apostle, who would have us Communicate to the Memory of the Saints; and the Relicks of the two Apostles, *St. Peter* and *St. Paul* are in the Church of *Rome*. Tell me, I pray, you if ever he could enter there, if ever he could offer in the Place where these Relicks are certainly kept. *Macrobius* your Brother, must then confess, that he sat in the Place where *Encolpius* held the See; and if we could ask *Encolpius*, he must say, that he succeeded to *Boniface* of *Balli*, and *Boniface* to one *Victor Garbientis*, whom ye sent from *Africk*. This *Victor* is a Son without a Father, a Disciple without a Master, a Successor without a Predecessor, a Pastor without a Flock, a Bishop without a People. For we cannot call them a Flock or a People, who were so few, that they had not one of the forty Churches at *Rome* to keep their Assemblies in, and who were oblig'd to shut themselves up in a Cave without the City, to keep their Conventicle there.' *Optatus* does not enlarge so much on the other Signs of the Church that are very obscure, but he insists particularly upon its Extent. 'Wherefore, says he,

 would you Unchurch an infinite Number of Christians that are in the East and the West? You are but a small Number of Rebels who have oppos'd all the Churches of the World, with which ye have no Communion: You are also convicted of Falshood, by the Sacrifices which ye offer; for I believe that you do not omit the Solemn Prayer that is made at these Sacrifices; I doubt not but you will say, that you offer Sacrifice for that Church which is one, and scatter'd over all the Earth. Now this Prayer convicts you of a Lye, for how can you offer Sacrifice for one only Church, since you have divided it into two? How can you offer for the whole Church, since you are not within the Catholick Church?

*Parmenianus* objected to the Catholicks, that they had exercis'd Violence and Persecution against them, and concluded from thence that they could not be the true Church, because that ought never to be cruel, nor to feed it self with the Flesh and Blood of the Saints. *Optatus* answers him, that the Church had never Persecuted them, and that he could Name none of the Church that had done it. He reports this Charge upon the *Donatists*, by observing that in the time of the Emperor *Constantine* the Church enjoyed a profound Peace, and all its Members lived in wonderful Union; that then Pagans were forbidden to exercise their Sacrilegious Ceremonies, then the Devil groaned in their Temples where he was shut up, and then the *Donatists* were banished into foreign Countries, lest they should disturb the Peace of the Church: But no sooner was *Julian* declared Emperor, but they begged his leave to return into their own Country, which he granted them very willingly, knowing that they were most fit to trouble the Peace of the Church. He observes, that with the same Edict by which he open'd the Pagan Temples, he also restored Liberty to them; That they had not so soon obtained it, but that they exercis'd horrible Violences in *Africk*. He accuses the *Donatists* of tearing the Members of the Church, of driving away the Bishops, of invading the Churches, of committing Murders, of killing two Deacons at the feet of the Altars, of rending Mens Garments, of dragging the Women, stifling the Children; and in fine, of violating every thing that was most Sacred. *Your Bishops*, says he, *cause the Eucharist to be thrown to the Dogs, and presently the Tokens of God's Anger appear; for the Dogs being enraged, turned upon their Masters, and tore them as if they had been Thieves whom they never knew, the Justice of God making use of their Teeth to revenge this Sacrilege. They also caus'd a Bottle full of holy Oil to be thrown out at a Window, on purpose to break it: but though it was cast down from a very high place, yet being supported by Angels, it fell upon the Stones without breaking.* He accuses also a Bishop of their Party nam'd *Felix*, of abusing a Virgin to whom himself had given the Veil, and of having afterwards deprived an antient Catholick Bishop, 62 years Old, of his Bishoprick, and put him under Penance. Here he makes a Digression about the Vanity of the *Donatists*, who boasted themselves to be Holy and Innocent. *Whence comes this Sanctity of yours*, says he, *which the Apostle St. John durst not attribute to himself, seeing he says, If we say that we have no Sin, we deceive our selves, and the truth is not in us? He that speaks after this manner, does prudently referr himself to the Mercy of God; for a Christian may desire Good, and endeavour to walk in the way of Salvation, but he cannot be perfect of himself: For though he does run, yet there will always remain something to be done by God to perfect him; and 'tis necessary that he should help a Man in his Weakness, for he is Perfection, and there was never any but Jesus Christ the Son of God who was perfect; all other Men are imperfect. It belongs to us to will and to run, but God only can give Perfection. Jesus Christ has not given us perfect Holiness, but has only promis'd it.* *Optatus* afterwards returns to his Subject, and goes on to charge the *Donatists* with the Crimes and Sacrileges which they had committed, and accuses them of exorcising and washing the Walls of Churches, of breaking down the Altars, of throwing the Eucharist to Dogs, of making the People Swear by their Name, of shaving the Bishops, and putting them under Penance, of sparing neither Priests, Deacons, nor the Faithful, of reproaching the Innocent, and putting Christians against their will under Penance; and in fine, of doing an infinite number of things against Piety and Christian Charity.

In the third Book, *Optatus* vindicates the Church from those Violences of which it was accus'd. In the first place, he says, that if some of those Violences were committed by *Macarius's* Order, the Predecessors of the *Donatists*, gave occasion to them, because their Seditious Behaviour, oblig'd the Governor to call for Aid, which they no sooner saw come to him, but they presently fled of themselves; and that none but those that were most obstinate had been Banished. But then he maintains, that the Church did not contribute to this Persecution in the least; and that there was nothing of all this done by Her Advice; that she neither wished for it, nor knew of it, nor contributed any thing towards it; but the Justice of God alone, had sent this Persecution upon the *Donatists*, to revenge the Dishonour they had done to the Waters of Baptism. Here *Optatus* makes a very obscure Digression concerning Baptism and the Church. And afterwards



wards returning to his Subject, he says, that *Paul* and *Macarius*, were not sent by *Constantine*, to Persecute the *Donatists*, but to carry Alms; that *Donatus* being transported with Rage, demanded of them with unsupportable Pride, what the Emperor had in common with the Church: 'That from that time he carried on a Design of doing Injury to the Kings and Princes of the Earth, contrary to the Precept of *St. Paul*, who commands us to pray for them, that we may lead a quiet Life; For, says *Optatus*, the State is not in the Church, but the Church in the State; that is, in the Roman Empire. Thus *St. Paul* had reason to say, that we must pray for Kings, even when they made Profession of Paganism: But how much more reason have we to shew respect to a Christian Prince, one that is Religious and Feels God, and has sent Alms to the Poor. Wherefore then was *Donatus* transported with Fury? Wherefore did he refuse the Alms which the Emperor sent? His Officers said, that they were come to distribute Alms in all the Provinces, to those that would receive them; and *Donatus* told them, that he had written to all places, forbidding them to receive them. Does this look as if he took Care of those that are in Misery, or would relieve the Necessities of the Poor? God hath said, 'Tis I that make Rich and Poor. Can he not then give Riches to the Poor? Yes, but if he had given them to all the World, then sinners had wanted the means of expiating their Faults; for 'tis written, *That as Water quenches Fire, so does an Alms expiate Sin*. This being so, what Judgment should we give of him that would give to the Poor, and him that would hinder the giving? What would *Donatus* answer, if God should ask him, O Bishop, What do you think of *Constantine*? Do you take him for an Innocent Man, or a Sinner? If you believe him to be an Innocent Man, Why do ye not then receive the Presents of an Innocent Man? And if you believe him to be a Sinner, Why do ye not then permit him to give Alms, since 'tis for the Sinner that I have made the Poor?' *Optatus* adds, that *Donatus* had join'd with his Pride, a pitiless Disposition: That he would be considered as the Prince and Sovereign of *Carthage*; That he exalted himself above the Emperor, tho' there is nothing above the Emperor, but God only who makes Kings; That he despis'd his Brethren, and would not receive their Oblations; That he made those of his Party Swear by his Name, as if he had been God, and that he would have them carry his Name, instead of that of Jesus Christ. In the following Part of this Discourse, he proves, that the *Donatists* had not only brought upon themselves Persecution, by their Pride, and the Contempt they had testified of the Emperor; but also that 'twas they who had begun the War. That 'twas *Donatus* of *Bagais*, who had first gathered together a Multitude of Seditious Persons, whom he called *Agnosticks* or *Circumcellians*, to hinder *Paul* and *Macarius* from distributing their Alms. *Optatus*, describes the horrible Outrages of these desperate Fellows, and shews, that the Soldiers who came only to put a stop to these Disorders, being attacked by these Madmen, were obliged to defend themselves, and to beat them: That the Church nevertheless had no Hand in this, and that the Seditious could attribute it to none but themselves. He proceeds further, and shews, that they did justly suffer those Mischiefs, because they broke the Unity of the Church; that the Persecution which they endured, was an Evil that was necessary for procuring the Good of Peace and Union; that this Proceeding against them, was Authorized by the Examples of *Moses*, who put to Death 3000 Men, for Worshipping the Golden Calf; Of *Phinehas*, who killed two Persons for violating the Law of God in committing Adultery; and of *Elias*, who put to Death 450 false Prophets. The *Donatists* answered to these Instances, that we must put a great Difference between the Spirit of the Old Testament, and that of the New; That Jesus Christ had forbidden in the Gospel, the use of the Sword, when *St. Peter* drew it to cut off *Malchus's* Ear. *Optatus*, maintains to the contrary, that this Prohibition respected only the time and Circumstances of that Action of *St. Peter*; that Jesus Christ was come to suffer, and not to defend himself; that if *St. Peter* had compass'd what he designed, Mankind had not been delivered by the Death of the Messiah: But as distrusting the Truth of this first Answer, which indeed is not very Solid, because the Advice of Jesus Christ, is general; he tries another Answer, and maintains, that *Macarius* did not use the Sword as *St. Peter* did, and that he was not the Author of any Persecution like that of the Pagan Emperors; That he would only oblige Christians to go all into the Church and Pray unto one and the same God in the Spirit of Peace and Unity; that those who suffered on this occasion were not Martyrs, since they had not Charity, without which, none can be crowned; that this cannot pass for a Persecution against the Church, but for a just Punishment of some Persons that were refractory to the Church. He objects to the *Donatists*, their obliging some Catholics to call themselves still Pagans, that they might re-baptize them. He observes, that they had spread about a Report when *Paul* and *Macarius* came into *Africk*; that those two

Officers were to set up an Image of the Emperor upon the Altar at the time of Offering Sacrifice, but there was nothing done like it; that even those of their own Party who were present at the Sacrifices, had acknowledg'd that 'twas a Calumny, and that they saw nothing but the ordinary Ceremonies of the Church: In short, that there was nothing changed, nothing diminished, or added to the Sacrifice. He returns again to *Macarius*, and proposes to himself this Objection: If the Catholics had not approved the Action of *Macarius*, they should have excommunicated him, which they did not do, and therefore are guilty of his Crime. He answers, that *Macarius* being no Bishop, they did not Communicate with him, as one Bishop does with other Bishops, and by consequence the Clergy could not be prophaned by his Communion, because a Lay-man has no right to Preach or to Teach, whereas a Bishop speaks to the People with Authority, beginning his Discourse, and ending it always with the Name of God. The *Donatists*, add, that *Macarius* ought not so much as to Communicate with Lay-men. *Optatus*, answers, that being a Minister of the Will of God, and discharging the Office of a Judge, who has Secular Authority in his Hand, the Church ought not to Excommunicate him; that moreover what he had done, might be defended by the Examples of *Moses* and *Phinehas*; but in short, that tho' we should confess that *Macarius* was Guilty, yet the Church could not Excommunicate him who was never accus'd; that there was no Accuser found, neither had he confess'd his Crime, and therefore the Ecclesiastical Judges could not condemn him, since it was forbidden to one and the same Person to be both Accuser and Judge at the same time.

In the Fourth Book, he refutes the *Donatists* for saying, that the Catholics were such Sinners, that we should shun their Sacrifices, as it is said in *Isaiah*, ch. 66. and that we should not receive their Unction, as it is in *Psalms* 140. *Optatus*, after he has given this Caution in his Introduction, that Men ought not mutually to condemn one another, but to wait for the Judgment of God; and after having exhorted them to receive the Title of Brethren, which the Catholics are willing to bestow upon them, he proves that those Accusations which they draw up against the Church, are rather applicable to themselves, than to the Catholics. For proof of this, he sets down all the Characters of a wicked Man, which are given in *Psalms* 49. *God hath said unto the Wicked, Why do they Preach my Precepts? Why do they open their Mouth to speak of my Law? Ye that hate Discipline, and have cast my Words behind you? You sit and speak against your Brother. If you see a Thief, you run along with him, and have made your self the Companion of Adulterers*. He shews, that the *Donatists* cannot excuse themselves from these Crimes; that they hate Discipline, since they shun peace, since they re-baptize, and rob the Bishops of their Priesthood: That they Preach in their Pulpits against their Brethren; because under pretence of Preaching the Gospel they speak injurious Words against the Catholics, and inspire those with hatred against them who hear their Sermons; That they endeavour to persuade them that according to the Apostolical Injunction they should shun them, they should not Salute them, nor wish them Good Morrow, though all this is to be understood only of Hereticks, whose Discourse creeps like a Serpent; that they joyn themselves with Thieves, since they correspond with the Devil to extirpate one part of the Flock of Jesus Christ. He describes this after a very pleasant manner. 'All Men, says he, that come into the World, tho' they be Born of Christian Parents, are filled with an unclean Spirit, which must be driven away by Baptism: This is done by the Exorcism which drives away this Spirit, and makes it fly into remote places. After this, the Heart of Man becomes a most pure Habitation. God enters and dwells there, according to that of the Apostle, *We are the Temple of God*. When therefore ye re-baptize Men, and exorcise them anew, and when ye say, *O accursed, come forth of this Man*, 'tis to God that ye speak after this manner, you drive him disgracefully out of this Man, and the Devil re-enters into his Heart.' This place of *Optatus*, is very express for proving Original Sin, and the Antiquity of Exorcisms. At last, *Optatus* shews, That the *Donatists* render themselves Companions of Adulterers, because they separate from the Church, which is the only lawful Spouse of Jesus Christ, to unite themselves with the Adulterers. He comes afterwards to the second Passage taken out of *Psalms* 140. *Let not the Oyl of the wicked anoint my Head*; and he observes that this should only be applied to Jesus Christ, and that it is a Prayer, and not a precept; a Wish, and not a Command. Then he explains also two other Passages which *Parmenianus* had quoted against the Catholics, and shews, that the first is to be understood of Adulterers or Hereticks; and the Second, of Jews, and that neither the one nor the other is applicable to Catholics.

In the Fifth Book, *Optatus* proves, That the *Donatists* commit a great Crime, in reiterating Baptism, which Jesus Christ has commanded to be given but once only. He approves of the Commendations which *Parmenianus* has given this Sacrament, by saying, *That it is the Life of Virtue*



*the Death of Crimes, the Immortal Birth, the means of obtaining the Kingdom of Heaven, the Port of Innocence, and the Shipwreck of Sinners.* But he adds, That 'tis not he who gives this Sacrament of Baptism, that confers these Graces, but the Faith of him that receives it and the Vertue of the Trinity; and consequently, that Baptism is not to be reiterated, which is Administred in the Name of the Trinity. He has also here a most Remarkable Reflection about the Rule which we should Consult in all Ecclesiastical Controversies. 'We ask, says he, if it be lawful to repeat Baptism given in the Name of the Trinity? Ye maintain, That it is lawful; we say, that it is forbidden. The People are in suspense, between your affirming and our denying the same thing, and they can neither believe you nor us, for we are all fallible Men: Let us then search after Judges in this Case. But where are they to be found? If they be Christians, they are either of your Party or ours, and by consequence cannot be Judges of our Difference. We must then enquire after a Judge out of Christendom. But then if he be a Pagan, he understands not our Mysteries; if he be a Jew, he is an Enemy to the Baptism of Christians. There cannot be therefore found any Judge upon Earth, but we must seek for one in Heaven. But why should we have recourse to Heaven, since we have the Testament of our Father upon Earth? Let us search after his Will in the Gospel, which will inform us, that he who has been once washed, needs not to be washed again. Wherefore, adds he, we do not re-baptize those who have been baptized, when they return again to us.' He proves also, that it ought not to be done, because there is but one Faith, one Jesus Christ, and one Sacrament of Baptism: That there are Three Things to be considered in this Sacrament, the Trinity, the Faith of him that receives it, and the Person that administers it: That the Trinity is the first Thing of absolute necessity, without which there can be no Sacrament at all; That the Faith of him that receives the Sacrament, is the second Thing, which is no less necessary, because it ought always to be the same; but then there is not the same Necessity that the Minister should be Faithful and just, because the Ministers are changed every day, and it is Jesus Christ who Baptizes, and the Minister ought not to attribute to himself the Effect of the Sacrament which is owing to God Only; and in short, because the Sacraments are Holy, and do Sanctify by themselves, tho' the Holiness of the Minister do not contribute to it. *Optatus* proves this Truth by many Reasons, and many Testimonies. He observes by the bye, That those who had been baptized by *John*, before Jesus Christ instituted Baptism, were not re-baptized; but those who were baptized, after Jesus Christ had instituted Baptism, have been re-baptized. At last, he endeavours to prove, That the Faith of him that receives Baptism, is necessary to the Validity of this Sacrament, which must be understood of Adult Persons only.

The Sixth Book is Written against the Impieties and Sacrileges of the *Donatists*, who had broken, cut in pieces, razed, and overturned the Altars of the Catholics; Those Altars, says *Optatus*, which have born the Offerings of the People, and the Members of Jesus Christ, upon which the Almighty God has been invoked, upon which the Holy Spirit has descended, where the Faithful have received the earnest of eternal Salvation, the Support of their Faith, and the Hopes of a blessed Resurrection; those Altars upon which we are forbidden to offer any other offerings, but those of Peace. For what is the Altar, but the place where the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ are laid? 'What hath Jesus Christ done to you, says he further to the *Donatists*, that you should destroy the Altars on which he rests at certain Times? Why do ye break the sacred Tables where Jesus Christ makes his abode? Ye have imitated the Crime of the Jews, for as they put Jesus Christ to Death upon the Cross, so ye have beaten him upon these altars. If you believe that the Eucharist of the Catholics is Sacrilegious, yet at least you should have some respect to the former Offerings that your selves have made upon these Altars. Upon this Occasion, *Optatus* puts a very pleasant Objection to them: All the Faithful know, says he, that Linen Cloaths are laid upon the Altars, for the Celebration of the Holy Mysteries. The Eucharist does not touch the Wood of the Altar, but only the Linen Clothes: Why then do ye break? Why do ye scrape? Why do ye burn the Wood of the Altar? If the Impurity can pass through the Linen, why cannot it penetrate the Wood, nay, and the Ground also? If therefore ye scrape off something from the Altars because they are impure, I advise you also to dig into the Ground, and there to make a great Ditch, that ye may offer in a most pure Place: But take heed that ye do not dig down to Hell, where you will find your Masters, *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*. So pleasantly does *Optatus* ridicule the folly of the *Donatists*. But from this Raillery, he quickly passes to most bloody Accusations. 'Ye have also redoubled your Sacrileges in breaking the Chalices which carried the Blood of Jesus Christ; ye have melted them down to make In-

gots of Gold or Silver, which you have Sold in the Markets to every one indifferently, that have offered to buy them: Sacrilegious Persons as you are, you have not shewn the least respect to those Chalices, wherein you your selves have offered. Perhaps, Infamous Women have bought them for their own use. Perhaps, the Pagans took them to make vessels wherewith they might offer Incense to their Idols. O enormous Crime! O unheard of Impiety! This Declamation of *Optatus*, clearly shews, what is the Reverence that we ought to pay to the Sacrament of the Eucharist, and Evidently proves, that it was not considered merely as Bread and Wine, but that it was believed to be the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ. The *Donatists* answered to these accusations, That those Vessels having been touched by polluted Persons, were thereby become unclean, as is said by the Prophet *Haggai*, that which is touched by an impure Man, becomes unclean: From whence they concluded, that they had reason to make no further use of them, but to consider them as common and ordinary Vessels. *Optatus* answers them, by shewing, that the Catholics were not defiled with any Crime; that they had not sacrificed to Idols; that no such Accusation could be prov'd against them; that the only thing that could render them odious to the *Donatists*, was their Love of Peace, and their endeavours after Union; That they are united by Communion with all the Churches of the World, and that they cannot be accused of being defiled; but supposing that even the Catholics were Unclean, yet the Vessels which they touched at the Invocation of the Name of God, would not be so, because that Sacred Name, Sanctifies even that which is unclean: That the touch of an unclean Person, has less power to render a Vessel impure, than the Invocation of God has to purify it, since 'tis the Invocation, and not the Touch that Sanctifies it.

The Second Accusation that *Optatus* makes against the *Donatists*, is their putting under Penance the Virgins Consecrated to God, and making them leave off the Signs of their former Profession, and forcing them to desire a new one, and doing violence unto them. In this Place, he speaks of a little Mitre of Cloth, which they put upon their Heads, and of the Veil wherewith they covered them, and says, That these Ornaments were signs that they had professed Virginity, and that the *Donatists*, by taking them away from those Virgins to put them under Penance, had given occasion to many Persons to Ravish and Marry them. He adds, that the *Donatists* had carryed away by force, the Ornaments of Churches, and the Holy Books, and that they had washed the Vestments, the Walls, and the Floors of the Churches with Salt-Water. He laughs at their folly, and asks them, why they washed the Vestments, and did not also wash the Books of the Gospel? Why they washed the Walls, which are only looked upon? And why they did not also wash the Pavement of the Streets, and how they would make use of that Water wherewith the Catholics had washed themselves? At last, he accuses them of invading the Cemeteries, and hindering the Interment of the Catholics. 'Wherefore do you abuse the Dead, says he to them, that you may terrifie the Living? Why do you deny them Burial? If you have any Differences with your Brother while he is alive, yet Death should put an End to them all. Why do you insult over him after Death? why do you refuse him Burial? Why do you quarrel even with the Dead? But says he, if you could hinder his Body from being Interred among other Christians, yet you cannot separate his Soul from the Company of those Holy Souls that are with Jesus Christ.' At last, *Optatus*, says, That the *Donatists* were so extravagantly wicked, that they corrupted all those that came over to their Party: 'So those that were Patient, says he, by going over to you, become Furious of the sudden; those that were Faithful, become Perfidious; those that were Peaceable, become Quarrelsome; their Simplicity, is changed into Cheating; their Modesty, into Impudence; Their Humility, into Pride. Those who are gone over to your Party, solicit others to come after them, and accuse of Sloth and Stupidity, all those that are yet in the Bosom of the Church, they lay Traps for them, and make them to fall into the same precipice with themselves.

The Last Book which is commonly attributed to *Optatus*, is a Recapitulation of some Points that have been handled in other places; particularly, he refutes the Objection of the *Donatists*, who say, they cannot re-unite themselves to the Catholics, because they are the Sons and Successors of Traditors. The Author of this Book, extenuates as much as he can the Enormity of this Crime, and shews, that tho' it were much greater, and that those to whom the Catholick Bishops succeed were guilty of it, yet they have no share in that Guilt, neither can it be imputed to them, nor alledged



*S. Optatus* alledged against them as a just cause of Separation. He shews, that we ought sometimes to suffer Sinners in the Church, and to dissemble the Sins of our Brethren for the good of Peace. He observes, that there is no Man free from Sin; and that if any one were so, yet he ought not to separate from his Brethren, though they were Sinners: That the Apostles did not separate from the Communion of St. Peter after his Sin; but on the contrary the Keys were given him, that he being a Sinner, might open the Gates of Heaven to the Innocent, and teach those that are Innocent, that they should not shut them against Sinners. Besides, these, there are many other Repetitions of what had been said by *Optatus* concerning *Macarius*, and the Persecution that he raised against the *Donatists*.

*Optatus* at the end of his Books, had placed many authentick Instruments to justify the Matters of Fact which he had proposed against the *Donatists*; we have none of those which *Optatus* placed there extant, but many other Monuments concerning the History of the *Donatists* have been added to his Books.

The First is a part of the Acts of the Conference between the Catholick Bishops and the *Donatists*, held at Carthage by the Order of the Emperor *Honorius*, in the Year 411, which belongs to another Century.

The Second, is part of the Verbal Process made by *Zenophilus*, who had been Consul, on the 30th. of December in the Year 320, by which it appears, that *Silvanus* who ordained *Majorinus*, had given up the Holy Books to the Heathens: *Zenophilus* there examines a Grammarian named *Victor*, a Deacon named *Cassius*, and a Sub-Deacon called *Crescentianus*, and makes them confess, that *Silvanus* had delivered up the Ornaments of the Church and the Holy Books, according to the Deposition of *Nundinarius* the Deacon, who was present. He causes also the verbal Process made in the Year 363, to be read by *Munatius Felix*, Judge of the Colony of *Cirta*, who further confirmed the Deposition of *Nundinarius*. The Letters Written to *Silvanus*, by the Bishops of his own Party are set down, wherein they reprehend him for his outrageous manner of Treating his Deacon *Nundinarius*. He is accused also of making a Simonaical Ordination, of appropriating to his own use the Alms that were given for the Poor, and of being ordained himself by the Solicitation of some Country Fellows. There are many things very remarkable in this Act: for there one may see, that at the Beginning of the 3d. Age of the Church, they used Chalice of Silver and Gold, Cups, Lamps and Candlesticks of Silver and Copper; That they kept in the Church, Garments for the Poor; That the Readers, who were very Numerous, had the Holy Books; That the Christians had a Library near the Church, where they put their Books.

The Third Record, is also part of a Verbal Process concerning the Justification of *Felix* of *Aptungis*, made by *Albanus* the Proconsul, in the Year 314, in the Month of February, as appears by St. *Augustin*: There he examines one named *Ingentius*, and Convicts him of making an Addition to a Letter of *Cacilian*, that he might falsely accuse *Felix* of being a Traditor.

The Fourth, is a Letter of the Emperor *Constantine* to *Ablabius*; wherein he orders him to send *Cacilian* to *Arles*, with some Bishops of his Party, as well as some of his Accusers, that he might receive Judgment from the Council which was to assemble there.

The Fifth, is a Letter from the Council of *Arles*, of which we have spoken in its place.

The Sixth, is the Letter which *Constantine* Wrote against the *Donatists*, when they appealed to his Judgment, after they had been condemned in the Council of *Arles*.

The Seventh, is another Letter of the same Emperor, wherein he acquaints the Bishops of *Donatus's* Party, That he once designed to send Judges into *Africk*, to determine their Differences with *Cacilian*; but that he judged it more proper to make him come before himself.

The Eighth, is a 4th. Letter of the same Emperor written to *Celsus*; wherein he acquaints him, That he will quickly come into *Africk* to decide the Differences between *Donatus* and *Cacilian* himself.

The Ninth, is a 5th. Letter of *Constantine*, wherein he gives the *Donatist* Bishops leave to return into *Africk*.

The Tenth, is a 6th. Letter of this Emperor about the Cause of the *Donatists*, addressed to the Catholicks of *Africk*. He tells them that he had done all that lay in his Power to re-establish Peace, but since the Obstinacy of some Men had frustrated his good Intentions, they must now wait upon God only for the Remedy of this Mischief, and that till it pleased the Divine Mercy to remedy it, they must proceed with Moderation, and bear with Patience the Insolence of the Enemies of the Church: That they must not render Evil for Evil, since Vengeance is reserved to God only, and that by suffering Patiently the Fury of these Insolent Men, they should certainly merit the Glory of Martyrdom. For, says he, Is not this to Fight and Conquer for God, to bear with Patience the Outrages and Injuries of the Enemies of God's People? At last he assures the Catholicks, That if they observe this Method, they will

quickly see their Enemies Party weakened, and that God will give Grace to many to acknowledge their Error and do Penance.

The following Letter is a further Indication of the Meekness of this Emperor, and the Moderation of the Catholicks. The *Donatists* had invaded the Church which *Constantine* had caus'd to be built in *Constantina* a City of *Numidia*; which the Catholicks demanded back again, but they refus'd it. The Catholicks to avoid all further Contention, prayed the Emperor to give them a Place in the Dependances of his Demefnes thereabouts, where they might Build another Church: To which *Constantine* answered, that he did not only grant their Desire, but he had also written to the Receiver of his Revenues to furnish them with so much Money as was necessary for the Building of this Church. In this Letter he praises the Moderation of the Catholicks, and condemns the Obstinacy of the *Donatists*; and ordains, that the Laws which he had made for Exemption of the Clergy from all publick Taxes, should be put in Execution.

The last of these Records, which are added to the Books of *Optatus*, is a Fragment of the Acts of the Passion of the Saints *Dativus*, *Saturninus*, *Felix*, *Ampelius*, and of some other African Martyrs, made in the time of *Anulinus*, and written by a *Donatist*. This Piece contains some part of the Calumnies of the *Donatists* against *Mensurius* and *Cacilian*. The Author of these Acts accuses them of hindring the Faithful from carrying Food to the Christians that were in Prison, and of beating them back with blows of Whips and Cudgels: He adds, that these Martyrs would never communicate with *Mensurius*, nor *Cacilian*, because they had delivered up the Holy Books to the Heathens, and that the Church of Christ being Holy, ought not to hold Communion with those that are defil'd with a Crime of this heinous Nature. At last, he says, that those Martyrs who wanted Food by the Cruelty of *Mensurius* and *Cacilian*, died of Famine in Prison, and went to Heaven there to receive the Crown of Martyrdom.

The Style of *Optatus's* Books is noble, vehement and close, but not enough Polite or Neat. He presses briskly upon those against whom he Disputes, and Describes very sensibly the Transactions which he relates, and explains the passages which he produces with a great deal of Wit. He gives his Thoughts a fine and delicate turn, his Expressions signify very perfectly what he means to say; his Reasonings are subtle, and his Relations pleasant. In a word, it appears that the Author of this little Book, was Master of much Learning and Wit. The Doctrine which he teaches, is, and always will be of much use to the Church: for there is not the same Reason of those Questions which concern the Truth of the Church, as of those that concern only some particular Doctrines. These continue only so long as the Sect subsists which opposes these Doctrines; and the Books which treat of them become almost useless whenever the Heresie is extinct. But all Heresies, all Schisms, having one common principle, of opposing the Church, the Books which are written in its Defence, are contrary to all Heresies, and will be useful as long as there shall be any Hereticks in the World whosoever they be. The Books of *Optatus* teach us also a great many very remarkable particulars concerning the History of the *Donatists*: We find in them many Points of Doctrine, and we may observe many things which clear up the antient Discipline. He says, that all Christians have but one Faith and one Creed. He explains the chief Mysteries in a most Orthodox manner. He shews, that there neither is, nor can be any more but one Catholick Church spread over all the Earth, that it cannot be shut up in a small Part of the World: That this Church is made up of Bishops, Priests, Deacons, Ministers, and those that are merely the Faithful. He observes, that the Bishops are above the Priests, as the Priests are above the Deacons: He considers the Church of *Rome* as the chief Church in the World, and as the Centre of Unity, because of St. *Peter*, who was the Head of the Apostles: He says, That Man by Nature is Weak and Imperfect, and therefore has need of the Grace of Jesus Christ to make him Perfect; that we are all Born in Sin, and that Baptism is necessary to obtain Remission of it; that when the Sacrament is given in the Name of the Trinity, it ought not to be reiterated: and yet he seems to think that we ought to re-baptize those who were baptized by Hereticks; but he does not make the same determination for those who were baptized by Schismaticks. He mentions Exorcism with Commendation, as a necessary Ceremony at Baptism; He speaks of Chrysm also as a Holy Thing, and of the Unction that was us'd at Baptism. He expresses himself in so plain terms about the Real presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Eucharist, and about the Adoration that is due to this Holy Sacrament, that nothing can be desired more express. He observes many Ceremonies at the Celebration of the Eucharist, to which he gives the Name of a Sacrifice; and it appears by what he says of it, that in his time they offer'd Sacrifice for the whole Catholick Church, and then they recited the Lord's Prayer; that the Celebration of it was upon an Altar of Wood, which was adorned and covered with a Linen-Cloth for



the greater respect; that they then used Chalices of Gold and Silver, and also had Ornaments. He says, that the Church has Judges; that she punishes Crimes; that she exacts Penances of those that confess their Sins, or are convicted of them. He praises Virginity, and yet he says, that there is no obligation to it upon those that have not made a Vow. He observes, that in his time, this Vow was made Solemnly by the Virgins who dedicated themselves to God; and that they carried a small covering upon their Head, which was the Sign of the Vow they had made. He testifies sufficiently the respect that was paid in his time for the Relicks of the Saints, when he speaks of the Sepulchre of St. Peter and St. Paul, and speaking of Lucilla, he blames those that honoured the Relicks of false Martyrs, which were not owned by the Church.

The only Error that can be observ'd in the Books of *Optatus* is, that he maintains that those who had been baptized with John's Baptism, before the Institution of Christ's Baptism, were not re-baptized. [See *Acts* xix. 1-5.] We may add to this, what he says of reiterating the Baptism of Hereticks, and perhaps also what he proposes about the Power of Free Will, to which he seems to give the Power of willing and beginning a Good Action, and also of advancing in the Way of Salvation, without the help of the Grace of Christ; but these Errors are light and pardonable. One may also reprehend in his Book the Allegorical way in which he explains many Passages of Holy Scripture, by giving them a sense very remote from that which they naturally have, and by applying them to those things with which they have no affinity. This Fault which would be tolerable in a Preacher, seems not to be pardonable in an Author who writes a Treatise of Controversy, wherein all Proofs should be solid and convincing. But *Optatus* had to do with such Enemies as us'd the same way, who perverted Passages of Scripture to calumniate the Church, and commend their own Sect.

The Text of *Optatus* is much corrupted in many places. It was printed at *Mentz* in the Year 1549. with many Faults. Afterwards *Balduinus* a Learned Civilian, published it at *Paris* in 1563, revised by a Manuscript which was communicated to him by *Espenceus*, and corrected in many places. He prefixes to it a large Preface against *Calvin*, wherein he refutes the Conclusion that this Heretick had drawn from the History of *Optatus*, that Princes were lawful Judges in Matters of Religion, and at the same time he discovers a great many stupid Mistakes and gross Errors that he had propos'd. He thought it not proper to prefix this Preface to the Second Edition of *Optatus*, which he caus'd to be printed at *Paris* in 1569, together with *Victor Uticensis*, after he had revised and corrected it by a Manuscript. 'Twas

by this Edition that *Commelinus* made his in the Year 1599. The Annotations of this famous Civilian upon *Optatus*, are most learned and curious, and they perfectly clear the History of the *Donatists*; but they are so long, that they may rather pass for a Commentary than for Notes. In 1631. *Albaspineus* caus'd the Books of *Optatus* to be printed in One Volume in *Folio*, with short Notes, and large Observations, which he added to the Annotations of *Balduinus*, and some Notes of an unknown Author. He added the Records of which we have spoken already, together with the History of the Conference of *Carthage*, published by *Balduinus*, and the excellent Observations which he made in French and Latin about the Discipline of the Church. In the same year 1631. *Meric Casaubon* printed in a little Volume the Text of *Optatus* at *London*, with most judicious Critical Notes. At last, *Philippus Priorius* took care to make a new Impression of this Author at *Paris* by the Widow of *Dupuis*. In 1679, they put in this Edition the Prefaces of *Balduinus*, the Notes of *Albaspineus*, *Casaubon* and *Barthius*, and those of the Unknown Author: *Priorius* also added some, which he put before the others, though they do not deserve such an honourable place. After this followed the Commentary of *Balduinus*, and the Observations of *Albaspineus* upon *Optatus*, the Conference of *Carthage*, and the other pieces of which we have spoken. The History of the Conference of *Carthage*, written by *Balduinus*, is the last Discourse in this Volume, which has some affinity with the Books of *Optatus*. After so many Editions and Commentaries, one would think that this Author were become most correct and plain: and yet 'tis not so, for the Text is still very much corrupted; there are many places that still want to be cleared up and restored. The Notes of *Balduinus* do indeed enlighten the History; but he is mistaken in many passages of it, as *Valesius* has plainly proved in his learned Dissertation of the Schism of the *Donatists*. The Notes and Observations of *Albaspineus* explain some Points of Discipline, but they are not always just. Those of *Meric Casaubon*, are the best for understanding of the Text; but those of *Barthius* and others, are not very valuable: The learned *Rigaltius*, after he had published *Tertullian*, *Minutius* and St. *Cyprian*, designed to publish *Optatus*: And it may be presumed, that as he was a very able Critick, very well vers'd in the *African* Antiquities, and in the Knowledge of Manuscripts, he would have made considerable Corrections, and restored the Text of *Optatus* in many places: But he died before he had undertaken this Work. I shall be able perhaps to undertake it, and to publish the Text of *Optatus* revis'd by many Manuscripts, more correct than any hitherto published.

## A C A C I U S of Cæsarea.

*Acacius of Cæsarea.* **A**cacius surnamed *One-Ey'd*, because he look'd askint, succeeded in the year 338. to his Master *Eusebius* Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*. He joyned himself to the *Eusebians*, and came to *Sardica* with them: He was one of those against whom the Council of the Western Bishops, that was held in that City, pronounced the Sentence of Deposition. Being returned into the East, he had some Differences with *Cyril* of *Jerusalem*, and in hatred of this Saint, he separated himself from the *Semi-Arians* and joyned with the *Anomæans*, whom he defended stoutly at the Councils of *Seleucia* and *Constantinople*; but he quickly repented of taking their part, and having got *Meletius* Ordained, and many other Bishops, whose Doctrine was Catholick, he re-united himself to them, and sign-

ed the Creed of the *Nicene* Council in the Council of the Eastern Bishops that was held at *Antioch*, under the Reign of *Jovian*. He died towards the year 366. He composed many Books before he was Bishop, and wrote a Book against *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*, a Fragment whereof is quoted by *Epiphanius* in *Hæres.* 72. Some time after he was Bishop he wrote the Life of *Eusebius* his Predecessor and Master, as *Socrates* testifies, *Ch.* 4. *B.* II. of his History. St. *Jerome* says, that he wrote seventeen Volumes of Commentaries upon Scripture, seven Volumes about several Questions, and many other Treatises upon different Subjects. This Author had much Wit and Learning, but he several times changed his Opinion and Language as he was moved by Interest or Passion.

## P H O T I N U S.

*Photinus.* **P**hotinus Bishop of *Sirmium*, was originally of *Galatia*. When he was Deacon and Disciple of *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*, he followed some of his Errors: He did not distinguish the Person of the Word from the Person of the Father, and said, That we ought not to give him the Name or Title of the Son of God, before he was born of *Mary* (a): He had hardly discovered his Error (b), but it was condemned by the Bishops of the East, in a Council held at *Antioch* in the year 345, and by the Bishops of the West in the Council of *Milan* in 346. These last as-

sembled two years after at *Sirmium* to depose him, but they could not compass their Design, because of the Opposition that was made by the People of that City, and therefore they were contented to draw up a Sentence against him, and to write of it to the Bishops of the East: But at last, the Eastern Bishops being assembled at *Sirmium* in the year 351, when the Emperor *Constantius* was Master of this City, after the Defeat of *Vetranio*--- they deposed *Photinus*, and procured his Banishment. He died in *Galatia* the place of his Exile, under the Reign of *Valentinian* and *Valens*, to-

(a) **H**e did not distinguish, &c.] After this manner St. *Athanasius* in his second Apology, in his Book of Councils, and St. *Epiphanius* in *Hæres.* 51. explain the Error of *Photinus*. He is commonly accused of renewing the Error of *Paulus Samosatenus* and *Ebion*; but though he speaks like them, yet he was not wholly of their Opinion. For he did not believe with *Ebion* and *Paulus Samosatenus*, That Jesus Christ was a mere Man; but he said, That the Son of God was born of *Mary*, because he did not believe that he had the Title of the Son of God, before he was born of the Virgin. He comes nearer to the Er-

ror of *Sabellius*, because he did not distinguish the Word, before he was born of *Mary*.

(b) **H**e had hardly discovered his Error.] Some say, That he began to publish it under the Reign of *Constantine*, which they ground upon the Authority of *Severus Sulpitius*. But *Socrates*, *B.* II. *Ch.* 18. and St. *Hilary* in his Book of Fragments, testify, that the Error of *Photinus* was not known till a little while before the Council of *Antioch* in the year 345. All that we have said of the History of *Photinus*, is taken out of the Fragments of St. *Hilary*, and what we have observed about his Writings, is taken out of St. *Jerome* in his Catalogue.

wards



wards the year 376. This Heretick was a great Master of Wit and Eloquence, was acute and subtle in his Reasonings, and led an unblameable Life. He wrote many Books, but the chief of them were his Treatise against the Gentiles, and his Books addressed to the Emperor *Valentinian*. St. *Epiphanius* relates in *Hæres.* 71. some Extracts of the Conference

he held with *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*, in the Council of *Sirmium*; and we have nothing else of his. *Vincentius Lirinensis* assures us, that he had much Wit, Learning and Eloquence, and that he spoke Greek and Latin equally well, as may be seen, says he, in his Works, whereof he wrote part in Greek, and part in Latin.

## AETIUS and EUNOMIUS.

**T**Hese two Impious Wretches deserve not to be placed amongst the Ecclesiastical Writers, neither should we speak of them here, but to condemn their Books, and their way of writing about Religion. *Aëtius* was of *Cælosyria*, the Son of a Soldier in the Governor's Guard. For some time he was a Goldsmith, but leaving that Trade, he applied himself to the Study of Logick, and retired to the City of *Tyre*, where he put himself under the Discipline of *Paulinus* Bishop of that City, about the year 330. After the Death of this Bishop, he was driven away by *Eulalius*, and forced to withdraw to *Anazarbus*, where he conversed with two Disciples of the Martyr *Lucianus*. From thence he came to *Antioch*, where he knew *Leontius*, who was afterward Bishop of that City, and drove him away a little while after. And now not knowing where to hide his Head, he set up for Controversy, and disputed publicly with very little success against two Hereticks. But probably finding that this Art would not maintain him, he tried a little at Physick. This is what *Philostorgius*, a great Admirer of *Aëtius*, relates of the beginning of his Master's Life. St. *Gregory Nyssen* paints him forth in very black Colours. He says, that from a Vine-dresser, he became a Blacksmith, that he was indicted in a Court of Justice for taking a Gold Chain from a Woman, and returning her one of the same form and thickness which was nothing but Copper gilt: That afterwards he put himself in the Service of a Quack, and having gained some Money with him, he set up for a Physician; and that at last he learned the Subtleties of *Aristotle's* Logick, and by this means was admitted into the presence of *Gallus Cæsar*. However it was, this is certain, that *Aëtius* learned all the Subtleties and Sophistical Tricks of the *Aristotelian* Logick, but he was ignorant in Scripture and Ecclesiastical Antiquity. A Man of this Temper was very proper to advance all sorts of Impiety, to maintain them with Impudence, and also to entangle those that he disputed against. He was ordained Deacon by *Leontius* of *Antioch*, who deposed him soon after. *Eudoxius* tried in vain to restore him, and was hindered from doing it by the hatred which the Christians of *Antioch* bore towards him. He continued nevertheless in this City, being in Friendship with *Eudoxius*, till he was banished to *Pepusa*, by the Order of the Emperor *Constantius*. He came to the Council of *Constantinople*, where he disputed with the *Semi-Arian* Bishops, who having detected his Impiety, rendered him odious to the Emperor, and procured his Banishment from the Palace. So that *Eudoxius*, *Acacius*, and those of his own Party, were obliged to condemn him in the year 360. After this Condemnation he was banished to *Mopsuestia*, and from thence removed to *Amblada*, a Castle in *Phrygia*. He returned under the Emperor *Julian*, and *Eudoxius*, who was gone to the See of *Constantinople*, wrote to *Euzoius* Bishop of the *Arian* Party at *Antioch*, to receive him; and the Sentence of Condemnation passed against him. But *Euzoius* not doing it very readily, *Eudoxius* caused him to be Ordained Bishop, by some Bishops assembled at *Constantinople*; and soon after, *Euzoius* having assembled a Council of nine Bishops, declared the Sentence null which was given against this Heretick at *Constantinople*. But at last, under the Reign of *Jovian*, *Aëtius* being abandoned by *Eudoxius*, and the other Bishops that had maintained him, made a Faction by himself, and ordained many Bishops for his own Party. He was forced in the time of the Emperor *Valens*, to retire to the Isle of *Lesbos*; and yet he died at *Constantinople*, in the year 366.

The Doctrine of *Aëtius*, was the pure Doctrine of *Arius*, without Disguise; but he used terms and comparisons that were very odious to explain it. He affirmed without hesitation, That the Son of God was unlike to his Father; That he was of another Substance; That he was created of nothing: Wherefore his Disciples were called *Anomæans*, *Heterousians*, *Exoucontians*, Terms that denote the three Dogmes, which we just now mentioned. He affirmed the same things of the Holy Spirit, as of the Word: He imagined, That God revealed to himself the Mysteries that were unknown to the Apostles: He affirmed, That he had a clear and distinct Knowledge of God, and comprehended him even as he comprehends himself. He maintained also

with *Arius*, That the Word assumed the Flesh without a Soul. His Disciples baptized with one Immersion only, and in the Name of the Death of Jesus Christ, they re-baptized those that came over to them, tho' they had been baptized by Catholics. Some of them are accused of having taught, That the most enormous Crimes would not hinder the Salvation of those that were of their Judgment.

*Aëtius*, as *Theodoret* observes, made Theology an Art of Tricks, or Sophistry. He raised a great number of Propositions, which contained unanswerable Difficulties, in his Opinion, to destroy the Mystery of the Trinity. We have in the *Hæres.* 76. of *Epiphanius*, a Libel which contains 47 Propositions of this Nature; and the same Author attesteth that *Aëtius* composed 300 of the very same sort: I shall set down one or two of them, by which ye may sufficiently judge of the rest. *Is it possible for God to make that a Person begotten should not be begotten?—If God is not begotten according to his Essence, how can it be said, that he who is begotten is of his Essence? Can the same Essence be begotten, and not begotten.*

*Eunomius* the Disciple of *Aëtius*, was the Son of a Husbandman in a Village of *Cappadocia*: He wrote some time for the Publick, after which he was made Master of a School, and at last he put himself under the Discipline of *Aëtius*. He was not so subtle as his Master, but he had a greater Command of Words. After he was Ordained Deacon by *Eudoxius*, he was quickly banished to *Myda* a City of *Phrygia*. He returned to *Constantinople*, at the time of the Council in the year 359, and some time after, he was Ordained Bishop of *Cyzicum* by *Eudoxius*, his Protector, who advised him to conceal his Doctrine: But he not following this Counsel, was accused by his People, and *Eudoxius* was obliged to condemn and depose him. Afterwards he separated himself wholly from this Bishop, and retired to a House which he had at *Chalcedon*, where he hid the Tyrant *Procopius*. His Master *Aëtius* being returned to *Constantinople*; he lived some time with him, and did the last Offices to him: But he was quickly forced to retire to *Chalcedon*, and being accused before the Emperor, of giving Sanctuary to his Enemy, he was banished into *Mauritania*. But *Valens*, Bishop of *Mursa*, obtained his Restauration, and he would have obtained the Favour of the Emperor, if *Eudoxius* had not hindered him from coming into his sight. About the end of the Reign of *Valens*, *Modestus* the Prætorian Prefect, banished him into the Isle of *Naxos*, as a Disturber of the Peace of the Church. After the Death of this Emperor, he returned to *Chalcedon*; but *Theodosius* immediately banished him to *Halmyris*, which Castle being taken by the Enemy, he was removed to *Cæsarea*, a City of *Cappadocia*. But the Inhabitants of this City not being able to endure him, because he had formerly written against St. *Basil*, their Bishop, he obtained leave to dwell in the place of his Nativity, where he died. He was alive when St. *Jerome* wrote his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers. He wrote many Books against the Church, and seven Books of Commentaries upon the Epistle to the *Romans*, which are mentioned by *Socrates*, Ch. 7. of B. IV. of his History. The same Author observes, That he imitated the sophistical stile of his Master, and followed his way of Arguing; That he was not learned in the Holy Scripture, and had no understanding of it; but that he had abundance of Words, and repeated oftentimes the same thing in different terms, without ever explaining clearly, what he proposed; That tho' he employed many Words to explain the Epistle of St. *Paul* to the *Romans*, yet he could never discover the true Sense of that Apostle. He adds, That his other Books were written after the same manner, and that whoever would take the pains to read them, would find Multitudes of Words and very little Matter. St. *Basil* quotes in his Books against *Eunomius*, some part of the Books of this Heretick, which he afterwards refutes. *Eunomius* answered St. *Basil's* Book by an Apology, and St. *Gregory Nyssen* undertook the Defence of his Brother, and the Refutation of this Heretick's Apology. He quotes also some of his Passages, and many of his Arguments. These Fragments of *Eunomius*, shew us, that he followed the Method of his Master, but that he was more plain and copious.



## GEORGE of Laodicea.

George of  
Laodicea.

**T**His George was a Priest of the Church of *Alexandria*, in the time of *Arius*. He espoused the Interests of this Heretick, and making a show of being Mediator between *Alexander* and him, he maintained his Impiety. We have in *Athanasius's* Book of Synods, two Letters of this Man, one written to *Alexander*, wherein he would persuade him, that we may say, That there had been a time when the Son of God was not; and the other to the Followers of *Arius*, wherein he counsels them to acknowledge, That the Son was of the Father, and of God, since all things are of God. *Alexander* cast him out of the Church, not only because of his Heresie, but also upon some other account. Being excommunicated at *Alexandria*, he endeavoured to procure a Reception among the Clergy of *Antioch*; but *Eustathius* refusing him, he retired to *Arcthusa*, and was there received; for *Constantine* calls him the Priest of *Arcthusa*. He was afterwards Ordained

Bishop of *Laodicea*, and assisted the *Eusebians* at the Councils of *Tyre* and *Antioch*. The Western Bishops pronounced Sentence of Deposition against him in the Council of *Sardica*. Afterwards he declared himself an Enemy of the *Eunomians*, and the Head of the Party of the *Semi-Arians*. 'Twas he that wrote a circular Letter to the Bishops of his own Country, against *Aëtius* and *Endoxius*, set down by *Sozomen*, Ch. 15. of B. *Theodoret*, *Hæret. Fab. l. 1. ch. 26.* IV. of his History, wherein he exhorts them to assemble themselves, that they may condemn those impious Men, as *Socrates*, l. 2. ch. 9. & lib. 1. ch. 24. they had done in the Council of *Ancyra*, in the year 358; soon after this *George* died. He past in those antient times for a very able Man in Philosophy. *Theodoret* testifies, That he had written against the *Manichees*, and *Socrates* quotes a Book which he composed of the Life of *Eusebius Emisenus*.

George of  
Laodicea.

## The A POLLINARI II.

The Apol-  
linarii.

**A**pollinarius (a), the Father, was a Citizen of *Alexandria*, who forsook his Country, and went to teach Grammar at *Berytus*. From thence he pass'd to *Laodicea*, where he had a Son of his own Name, whom he brought up to Learning. This young Man who had a great deal of Wit, in a short time, made a wonderful Progress in Knowledge, and capacitated himself for teaching Rhetorick publicly at *Laodicea*, while his Father was writing Books of Grammar. Both of them afterwards applying themselves to the Study of the Scriptures, the Father was Ordained Priest, and the Son Reader. But having a great Affection for prophane Learning, they maintained an intimate Correspondence with a Pagan Sophist, call'd *Epiphanius*, which rendered them odious to the Christians. *Socrates* says, that *Theodotus* Bishop of *Laodicea*, cast them out of the Church for this cause; and 'tis certain, that *George* the Successor of *Theodotus* laid hold of this Pretence, to Excommunicate them, because they took part with *Athanasius* against him. Nevertheless, *Apollinarius* the Son, was chosen Bishop of *Laodicea* (b), and was beloved and esteemed by St. *Athanasius*, St. *Basil*, and St. *Epiphanius*, and all the great Men of his Age (c), upon the account of his Knowledge and Learning. But afterwards falling into Errors concerning the Mytery of the Incarnation, he was looked upon as a Heretick, and he gave Name to a Sect which was condemned by the Church: He died under the Reign of *Theodosius*, about the year 380. All the Ancients testify, that this Author wrote an infinite number of Volumes (d) upon the Holy Scripture, and upon other Subjects. He made Books against the *Arians*, *Eunomius*, *Origen*, and against many Hereticks. He compos'd also many Homilies, and wrote several Letters (e). But his chief Work in the Judgment of all Men, was his great Treatise divided into 30 Books, which he wrote in Defence of Religion against *Porphyrus*, the Philosopher (f). It excelled in Beauty and Strength, all that had been written before by *Eusebius* and the Ancients, against the Pagan Religion. He wrote also in the time of *Julian*, another great Book of the Truth of Religion against the Emperor and the Pagan Philosophers. 'Tis said, that *Julian* having perus'd it, wrote to him that sent it, *I have read it; I have understood it; I have condemned it*; and that St. *Basil* or some other Bishop made answer to him; *You may have read it, but surely you never understood it; for if you had understood it, you had never condemned it*. Under the Reign of the same Emperor,

*Apollinarius* seeing that Christians were forbidden to read to their Children the Greek Poets, Orators and Philosophers, wrote in Heroic Verse the History of the Jews, down to the time of *Saul*, and divided this Work into 24 Books, in Imitation of *Homer*. He took Subjects also from the Old Testament, to make Tragedies, Comedies and Odes, in Imitation of *Euripides*, *Sophocles* and *Pindar*. Besides that, he turned the Gospels and the Epistles into Dialogues, in Imitation of *Plato's* Books: And thus he supplied to Christians, the want of prophane Authors of all sorts. *Socrates*, attributes the Poetical Books to *Apollinarius* the Father, and 'tis probable that they were rather his, since they are more agreeable to his Profession. We have also a Translation of the Psalms in Verse, which bears the Name of *Apollinarius*; and this is the only entire Book we have extant of this Author. 'Tis an exact, faithful, and noble Translation of all the Psalms: Some have also attributed to him the Tragedy, entituled, *Christ Suffering*, which bears the Name of *Gregory Nazianzen*; but it has neither the same Air nor Stile. *Theodoret* relates some Passages of *Apollinarius*, in his Dialogues, which prove that this Author acknowledged, That Jesus Christ took Flesh in the Womb of the Virgin, and that this Flesh was not changed into the Divinity; but then withal, they shew, That he denied that the Soul of Jesus Christ had an Understanding or Mind. *Eulogius* in the Extract made by *Photius*, Vol. 230 of his *Bibliotheca*, produces a Passage of *Apollinarius*, wherein he seems to admit one Nature only in Jesus Christ. *Polemon*, the Disciple of *Apollinarius*, who is mentioned in the same place, and in the Fourth Book of the Fables of Hereticks, written by *Theodoret*, was of the same Opinion, and attributes it to his Master. The Extracts taken out of the Discourses of *Apollinarius* and *Polemon*, produced in the Council of *Lateran*, under *Martin* the V. *Seff. 5.* prove also that *Apollinarius* maintained, that there was but one Nature in Jesus Christ after the Union. And yet he acknowledges in the Passages recited by *Theodoret*, that the Divine and Human Nature, remained in Jesus Christ without Mixture or Confusion, and that each of them retained their own Properties. This probably is that Contradiction which made St. *Basil* say, that the Judgment of *Apollinarius*, about the Incarnation, was very obscure and intricate. The same Father, in Letter 59, and 293, and St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, in his first Letter to *Cledonius*, accuse him of the Error of *Sabellius*, who con-

The Apol-  
linarii.

(a) *Apollinarius*.] The Greeks always called him, *Ἀπολλινάριος*: St. *Basil* is the only Person that wrote it with a double *α*. St. *Jerome*, called him, *Apollinarius*. The generality of the Latins for softness sake, give him the Name of *Apollinaris*.

(b) *Bishop of Laodicea*.] St. *Athanasius* in a Letter to the *Antiochians*, St. *Epiphanius*, in *Hæres. 77.* St. *Basil*, in Letter 293. *Ruffinus*, in B. II. Ch. 20. and St. *Jerome* in his Catalogue, all agree, that he was Bishop of this City. *Theodoret* in B. V. of his History says, that *Apollinarius* would have invaded the See of *Antioch*, but it was his Disciple *Vitalis*.

(c) *He was beloved and esteemed by all the great Men of his Age*.] He was a very good Friend to St. *Athanasius*, who had seen him at his return from his Banishment, as St. *Epiphanius* testifies in *Hæres. 77.* *Leontius* in B. III. against *Nestorius*, says, that *Apollinarius* boasted, of receiving Letters from *Athanasius*, *Serapion*, and the great Men of his time. He quotes a Fragment of a Letter of *Apollinarius*, where he glories in having Letters from St. *Athanasius*. His Deputies assisted at the Council of *Alexandria*, and Sign'd there as the Deputies of an Orthodox Bishop. It does not appear that St. *Athanasius* did ever break with him. St. *Basil* says in his Letter 82, that he ow'd respect to this Man; that he was so much his fast Friend, that he would take his Faults upon himself. St. *Epiphanius* calls him, a Venerable Old Man, and says, that he was very dear to St. *Athanasius*, and all

the Orthodox Bishops. St. *Jerome* in his 64<sup>th</sup> Letter, says, that he had often seen him at *Antioch*, that he honoured him, and had learned many things from him. I pass over in silence, the Testimonies of *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, *Philostorgius*, *Vincențius Lirinensis*, &c.

(d) *An infinite number of Volumes*.] St. *Basil* in Epistle 74, says, that he had filled the World with his Books. *Theophilus* in his first Epistle, says, that he wrote against *Origen*, against the *Eunomians*, and *Arians*. *Asacius* of *Beraa*, in his Letter to St. *Cyril*, Tom. 3d. of the Works of this Father, p. 63. says the same thing; and St. *Jerome* says, that he made an infinite number of Books. *Vincențius Lirinensis*, says, that 'twere too long to give a Catalogue of his Books.

(e) *Many Homilies, and wrote several Letters*.] There are many of his Sermons quoted in the Council of *Lateran*, under *Martin* the V. whose Extracts are produced in Tom. 6. of the Councils. P. 314, 315. And *Sozomen*, B. 2. Ch. 17, relates a Fragment of *Apollinarius*, concerning St. *Athanasius*. He wrote also against *Diodorus* of *Tarsus*, as appears by *Suidas*, B. III. Ch. 4.

(f) *His Chief Work in the Judgment of all Men, was his Treatise against Porphyrus the Philosopher*.] St. *Jerome* says, that his 30 Books against *Porphyrus*, were the most esteemed of all his Works. *Vincențius Lirinensis* says, that it was his greatest and most excellent Work.

founded



The Apollinarii. founded the three Divine Persons. But *Theodoret* observes, that at the bottom he believed the Mystery of the Trinity as we do, tho' he explained it in such a manner, as gave occasion to accuse him of Error, because he admits Degrees among the three Persons of the Trinity, and seems not to distinguish the Personal Subsistences. And indeed, St. *Epiphanius* vindicates *Apollinarius* from the *Sabellian* Heresie, and says, that *Vitalis*, his most famous Disciple, who calls himself Bishop of *Antioch*, was so far from holding this Heresie, that the Pretence which he alledged for his Separation from *Paulinus*, was because he believed him to be of *Sabellius's* Opinion. In short, *Vincentius Lirinensis*, and *Leontius*, vindicate *Apollinarius* from the Suspicion of *Sabellianism*. There are two Errors more attributed to him, which were common to him with many Ancients. The first, is that famous Opinion of the Reign of Christ, and the Saints upon Earth, for the space of 1000 Years, which St. *Basil*, Epist. 74, and 293; St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, Epist. 2. and St. *Jerome* in his Catalogue, Ch. 28. do all charge him with. The second Opinion is, that the Souls of Men are produced by Souls, as the Bodies are by Bodies. St. *Jerome* and *Nemesius*, are the only Persons that accuse him of this Error; the first in Ep. 28, the second in Ch. 2. of his Treatise.

The Opinion of *Apollinarius* about the Incarnation, was condemned in the Council of *Alexandria*, where it was declared, That Jesus Christ assumed a Body, a Soul and Spirit, such as we have. *Paulinus* of *Antioch*, did also profess this Doctrine in a Discourse by its self, which is at the end of the Council of *Alexandria*, and in St. *Epiphanius*, Heres. 77. In the Year 373, *Vitalis* the Disciple of *Apollinarius*, who caused himself to be ordained Bishop of *Antioch*, went to find out Pope *Damasus*, and presented to him a confession of Faith about the Incarnation, which seemed to be Catholick, and clearly rejected the Error of *Apollinarius*. St. *Cyril* produces a Fragment of this Confession of Faith, in the Book which he dedicated to the Queens. When the Pope saw this Confession, he believed that *Vitalis* was a Catholick, and therefore did not refuse him his Communion; but having no full assurance of his Sincerity, he wrote to *Paulinus*, and sent him Articles about the Trinity and the Incarnation, which he should cause *Vitalis* and all those that would be restored, to Sign. When these Articles were brought into the East, *Vitalis*, and those of his Sect, would not Sign them. *Damasus* understanding this, says St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, and being informed that they persisted still in their antient Error, cast them out of the Church, and tore the Libel and Anathematisms which had been presented to him by *Vitalis*, being very much troubled that he had been so deceived. He gave this Judgment in a Council at *Rome*, held in the Year 377, at which, *Peter*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, assisted. The Bishops of the East, approved of what *Damasus* had done, and confirmed the Judgment which the Pope had given against the *Apollinarians*: For in the Synod of *Antioch*, in the Year 378, they signed a Tome or Writing of the Western Bishops, which condemned their Errors. Afterwards, the *Apollinarians* were always

looked upon as Hereticks, as appears by the Council of *Constantinople*, where they are joyned with the *Arians*, *Eunomians*, and other declared Hereticks.

*Apollinarius*, of all the Christian Writers, had most studied Grammar, Rhetorick, and prophane Philosophy: But he was not profoundly Learned in the Scripture and Religion; he philosophized too much upon our Mysteries, and did not confine himself enough to the simplicity of the Scriptures, which fault was the occasion of his falling into Error: For when once Men give themselves up to Human Reasonings in the Explications of Mysteries, they presently wander from the right Way, and are in danger of falling headlong. He had not the sublime and affected Eloquence of the Bar, but a Philosophical kind of Eloquence which consisted in turning his Thoughts and Reasons, after an easy, clear and pleasant manner. *Philostorgius* quoted by *Suidas*, compared him to St. *Basil*, and St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, and says, 'That these three were the ablest Men of their time. That they excelled those who had written before them, and that St. *Athanasius* in comparison of them, appeared but a Child; that they were well versed in prophane Learning, and had made a great Progress in them; That with all this, they had all that was necessary for Reading and understanding the Scriptures, and chiefly *Apollinarius*, who understood Hebrew. That each of them excelled in his Kind; That the Stile of *Apollinarius* was fittest for writing Books; that St. *Basil's* Stile was best for publick Orations, but *Gregory Nazianzen* surmounted them both in the sublimity of his Stile, which was more lofty than that of *Apollinarius*, and more grave than that of St. *Basil*. He adds, that these three persons had all the Qualities which were most proper for winning the Admiration of all Mankind.

The Life of *Apollinarius*, was probably no less Holy than that of the other two great Men. In short, he might have been equal to the greatest Pillars of the Church, as *Vincentius Lirinensis* says excellently, if his prophane Curiosity had not carried him to the Invention of Novelties, which made him lose the Fruit of all his Labours, and made his Doctrine an occasion of Scandal, rather than Edification.

*Apollinarius's* Paraphrase or Translation of the Psalms, was printed in Greek at *Paris*, in the Year 1580; and together with the Version of *Sylburgius*, by *Commelinus*, in the Year 1596. Since that time, it has been put into the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. The other Works of this Author are lost, except some Fragments; and his Error was probably the cause of this loss. The Catholicks had so great a Horror of Books of Hereticks, that they would not so much as preserve those that did not concern their Heresie, and which might have been useful to the Church: Upon which Account it is, that we have scarce any book of the antient Hereticks, and that the *Eutychians* were obliged to publish *Apollinarius's* Books under the Name of Catholick Authors, as we have observed when we spoke of the Writings of Pope *Julius*.

## TITUS of Bosra.

Titus of Bosra. *Titus*, Bishop of *Bosra*, a City of *Arabia Petraea*, wrote a Treatise against the *Manichees*, and some other Works, in the Time of the Emperors *Julian* and *Jovian*. *Julian*, who persecuted all the Bishops who had any Reputation, did all that lay in his power, to drive this Bishop out of his Country, and to render him odious to his People. 'He wrote to him, that if any trouble happened in the City of *Bosra*, he should impute it to himself and to his Clergy. This Bishop answered him, that he kept his People in Peace by his Exhortations, and that tho' he had as many Christians as Pagans in his City, yet he so ordered the matter, that there was no Contention amongst them.' *Julian* laid hold on this Occasion, to write to the Inhabitants of *Bosra* against their Bishop, endeavouring maliciously to persuade them, that his Answer reproached them, because it supposed that without his Exhortations, they would not have continued in their Duty. However this ill-natured Accusation of the Emperor *Julian*, did not hinder them from putting Confidence in their Bishop, so that he continued in his See till the Time of the Emperor *Valens*, under whose Reign he died, about the Year 370. He assisted at the Council of *Meletius*, held at *Antioch*, under the Reign of *Jovian*, in the Year 364.

The Book of *Titus* of *Bosra*, against the *Manichees*, was written in Greek, and divided into Four Parts: There is nothing now extant but the Version of three of those Books made by *Turrianus*, and printed in *Canisius's* Collection of Antient Pieces; and in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. To the Text of the Author, there are prefixed the Arguments of the Four Books translated out of Greek, which inform us what is the Subject of them. The first Book, says the Author of those Arguments, contains a Refutation of the principal points of Doctrine taught by the *Manichees*, which contradict common Sense, and the Principles of Natural

Reason. The second is intended to shew, that Man is not addicted to Sin by a Principle that is Eternal and without Beginning, or by a Being that is contrary to the True God: That there is no substance of evil in the World; That there is not in us two sorts of Natures, one Good, and the other Evil; That 'tis Folly and Impiety to Condemn and Reprehend the manner of Governing the Universe. In short, This Book contains all that can be said of Providence, and invincibly proves, that 'tis no wise necessary to admit a Second Principle contrary to God. The Third Book is intended to defend the Law and the Prophets, and to shew that God is the Author of the Old Testament; That there is nothing of Evil to be found in it; That it does in every thing agree with the New, and therefore there is no need for the Explication of it to have recourse to a Second Principle contrary to God. The Fourth Book defends the New Testament against the Blasphemies of the Hereticks: There he shews that there is nothing in the Gospel which favours their Error; that they abuse some passages of Scripture to prove their Impiety to no purpose; and that the Diabolical Explications which they give of them cannot help to Establish what they say against God. In the First Book, he propounds the Doctrine of the *Manichees*, and detects the Absurdities of it by Metaphysical Arguments. In the Second he shews, That there is but one God only, and that he is the only Principle; That he is not the Author of Sin; That he made Man free and capable of doing Good and Evil; and so 'tis not God but Man who is the Author of Sin, which proceeds not from the Nature of Man, but from his Will. He Explains the great difficulty that is urged by the *Manichees*, why the Just are so often Unhappy, and the Wicked Happy in this World; and shews that the Just are always Happy and the Wicked Unhappy, because Innocence is the chief Happiness.



Titus of  
Bostra.

Happiness. He adds, that Afflictions are useful to prove and to exercise Virtue. He maintains, That Death is not an Evil, because 'tis the end of Sinning to the Wicked, and the Beginning of Recompence to the Good. In short, having surveyed all things in this World, and all the occurrences of this Life, he proves that they are easily reconciled to the Providence of God.

In the Third Book he shews, That the Old and New Testament agree very well together, and that one and the same God is the Author of them both.

There are in these Books much Metaphysics and Logic; The Arguments are solid and subtil; The Style is fine and clean enough for a Work of this Nature. It is indeed a surprizing thing that he never makes use of Original Sin for the explaining all the difficulties objected by the *Manichees*, which might have served as one general Solution to almost all their objections. For when once Original Sin is admitted, there is no difficulty in understanding, why a Man is addicted to Sin; Why he suffers Affliction; Why he is subject to Hunger, to Pain, to Diseases, to Miseries, and to Death; and yet he never urges it to explain those Questions, but examines them as a Philosopher. He says not one Word of the Grace of Jesus Christ, and seems to suppose that Man could do Good of himself as well as Evil.

There is a Commentary upon the Gospel of St. Luke, which is attributed to *Titus of Bostra*; but this can be none of his Book, since he who is the Author of it, cites St. Jerome, St. Isidore Pelusiota, and St. Cyril of Alexandria, who had not written till after the Death of this *Titus of Bostra*, whom we now speak of. Yet this is a very Good literal Commentary upon St. Luke, and seems to me to be very antient. There was a Version of it published by *Peltanus*, and Printed by *Sartorius* at *Ingolstadt* in the Year 1579. Since that, *Fronto Ducens* published the Greek from a Manuscript out of the King's Library, and it was Printed in Greek and Latin in the Supplement to the *Bibliothecæ Patrum*: 'Tis said, that there is a Commentary of the same Author upon St. Matthew, and there is some probability for it, because in the Commentary on St. Luke, he never attempts to explain any thing in this Evangelist but what is not to be found in the Gospel of St. Matthew. In short, Father *Combesis* has published in his *Auctarium* to the *Bibliothecæ Patrum*, a Sermon upon *Palm-Sunday*, which bears the Name of *Titus of Bostra*, but is not written by the true *Titus of Bostra*, nor by the Author of the Commentaries upon St. Luke, it having no affinity with the Air and Style of either of those two Writers.

Titus of  
Bostra.

## DIDYMUS of Alexandria.

Didymus  
of Alexan-  
dria.

Nothing is more surprizing than what the Ancients have related of this Author. St. Jerome and Rufinus, who were his Disciples, assure us, That having lost his Sight from the age of five years, at which time he was scarce able to read, he applied his Mind so vigorously to study, that he learned in perfection, not only *Philosophy*, *Rhetoric* and *Musick*, but even *Geometry*; which one would think could not be learnt without the help of Sight. He particularly addicted himself to the Study of Divinity, and was chosen as the most able Person to fill the Chair of the famous School of the Church of *Alexandria*. His Reputation drew to him a great number of Scholars, of whom the most famous were St. Jerome, Rufinus, Palladius and Isidore. He had a wonderful easiness of expressing himself, a pleasing way of declaiming, and a surprizing sharpness of Wit. He answered immediately to all the Questions that were made upon the Scriptures, he confuted the Arguments which the Hereticks proposed to him against Religion, and shewed in an instant where the Weakness of their Reasons lay. He has written many excellent Books. St. Jerome mentions these following in his Catalogue: Commentaries upon all the *Psalms*, Commentaries upon the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. John, Commentaries upon the Epistle to the *Galatians*, eighteen Tomes of Commentaries upon *Isaiah*, three Books of Commentaries upon *Hosea*, which are addressed to me, says St. Jerome, and five Books upon *Zachary*, which he wrote at my desire, says the same Father; Commentaries upon *Job*, and an infinite number of other Discourses, which would require a particular Table. He wrote also a Treatise upon the *Dogmas*, or upon the Sects, two Books against the *Arians*, and a Book of the Holy Spirit, which I translated into Latin, says the same St. Jerome. He also interpreted *Origen's Principles*, and defended them against those that condemned them. he considered this Author as his Master, and espoused his Opinions. He was alive when St. Jerome wrote his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, i. e. in the year 392, and was then 93 years old and more; and 'tis thought that he died two years after. His being addicted to the Opinions of *Origen*, was the cause of his condemnation in the fifth General Council, and in the fifth Session of the *Lateran Council* by *Martin* the fifth, tho' he died in the Communion of the Church, and all the Ancients, even St. Jerome, speak of him as one whose Doctrine was very Orthodox. We have among St. Jerome's Works, a Translation which this Father made of *Didymus's* Book concerning the Holy Spirit. He says in his Preface, 'That being in *Babylon*, dwelling in this Province clothed with Purple (by which word, he means the City of *Rome*) he had a design to write a little Book of the Holy Spirit, and to dedicate it to the Bishop of that City; but that immediately the Senate of Pharisees cryed out against him, and the Faction of ignorant Men conspired against his Person, which obliged him to return to *Jerusalem*, where he finished his Work at the desire of *Paula* and *Eustochium*; but that he could not dedicate it to *Damasus*, who was dead when it was finished. He adds, That he put at the beginning of it the Name of the Author whom he translated, and thought it better to be only the Interpreter of another's Work, than to mix bad Thoughts with that which is good in the Greek Authors, as some Latins have done.' He has divided this Treatise of *Didymus* into three Books: Tho' it is rather a continued Discourse which ought not to be parted, or at least, ought not to be divided but into two parts.

This Treatise is the most demonstrative and methodical of all those that the Ancients have written to prove the Di-

vinity of the Holy Spirit. He begins with these Words. 'Tho' we ought to speak with Reverence and Exactness of every thing that concerns the Divinity, yet this ought chiefly to be done, when we speak of the Holy Spirit, since the Scripture tells us, That the Blasphemy which is spoken against him is unpardonable. Wherefore we must give diligent heed that we may understand what is said of him in the Holy Scripture, lest we fall into some Error, which may make us speak Blasphemies. And upon this account, it seems to be convenient for a faithful Christian, who is sensible of his own Weakness, as I am, to keep silence in a Question which is above his Power, rather than venture to treat upon a Subject where he runs so great a hazard. But since there are some Men, who by a surprizing boldness exalt themselves against Heaven, and speak of the Holy Spirit such things as are no where to be found in Scripture, and which never have been proposed by any Ecclesiastical Writers, I thought my self obliged to yield to the frequent Entreaties of my Brethren, and to prove my own Opinion by Testimonies of Scriptures, lest some of the Faithful that are ignorant of this Doctrine, should be seduced by those that hold the contrary.' After he has in the following words observed, That the Holy Spirit is no where spoken of but in the Holy Scripture, and that the same Spirit inspired the Prophets and Apostles, he enters upon the Matter, and proves by many Arguments founded upon Passages of the Holy Scripture, That the Holy Spirit is not a Creature, but that he is of one and the same Nature with the Father and the Son. He shews that the Holy Spirit is not a Creature. 1. Because every Creature is either corporeal or spiritual. Now the Holy Spirit, says he, is not a corporeal Creature, since it dwells in the Soul; neither is he a spiritual Creature, because spiritual Creatures receive into themselves Virtues, Knowledge and Holiness, whereas the Holy Spirit produces them in others, being himself substantially Virtue, Light and Holiness. 2. Because every Creature is liable to Change and circumscribed within a place; but the Holy Spirit is immutable, and every where present, and therefore the Holy Spirit is not a Creature. 3. Because he who sanctifies, and he who is sanctified, are of different Natures; but the Holy Spirit sanctifies all Creatures, and therefore he is not of their Nature. He adds, That 'tis never said that Men are filled with a Creature, as 'tis said that they are filled with the Holy Spirit. He shews, That the Holy Spirit is not divisible; but that it receives different Names according to the different Effects it produces, tho' it be always one and the same Spirit. In short, he shews, That the Apostle St. Paul puts an Essential Difference between the Holy Spirit and the Angels, which sufficiently discovers that it is not a Creature. Afterwards he refutes those that say the Holy Spirit is of the number of those things which were created by the Divine Word. He explains a place in the fourth Chapter of the Prophet *Amos*, where 'tis said, That God created the Spirit, *Creans Spiritum*, by shewing that this place is literally to be understood of the Wind, and that it cannot be applied to the Holy Spirit, but in an Allegorical and Figurative sense.

After he has thus shewn that the Holy Spirit is not a Creature, he proves, That he is of the same Nature with the Father and the Son: 1. Because they have but one and the same Operation, and by consequence must be one and the same Substance. 2. Because to lye to the Holy Spirit is to lye unto God, as appears by the words of St. Peter to *Ananias*. 3. Because the Wisdom and Teaching of the Holy Spirit is called the Wisdom and Teaching of God. 4. Be-

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cause the Holy Spirit is called the Finger of the Father, 5. Because 'tis said of him, that he is Wisdom it self. 6. Because we are to believe in the Holy Spirit, as we do in the Father and the Son, and we are baptized in the Name of the Holy Spirit, as we are in the Name of the Father and the Son. 7. Because he is called Lord, as the Father and the Son are. 8. Because he is sent from the Father in the Name of the Son, as having the same Nature with the Son. 9. Because the Father, Son and Holy Spirit are never separated; every thing that agrees to one of the Three Persons, agrees to the other two, and whatever is said of one, is said of the other two, and whatsoever one does, is done by the others, &c. And therefore they have all the same Nature and the same Substance. He concludes with these words, ' Since there is no Pardon for those that blaspheme against the Trinity, we must be very cautious in speaking of this Mystery, lest we be mistaken in the least Expression: And every one who desires to read this Book, must purifie himself, that so by an enlightned Mind he may understand what is contained in it, and by a Heart full of Charity and Holiness, he may pardon us, if we do not always answer the Expectation of the Reader. He must only consider the Mind wherewith we have written, and not tie himself up to our manner of Expression: For as the Testimony of our Conscience makes us boldly affirm, That our Doctrine is that of the Christian Religion; so our Sincerity makes us confess, That in the manner of Writing, we do not come near the Politeness, Fineness, and Eloquence of others; because we have only attempted to give a religious Explication of what the Holy Scripture teaches us, without studying to polish and adorn our Discourse: But tho' he speaks thus of his stile, and St. Jerome says also, that this Author is not a very able Penman, yet this Treatise is very well written for a Dogmatical Treatise. I speak not this of the Words or Terms, since we have not now the Original Greek, but of the turn of his Thoughts, the methodizing of his Arguments, and the manner of expressing himself about a Mystery so difficult to explain as this of the Trinity. He treats of the subject in a very clear Method, without diverting from the Difficulties of it. He proposes his Arguments plainly and smoothly: His Reasons are close and convincing, one may observe a Vein of Logick which runs thro' all his discourse without intermission. He quotes the passages of Scripture in their natural sense, and makes many very curious and profound Remarks. He uses the most proper and most fit terms for Explication of the Mysteries. He does not too nicely distinguish, and yet he clears up all Difficulties. In a word, it were to be wished that all the Schoolmen had taken this Treatise for their Pattern, and had followed his Method in treating of the Mysteries of Religion. I forgot to observe that he speaks occasionally of the Incarnation, and that he says, Jesus Christ is God-Man; and yet we must not affirm that there are two Persons in him, but believe, that he being God and Man both together, there is attributed to him what agrees to the Nature of God, and the Nature of Man. 'Twas good to observe this against the Error of the Nestorians.

We have in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, Commentaries in

Latin, upon all the Canonical Epistles which go under the Name of *Didymus*. They seem to be antient, and they may possibly be a Translation from a Greek Commentary of this Author. He speaks of the Opinion of those who thought that Spirits were from all Eternity, and he neither condemns nor approves it. He maintains, That Predestination is nothing else but the Choice which God made of those that he foresaw would believe in Jesus Christ, and do good Actions. He rejects the *Milennium*, and affirms, That the Pleasures and Joys of Paradise are all spiritual. He disproves of servile Fear; He believes with *Origen*, That the Incarnation of Jesus Christ was profitable to Angels as well as Men, and that it purifies them from their Faults. He observes, That the second Epistle of St. Peter is not in the Canon, and believes that it is corrupted. These Commentaries are very clear and intelligible, and contain useful and judicious Instructions and Reflections, which are not unworthy of the famous *Didymus*.

There is also a little Tract, or rather the Fragment of a Tract against the *Manichees*, translated from Greek by *Turrianus*, printed by *Possevin* in his *Apparatus*, and inserted into the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, which goes under the Name of *Didymus*, which agrees well enough with the Treatise of the Holy Spirit written by this Author. There he refutes by Metaphysical Arguments, the Opinion of the *Manichees*, who admitted two Principles, the one Good and the other Evil. He explains the sense in which Men are called in Scripture *Children of Wrath*, by saying, They are so called, because they become the Object of the Wrath of God by the Sins which they voluntarily commit; as others are called Children of the Light, and Children of Wisdom, who are purified by the Light of Truth. He says, That *Judas* is called a Son of Perdition, because he did those things that deserved Perdition. He is mightily perplexed when he explains the reason why the Flesh of Man is called *Sinful Flesh*. He says first of all, That it is so called, because it was produced by the Use of Marriage, which commonly was not free from Sin before the coming of Jesus Christ, who sanctified it: That there is none but Jesus Christ and the first Man, whose Flesh could not be called *Sinful*; for Jesus Christ was born of a Virgin, and *Adam* was made out of the Earth; That all Men being begotten by Men after the Sin of the first Man, are subject to Sin; and that if the Body of Jesus Christ had been formed in the ordinary way of Generation, it had been liable to Sin, to which all the Posterity of *Adam* are subject. He adds, that the use of Marriage, tho' it is permitted, is called *Sin*, in comparison of Virginity; which is a much more excellent state. After this, he proves that the Devil was not wicked by substance, but by will; He demonstrates, that God is not the Author of Evil, because he created a free Agent, which could incline it self to Good or to Evil; That the Divine Conduct cannot be blamed, and that those who commit Sin ought not to impute it to any but themselves, since it was in their own Power to do Good, and to shun that which is Evil. In a word, That Man is not naturally Wicked, but by his Will only; since he that has been Wicked and Impious, may change his Condition by Repentance, and become Good and Virtuous.

## PETER of Alexandria.

*Peter of Alexandria.* **S**T. Athanasius dying in the year 373, the Catholics chose in his room *Peter*, whom St. Athanasius had designed for his Successor. He had no sooner taken Possession of his Church, but he was forced away from it by the Governor of the Province named *Palladius*, and necessitated to fly to *Rome*. Some time after *Enzoins* of *Antioch* brought with him one named *Lucius*, whom he Ordained Bishop of *Alexandria*, and caused the Churches to be given to him. This Man being an Enemy to the Doctrine of his Predecessor, was hated by all the Christians of *Alexandria*, who would not afterwards come any more to the Assemblies of the Church: Whereupon *Lucius* was obliged to get a Guard of Pagan Soldiers, who committed by his Order infinite Outrages against the Catholics. *Peter of Alexandria* wrote at this time a Letter against the Exorbitances that were done by the *Arians*, which *Theodorez* produces in the fourth Book of his History, Ch. 22. It charges them with causing a Multitude of Infidel Soldiers to enter into the great Church of St. Theonas, who vomited up Thousands of Blasphemies, violated Virgins, and put to Death many Christians. He adds, That they had committed abominable Sacrilege, in making a young Man dance upon the Altar in Woman's Apparel, and making him go up into the Pulpit, where he uttered infamous and impious words. Afterwards he charges the *Arians* with carrying away *Lucius* to place him in the Episcopal See, tho' he had neither been chosen by the Suffrages of the Clergy and the People, nor ordained by a lawful Synod, as the Ecclesiastical Canons required. Afterwards he gives an account of the manner in which he entred into the Church, being ac-

companied with *Enzoins*, and the chief Treasurer of the City; how he would have forced the Priests and Deacons to approve *Arianism*, to please the Emperor *Valens*; with what Boldness and Constancy they answered him, and how they were imprisoned, tormented, and sent on Shipboard without Victuals. In short, he relates the Cruelties committed against the People of *Alexandria*, against the Deacon sent by Pope *Damasus*, and against eleven Bishops of *Egypt* banished to *Diocæsarea*, together with a great number of Priests and Deacons. We have in *Facundus*, two Fragments of another Letter written by the same Father to those that were banished. The first, is in Ch. 2 of the fourth Book, against *Timotheus* the Disciple of *Apollinarius*, whom he accuses of having Anathematized St. Basil, St. Paulinus, St. Epiphanius, and *Diodorus*, that he might communicate with *Vitalis* only. The second Fragment is in Ch. 2. of B. XI. where he commends the Epistle of St. Athanasius written to the *Antiochians*. We have not any other Fragment of the Letters of this Saint, tho' 'tis probable, that he wrote many more during the space of six years that he stayed at *Rome*. But when *Valens* being to march against the *Goths*, gave leave to the banished Bishops to return, he came to *Alexandria* with a Letter of Recommendation from Pope *Damasus*. The People received him and drove away *Lucius*. Some time after, *Peter* indiscreetly ordained *Maximus* the Cynick Bishop of *Constantinople*, tho' he had approved of a Letter the Care which *Gregory Nazianzen* took of that Church. He died about the End of the year 381. The stile of the Letter produced by *Theodorez* is simple and natural, and also very significant.

*Peter of Alexandria.*

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L U C I U S.